THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE

To the Year 1702.

CONTAINING,
Besides all the Material Transactions in PEACE and WAR,

A Particular Account of the STEPS taken by their Late Princes, to subvert their CIVIL LIBERTIES, and to extirpate the REFORMED RELIGION.

To which is Added,
The ANTIENT and PRESENT STATE of *FRANCE*, as to its Constitution and Government, the Royal Family, the Nobility, and Offices Civil and Military, *&c.*

With the Effigies *of their Kings, curiously Ingraven.*

VOL. II.

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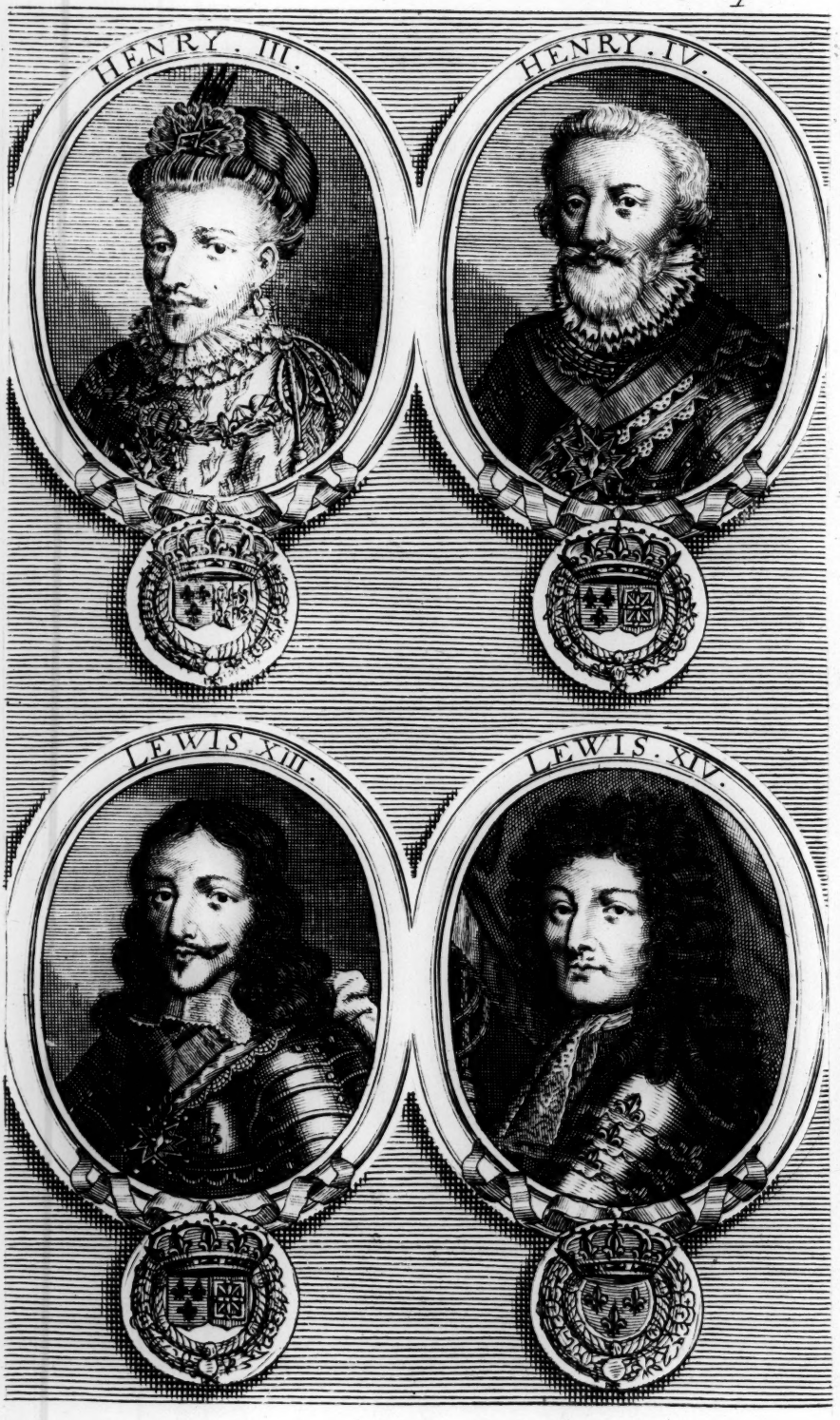
HENRY. III.
HENRY. IV.
LEWIS. XIII.
LEWIS. XIV.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

The Reign of HENRY III.

THIS King was met upon the Frontiers by his Mother, who presented the King of *Navarre* and Duke of *Alenson* to him, whom he received very coldly, yet granted them Pardon and Liberty, tho in reality it was in shew only, since he appointed Guards to observe their Motions. His Reign may be properly called a Reign of Favourites; *Quelus*, *Maugeron*, and *St. Magrin* were his first Minions; then *St. Luc*, *Arques*, *la Valetta* and *Termes*, since named *Bellegard*, and some others: The Queen was extremely pleased to see him fall into such Hands, because they amused him with one trifle or another, while she retained almost all the Authority. In the mean time his Favourites perswaded him to skreen himself from his People like the Eastern Monarchs, to wean them from Remonstrances, and let them understand, that there was no other Law but his Will; so that they puffed him up with an Opinion of his being the greatest Prince in the World. Intoxicated with these and the like Flatteries, he established new Forms of Grandeur, increased his Guards, set Banisters round his Table, seldom appeared in Publick, and gave Access to none but his Minions, which made many of the best Persons retire from Court, and gave the other Opportunity to introduce that pernicious Invention of Acquittances for Money due but never paid.

Henry *proud in vain.*

All this while the Duke of *Savoy* his Agents pressed

hard for the Reſtitution of the Places, but *Nevers* Governor for the King beyond the *Alps* oppoſed it; yet finding it would not do, he deſired to be diſcharged of his Government, entered his Proteſtations in the Council for thoſe Parts, and the Parliament of *Grenoble*, againſt it. And ſo we leave this Affair, to obſerve there were two Parties in the King's Council, one who above all things laboured for Peace and the Reformation of the State, and another for rooting out the *Hugonots* at any rate: And the Queen Mother being in this Intereſt, a War was reſolved on againſt them in *Poictou*; *Montpeſier* was beſieged, and at laſt demoliſhed: *Luſignan* and his Son took and burnt *Pouſſin* in *Dauphine*; but being juſt upon the point of laying Siege to *Livron*, the Queen Mother ordered the Command of the Army to be given to the Mareſchal *De Bellegarde*; by which means ſhe deſigned to interrupt the good Correſpondence and Unity that was between *Bellegarde* and *Damville*.

War againſt the Hugonots.

The King in the mean time was inflamed with the Love of the Princeſs of *Conde*, and would have vacated her Marriage with the Prince, upon the account of his being an Heretick: The Queen could not diſſuade him from it; but Death came to her Aid by cutting off the Thred of that fair Princeſs's Life; for which the King mourned extremely, and would neither eat nor drink for three days. *Bellegarde* all this while could not take *Livron*; and the King hapning to paſs along his Camp, the Beſieged railed ſeverely againſt him, and he could not help himſelf; whereas *Damville* took *St. Gilles*, and ſurprized *Aigues Mortes*.

K. crowned and married. 1575.

The King was crowned at *Rheims* on the 12th of *February* by the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* had the Precedency here of the Duke of *Montpeſier*: And ſoon after the King married *Loviſa* the Earl of *Vaudemont*'s Daughter. When the King made his publick Entry into *Paris*, the Deputies of the Proteſtant and Politique Party attended him about a Peace; they made ſome bold Demands, but what ſhocked moſt were the holding of the General States, the leſſning of the Taxes, and reducing them to the ſame State as under *Lewis* XII. Further, that Atheiſts and Blaſphemers ſhould be puniſhed, and the Laws put in execution againſt

gainſt the infamous Whoredoms and Adulteries that called down the Divine Vengeance upon the Kingdom. The Conferences laſted about three Months, and the various Negotiations wherewith they endeavoured to amuſe *Damville* and the *Rochellers*, increaſed their Animoſities, ſo that the War continued every where; as in the Neighbourhood of *Montauban*, from whence the *Romaniſts* were driven by *Choupes*: In *Auvergne*, where *Montal* was defeated and ſlain by that *Amazonian* Lady *Magdalen St. Nectair*: In *Perigord*, where *Langoiran* ſurprized and cruelly ſacked *Perigueux*: In *Languedoc*, where *Damville* did as much at *Uzez* and *Alez*: And in *Dauphine*, where *Montbrun* won a Battel againſt *Gordes* his Enemy near *Die*, and beſieged him in the Town, from whence going out ſome days after to meet ſome Forces that were coming to his Relief, he was defeated, taken and condemned by the Parliament of *Grenoble* to loſe his Head, and was accordingly executed. *Civil Wars continued.*

During this time the Court was full of Factions and Intrigues, and the King falling ſick they made him believe he was poiſoned by his Brother *Alenſon*; upon which he ſent for the King of *Navarre*, and commanded him to rid his Hands of that miſchievous Man, for ſo he termed him; but inſtead of obeying he abhorred it, and left the King time to repent it. When he was recovered, *Montmerancy* a Priſoner in the *Baſtile* was like to have been ruined, and nothing but the Recovery of *Damville* who was then ſick, could have prevented it. In the mean time the Duke of *Alenſon*, outbrav'd by the Favourites, plotted to get away; but the King ordered him and his Friends to be ſeized and confined, who upon the Queen Mother's Interceſſion they were quickly releaſed: And the King thereupon careleſly giving himſelf up to Paſtimes, Gallantries and Idleneſs, his Brother got away to *Dreux*, where *Buſſy* who had left the Court, brought him a great deal of Company. *Montpeſier* would have joined *Nevers*, they might have hindred his paſſing the *Loire*, and getting into *Berry*: He was joined by a great many Noblemen, particularly *Ventadour*, *Turenne*, and the wiſe *La Noue*. *Conde* had finiſhed his Treaty with the *Palatine* Prince *Caſimir*, who raiſed 8000 Horſe and 6000 *Swiſs*, upon condition no Peace were made without his Conſent, and *Duke of Alenſon in Arms.*

that he ſhould have the Government in chief of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*: *Tore* contributed 50000 Crowns towards theſe Levies, and they could not refuſe him 2000 Horſe and 500 Foot to go to *Alenſon*; but *Guiſe* defeated them near *Chateau Thierry*, and there received a Wound in the Face. It's ſuſpected the Queen Mother had contrived the eſcape of *Alenſon*; however it were ſhe lived after him, and *Montmerancy* and *Coſſe* along with her, they being in great Credit with him. At *Champigny* ſhe cajoled her Son to a Truce of ſix Months, and then returning to Court left *Montmerancy* to diſpoſe him to a final Accommodation. He had divers Cities given him for his ſecurity, while the King made Levies both of Men and Money; but inſtead of granting the laſt, *Paris* made him ſevere Remonſtrances, tho ſome complied to pay the Taxes for fear of the *German* Horſe.

1576. The Negotiations of Peace ſtopt *Conde* and *Caſimir* in *Lorain* all *January*, who then croſſing over *Burgundy* paſſed the *Loire*; and the Duke of *Main* the King's General durſt not approach them any nearer than two days March: Hereupon the King perceiving they reſolved to come directly for *Paris*, recalled his Troops, and quartered them about that City. The People cried out againſt the King, *Montpeſier* refuſed the Command of the Army; and the King of *Navarre* retired firſt to *Senlis*, and at laſt to *Vendoſme*, from whence he journied to *Guyenne*. The Prince's Army on the 11th of *March* joined *Alenſon* near *Moulins*, where *Caſimir* in an excellent Harangue to the Duke, with an Eloquence natural to the Princes of that Houſe, reſigned the Command of the whole Army to him, which were 30000 ſtrong; yet thro mutual Jealouſies between ſome of the Princes and others, they did no great matter; they might all of them indeed have had any reaſonable ſatisfaction they could demand: But the Queen haſtning to her ſtrayed Son *Alenſon*, as ſhe called him, quickly diſpoſed his Mind to an Accommodation, and found alſo an Expedient to ſtop *Caſimir*'s Mouth, who would have obſtructed it, by promiſing him a large Sum of Money: And ſo the Treaty was ſigned on the 10th of *May*, whereby the *Hugonots* were allowed the free Exerciſe of their Religion, had Places aſſigned for the burying of their Dead, and the Liberty of being admit-

Treaty of Peace.

admitted into all Offices, Colleges, Hoſpitals, and Spittles: There was no Inquiſition to be made after married Prieſts and Monks, and their Children declared Legitimate. There was great Sorrow expreſt for the *Pariſian* Murder, and the Children of thoſe that had been maſſacred were exempted from the *Arrier-ban*, if Gentlemen, and from *Taillies* if *Plebeians*; all Sentences were revoked againſt *Molle*, *Coconas*, as alſo thoſe whereby they had condemned the Admiral and others. The Prince with *Damville* and his Aſſociates were owned for good Subjects, *Caſimir* a good Ally, and the Proteſtants had party Courts in each Parliament, beſides many Places aſſigned for their ſecurity. *Caſimir* was promiſed the Lordſhip of *Chaſteau Thierry* in Principality, beſides a Company of 100 Men at Arms, the Command of 40000 *German* Horſe, 12000 Crowns Penſion, 700000 Crowns ready Money for the Payment of his Army; and *Conde* had the Government of *Picardy* confirmed to him: But *Alenſon* had the beſt Terms, they giving him in augmentation of his Appennage the Countries of *Berry*, *Tourain* and *Anjou*, and other Advantages, beſides 100000 Crowns Penſion.

Caſimir having been ſatisfied with ſome difficulty, *Alenſon*, now Duke of *Anjou*, was prevailed with to go to Court and kindly received, but *Buſſy* would not follow his Maſter thither. And now their Heads were at work to ruin the *Hugonots*, for which they concerted meaſures with *Don John* of *Auſtria*, and the Popes Legate, and endeavoured to take off *Navarre* and *Conde*, but the laſt ſeized *Brouage* and *Mirembeau*, which alarmed the *Rochellers*. In ſhort, the late Conjunction of *Alenſon* with the *Hugonots* and *Politiques*, and the advantageous Peace granted them, produced that monſtrous Faction, to which the Authors gave the Name of the *Holy Union*, and the Vulgar that of the *League*. It was made up of ſeveral Heads and Parties, the King's eaſy Temper gave way to its Growth, and the Queen-Mother lent her helping hand, the *Guiſes* were deep in it, the Pope and K. of *Spain* promoted it; the firſt becauſe the *Hugonots* were in Friendſhip with the *Gueux* or *Low-Country* Revolters; and the other leſt they ſhould grow ſo ſtrong as to oblige the King to call a National Council; and in hopes if they were rooted out

The Formation of the League.

out of *France*, he might eaſily trample upon the Proteſtants in all other Parts. Now the League appeared firſt in *Picardy*. *Humieres* Governor of *Peronne* induced the Nobility and moſt of the Cities to ſign it; and *Aplincourt* his Kinſman took the Oaths of the Inhabitants of *Peronne*; the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Main* engaged *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, *Tremoville* prevailed in *Poictou*. On the other hand, when the *Hugonots* demanded an Aſſembly of the General States, they believed they ſhould have had the ſtronger Party, not knowing *Anjou* was drawn off from them, nor conſidering that that great and over-ruling Genius *Coligny* was dead. It was not very difficult for the Queen-Mother and the *Guiſes* to get Members choſen that would be at their Devotion; ſo that now it was openly ſaid, *They ought not to keep Faith with Hereticks*: And this ſome actually made good, particularly *Luignes* turned *Tore* out of *Du Pont St. Eſprit*, to ſecure the Paſſage over the *Rhoſne*. The Deputies being met at *Blois*, held their firſt Seſſion on the 6*th* of *Decemb.* wherein the King ſet forth to them the Grievances of the Nation, and recommended to them to find proper Remedies for the Evils that afflicted them, promiſing nothing ſhould be wanting on his part in putting the ſame in execution: But the Chancellor *Birague*'s Harangue was as ridiculous as the other was eloquent and moving. The Eſtates on their part going to work with the Affairs before 'em, obliged the Archbiſhop at *Lyons* to demand of the King the Ratification of all thoſe Points that had been reſolved on by the three Orders: But he fancied this was done by the Contrivance of the Authors of the League, that ſo they might get ſome part of his Authority from him. 'Tis certain he was very jealous of the Duke of *Guiſe*; and certain Memoirs, in which he ſuppoſed the Duke to have a hand, and that contained divers Reaſons to urge the Pope to degrade the Houſe of *Hugh Capet* that had uſurped the Crown, and to reſtore the Deſcendants of *Charlemagne* who were the *Guiſes*, did but alienate him the more from him. However, the King and the States grew hot upon the point of Religion; and ſince they were demanding a Head for the League, he to prevent *Guiſe* would be ſo himſelf, and cauſed all the Grandees with the City of

General States aſſembled.

1577.

Paris

Paris and the Provinces, according to his own Example, to ſign it: The Biſhops likewiſe would have the Council of *Trent* publiſhed, while the Deputies of the King of *Navarre* and *Conde* proteſted a Nullity, if they revoked the Edict of Pacification. Soon after the Eſtates beſought the King to ſuffer no other Religion in his Kingdom but the *Roman Catholick:* And he anſwering in the Affirmative, and withal, that he would not keep his Oath any longer than he had an opportunity to break it, the Proteſtant Deputies were aſtoniſhed, and proteſted againſt any thing in prejudice to the Pacification; and *Rochel*, as alſo *Languedoc*, were much alarmed at their Enemies Proceedings.

The King alſo being about to engage in a War, demanded two Millions for defraying the Charge of it; but the third Eſtate could never be brought to it, nor to the Alienation of the Demeſnes. With theſe Diſpoſitions began their ſecond Seſſions the 17*th* of *January*; where the Orator for the third Eſtate beſeeched the King to make all his Subjects conform to one Religion by fair and gentle Methods, and without War; that he would grant the Election to Benefices without any regard to his Will: He touched roundly upon the Miſmanagement of the Treaſury, and preſſed hard for the Puniſhment of thoſe who had been guilty of it: And laſtly, inſiſted upon the Expulſion of Strangers from the Government. Then the States falling to work, by the Plurality of the Governments, and not of the Deputies, they required the King to forbid the Exerciſe of any other but the Catholick Religion, tho they could carry it only but by two Suffrages; and even *Paris* would ſoon after have retracted it. The *Hugonots* hereupon ſet up a Counter-League under the King of *Navarre* and *Conde*, who armed in *Poictou*, whilſt the King armed in *Guyenne*, and took *Bazas* and *Reole*; when on the other hand, the Edict of Pacification being revoked, they ſet two Armies on foot, to make a quick diſpatch of them, commanded by the Dukes of *Anjou*, and *Main*, and *Guiſe* his Brother, who quickly drove *Conde* to the very Gates of *Rochel*, and being elated with his Succeſs marched into *Guyenne*, where finding his Forces much tired, he readily made a fifteen Days Truce with the King of *Navarre*.

Pacification revoked, and the Civil War renewed.

In

In *April Anjou*, under whom were *Guiſe*, *Aumale* and *Nevers*, took *la Charite*, and ſoon after *Iſſoire* ſubmitted to *Nevers*. *Erouage* ſurrendred to *Lauſac*, and things grew ſo deſperate every where with the *Hugonots*, that moſt were of Opinion, if their Enemies had made their Advantages thereof, they had been utterly ruined; nay *Damville* had drawn his Sword againſt them in *Languedoc*, and beſieged *Montpelier*, but *Chaſtillon* bravely piercing thro his Army, threw 3000 men into the Place, and would have fought him; but the King, from what Motives is not really known, prevented it, and made Peace with the *Hugonots* at *Bergerac*, whereby they were ſomewhat reſtrained in the extent of the Exerciſe of their Religion; *Montpelier* was exchanged for *Beaucaire*, and *Iſſoire* not reſtored to 'em.

Erouage taken by the League.

Peace made.

This done, tho there was ſtill but very little mutual confidence between the Parties, the King as ſecure from all Troubles, addicted himſelf wholly to State and Grandeur; and his Favourites poſſeſſing him with an Opinion, that all his Subjects Wealth was his own, and that *France* was inexhauſtible, it's incredible what vaſt Sums of Money he ſquandered away; he went alſo often in Maſquerade, was much amongſt the Women, and ſometimes diſguiſed in their Habits. And he made one Feaſt, wherein Women waited at Table in Men's Clothes of a Green Colour; and the Queen-Mother requited him with another of the ſame kind, where the faireſt Ladies about the Court acted the like part with their Boſoms open and Hair diſhevelled. The poor People ſuffered for theſe Extravagancies, and Money beſides muſt be got by the Creation of new Offices, while a ſet of *Italian* Comedians muſt be incouraged, notwithſtanding the Parliament of *Paris* forbad them to act.

The King luxurious.

Here to paſs over any Obſervations concerning the great Comet that appeared this Year, the ſame comprehending 30 Degrees in length, and its Tail turning towards the Weſt; and but juſt to mention the Death of that great Stateſman *Morvilliers* Biſhop of *Orleans* at *Blois* in *July*, as alſo of the Mareſchal of *Montluc*; I am to obſerve, there was open Enmity between the King, Duke of *Anjou* and Duke of *Guiſe*. The great Courage of the laſt, and the Weakneſs of

he other two made him almoſt their Equal; their Hatred broke out into Quarrels between their Favourites, and the King's Minions never ceaſed to exaſperate him by one Story or other againſt thoſe Princes, who now conſidering how to defend themſelves, and thereupon finding their own Strength and the King's Softneſs, from the defenſive they carried it to a far greater Height, than the moſt daring Thoughts durſt ever make them hope to attain.

Now whilſt the Queen Mother was in *Guyenne*, whither ſhe went to confer with the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Anjou* entred into a Treaty with the States General of the United Provinces; and the King having ſome Intimations of it, ſet Guards on him in the *Louvre*, from whence he eſcaped to *Mons*, and perfected the Treaty, whereby he promiſed to give the States all the aſſiſtance he could; to raiſe and maintain for three Months 6000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, and endeavour to bring the Queen of *England*, King of *Navarre* and *Caſimir* into this Alliance; while they promiſed, that wherever he were perſonally, he ſhould command in chief with the General of the States, and that if they accepted of any other Lord than the King of *Spain*, they would prefer him before all; that he ſhould have *Queſnoy*, *Landrecy* and *Bavais* for his Security; and if they could obtain a ſecure Peace, that they would reimburſe and honourably reward him. I will not meddle with this Low Country War, but juſt ſo far as *Anjou* was concerned; the firſt thing he did was to beſiege and take *Binſ*, and the Civility he ſhewed to the Gariſon made *Maubeuge* open her Gates to him, but the Inſolency of the Soldiers cauſed *Queſnoy* and *Landrecy* to ſhut up their Gates againſt him, for the vexation of which, he would not join his Army with thoſe of the States, tho he had already ſent 3000 Men under *la Noue* to them, but retired into *France*.

Anjou *treats with the States General.*

During *Anjou*'s Expedition into the *Netherlands*, 1578.
the King languiſhed ſtill in an unactive Idleneſs, and all he did was to make new Edicts called *Burſaux*, and to enforce the Verification of them; which indeed proved the chief Cauſes of this Prince's Ruin; for the People being much oppreſt thereby, their Affections

became alienated from him, and the Hands of his E[nemies] were ſtrengthened againſt him, toward[s] which the Inſolency of his Favourites did not alſo [a] little contribute.

1579. *Order of the Holy Ghoſt inſtituted.*

Finding nothing alſo material in reſpect to the King[dom] of *France* for this Year; I proceed to the next [year] and obſerve that the King without aboliſhing the Or[der] of *St. Michael*, inſtituted that of the Holy Ghoſt, of which he declared himſelf a Sovereign, and for ever united it to the Crown of *France*; the Feaſt wa[s] ſolemnized on the firſt of *January* with great Magnificence, the number of the Knights limited to an hundred, were to be nobly deſcended, not comprizing th[e] Eccleſiaſticks, which were four Cardinals, as many Biſhops, and the Officers; he would needs have thei[r] Knights called Commanders, he having reſolved according to the Example of the *Spaniards*, to attribute to every one of them a Commandery over the Benefices, to which the Pope and the Clergy refuſed their Conſents, however they ſtill retain the Name, and in lieu thereof, the King aſſigned each a Penſion of a thouſand Crowns to be paid out of the Treaſury.

In the mean while, the Negotiation of the Queen Mother with the King of *Navarre* took up more time than ſhe imagined, but he would do nothing without the Advice of the whole Party: But Queen *Margaret* having gained *Pebrac* her Mother's Counſellor, he explained and worded many Articles in favour of the Proteſtants, procured them divers Advantages, and even ſeveral Places for Security. After this, the Queen went to *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, from whence ſhe journied to *Provence*, where the Diſturbances were ſtill kept on foot between the *Raſats* and *Caciſtes*, the latter having the Gentry and the other the Commo[n] People and Parliament for them. At her return ſhe was waited upon by the Duke of *Savoy* at *Grenoble* who engaged her to confer with *Bellegard* at *Montlu[el]* who had for ſome time been diſſatisfied with the Court; but receiving Information here that the Favourites made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the King's Mind in her abſence, ſhe diligently returned to Court where ſhe found *Anjou* living at good terms with the King, without conſulting the haughty *Buſſy d' Amboiſe*

...o was at last killed by the Lord *de Monsoreau* in his ...stle of *Coutanciere*, at which Place he had compel-...ed his Wife to make him an Assignation; at what ...ing time the Duke of *Anjou* his Master was gone into ...next *England*, to make Court to Queen *Elizabeth*, tho to ...Or ...tle purpose.

...host, But to return again to the *Hugonots*, there were ...fo...rdly any left amongst them now but the common ...: wa...ople and Consistorians, that had any Zeal for Re-...agni...gion; the Prince of *Conde* being almost the only ...hun...n that was firm to their Principles; he had but an ...g th...fferent Understanding with the King of *Navarre*, ...gran...ce he being a serious and honest Gentleman, avoided ...thes... Libertinage, and had a Horror for the Frauds, ...d ac...se and impious Practices of some that pretended to ...ibut...r Religion: And as for *Navarre*, Queen *Margaret* ...Jenefi...s Wife found a way to manage him, but failing to ...thei...him to remove the Viscount of *Turenne* from his ...and...ence, she enraged hereat contrived all the ways ...ion o...could to trap all the brave Ones about her Hus-...ry. ...and in the Womens amorous Toils, and these in ...n Mo...were the Firebrands of the sixth Troubles, for ...tim...h reason it was called the *Lovers War*; for the *Civil War* ...ithou...g's Messengers coming to redemand the Places of *renewed.* ...rgare...urity, these Gossips set their Gallants entirely a- 1580. ...or, h...ft them; so that the King of *Navarre* breaking ...of th...pieces of Gold, sends two halves to *Chastillon* and ..., an...iguieres*, who commanded for them in *Languedoc* ...Quee...*Dauphine*, with Orders to begin the War, and kept ...nce s...ther halves himself. The Design it seems was com-...s wer...cated to *Conde*, who eager to get possession of his ...tes, th...rnment of *Picardy*, took *la Fere*, while the *Na-...ommo...is* got *Montaigu* and *Cahors*, one of whose Gates ...urn s...ing having forced open with a Petard, was yet ...renobl...ed by the brave *Vesins* who was here slain, and the ...Montlu...at last after an obstinate and long Resistance, ...ith t...ly sacked and overflowed with the Blood of the ...the Fa...tants in revenge of that of the *Hugonots*, which ...e King...ned in the Massacres of *St. Bartholomew*. But ...o Cour...disarmed Provinces of *Normandy*, the Isle of ...with t...e and others, refusing to contribute towards this ...Amboi..., and the *Rochellers* declining the same, as not ...w...ng it very just, things went but badly with them;

for the Mareſchal *de Biron* put the King of *Navarre* whole Forces to a full ſtop, then drove them into the Holds; he defeated 2000 of his Men near *Monter bel*, and drove the reſt to the very Gates of *Nerac*. the mean while, *de Lude* took *Montaigu* in *Poict* which was bravely defended; the Duke of *Ma* cleared almoſt all *Dauphine*, and brought *Leſdeguie* very low; and *Matignon* reduced *la Fere*, of whi *Conde* deſigned to make a ſecond *Rochel*; and the being abundance of young Perſons of Quality in t Camp before it, it was called the *Velvet Siege*. In t mean time, *Conde* ſollicited Queen *Elizabeth* in *E land*, the Prince of *Orange* at *Antwerp*, and *Caſimir Germany*, who made him Promiſes of Aſſiſtance wherefore he went by the way of *Switzerland* and *Ge va* amidſt a World of Dangers, and after being tak by *Banditti*'s (who did not know him) he got in *France*, and was a great means of reſtoring *Leſdeg eres* his Authority in *Dauphine*. On the other han *France* trembling and dreading nothing more than Army of *German* Horſe; the Queen Mother a *Alenſon* mediated a Peace, and the latter, that he mig be able to carry his whole Force into the *Low-Co tries*, from whence they ſent their Deputies to o him as their Prince and Lord, and his lawful Sons ter him.

Peace concluded. This done, he poſted to *Guyenne* to negotiate Peace, to which *Montpeſier* and *de Coſſe* alſo contri ting their Endeavours, the ſame was concluded towa the end of *Nov.* and certain Articles of the form Treaty explained, which they confirmed by this was further agreed, the King of *Navarre* ſhould h ſome Places for his Security; and to ſatisfy his Wi Paſſion, *Biron* was recalled from the Lieutenancy *Guyenne*, which was conferred upon *Matignon*. this Edict met not with ſo much Obſtruction either the Verification of it in Parliament, or Execution, the former ones had done, but was pretty punctua and quietly obſerved for near five Years.

1581. But *France* had ſcarcely taſted of the Benefit of t Pacification, when ſhe became afflicted with two cr Diſeaſes, which were the *Coqueluche* and *Plague*; firſt indeed laſted not above ſix Months, but the ot

ntinued in one Province or other five or ſix Years. t to proceed, the King during the Calm of Peace ſtead of fortifying himſelf ſtill grew weaker, and be-ame enervated by Idleneſs and vain Pleaſures; he had little Inclination to Women ſince the Death of the rinceſs of *Conde*, and his Adventure at *Venice*; his ree chief Favourites now were *Arques*, young *la Va-ette*, and *St. Luc*, which laſt forfeited his Favour by *K. Henry profuſe.* eavouring to cure him of his Deprivation, by a ve- ingenious Illuſion; the other two continued in full ower and without Rivals, and the King called them is Children: He made *Arques* a Peer by the Title of *oyeuſe*, as he did the other by that of *Eſpernon*, and arried him to one of his Wife's Siſters, whoſe Wed-ing was ſolemnized with ſuch Profuſion, that it coſt e King near 4000000 Livres.

To repair theſe Extravagancies, they were forced to ve recourſe to new Edicts, whereof there were no than two and twenty made in leſs than two Months; t the Parliament ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Verifica-n of them, and *St. Thou* firſt Preſident had once Courage to anſwer them, *That by the Laws of the nd, ſuch Things could not, nor ought to be done.* In mean while the Prince of *Parma* prevailing a-ainſt the United Provinces, laid Siege to *Cambray* prevent the *French* to relieve them: Hereupon *An-ou*, beſides a great many noble Voluntiers, having t together 4000 Horſe and 10000 Foot, advanced wards that Place, which *Parma* quitted, and retired to *alenciennes*; he then drove the Enemy out of *Sluice* d *Arleux*, and forced *Chateau Cambreſis* to a Sur-endry. This was all the effect of that bluſtering Ex-dition; after which the Duke went to purſue his urtſhip in *England*, with as much ſeeming, but as tle real Succeſs as before. At his Departure from *Netherlands*, part of his Army were diſperſed, but reſt by the way of *Calais* marched to join that of States: But tho the Duke of *Parma* conld not pre-t this Conjunction, yet he laid Siege to, and at laſt *Tournay* ſurrendered to him by the Princeſs of *Epinay*, who in her Husband's Abſence behaved her ſelf moſt gallantly in the defence of it. In the mean me *Anjou* being ſollicited to return from *England* into

the *Netherlands*, the States made him a magnificen
Entry into *Antwerp*, and first inaugurated him Duke o
Brabant, the Prince of *Orange* putting on the Duca
Hat and Mantle, which was Crimson Velvet lin'd wit
Ermins, then declared him Marques of the Hol
Empire, the Consul of *Antwerp* putting a Gold Ke
into his Hand, which he immediately returned; bu
he governed with little Satisfaction, he not liking tha
Article that obliged him to rule them, not according t
his own Will and Pleasure, but to Justice and the
Privileges.

D. of Anjou made Duke of Brabant, &c. 1582.

The *Flemings* also entertained some Suspicions of th
Duke, as if he were privy to the Design of shootin
the Prince of *Orange* with a Pistol, because the *Frenc*
that dined with the Prince that Day, immediately ki
led the Assassine; however while the Prince was un
der Cure, the Duke made his Entry into *Bruges* an
Ghent, where he received the Ornaments of Earl o
Flanders. This being over, and the States having bu
a little Money and a great many Garisons to main
tain, the Duke of *Anjou*'s Army, who could not b
above 4 or 5000 Men this Campagn, were divide
into three small Bodies to cover the greater Cities, in
somuch that the Prince of *Parma* did no great Fea
this Campagn; and *Anjou*'s Troops being much in
commoded with Distempers and other Inconveniencie
went soon into Winter Quarters.

Now the Passion the Queen Mother had for con
quering new Kingdoms, prompted her to cast her Ey
upon *Portugal*, which King *Philip* II. of *Spain* had b
fore seized for himself, under a Pretension of his ow
Right, upon the Death of *Don Sebastian*: But n
succeeding in her Claim, she fancied she might accu
mulate the Right and Title of *Antonio* the Bastar
with her own; wherefore having got him into *Franc*
the King allowed his Mother to pursue her Rights, an
to ecquip as many Ships as she pleased, which she la
boured at with much Application for the whole Ye
1581. The Men she sent to the *Azores* could do no goo
with those unruly Spirits, wao had at first declared fo
Anthony; however the *French* Fleet under the com
mand of *Strossy*, who had *Anthony* on board, lande
in the Isle of *St. Michael*, the only one of the nin

*

t held for the *Spaniard*, and defeated *Nogue-* then marched directly to the City of *Elgrade*; *Anthony* inſtead of ſtorming the Caſtle, which uld have done his Buſineſs in a great meaſure, amu- himſelf in acting the King amidſt the Acclamations the Mob, till the *Spaniſh* Fleet arrived, and anchor- under the very Caſtle it ſelf: The *French* outnum- Spaniards *defeat the* d them both in Men and Shipping, but there was French *at* a Confuſion and Miſunderſtanding amongſt them- *the* Azores. ves, that ſome eighteen of their Ships never fought; owever the Action laſted very ſmartly for two Hours, and at length the *French* Admiral was taken, barbarouſ- murdered in cold Blood before the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and for the Priſoners who were 300, beſides 80 Gen- lemen, he ordered the laſt to have their Throats cut, and the reſt to be hanged. *Anthony* after this misfor- ne returns to *France*, and there after another fruit- s attempt upon *Portugal* under the aſſiſtance of ueen *Elizabeth*, ſpent the Remainder of his Life un- the Protection of *Henry* IV. neither did another dy of Men ſent the next Year 1583, by the Queen other to the *Azores*, ſucceed better, and ſo we leave Deſign to drop.

But we have ſome things to obſerve in this, before *Calendar* come to the Tranſactions of the other, that the *reformed.* lendar was now regulated by Pope *Gregory* XIII. hich from him is called the *Gregorian* Account, and hereby he retrenched ten Days from this Year 1582. and ordered that from thenceforward, in every 400 ars, there ſhould be three Days of Biſſextile cut off, *viz.* one Day from each of the firſt to begin from the ar 1700. The Proteſtant Princes rejected this, as t owning the Authority, and followed the old *Juli-* Account. I ſhould mention alſo the Death of three nſiderable Perſons in this annual Revolution, *viz.* the ke of *Montpeſier*, Mareſchal *Coſſe*, and *Chriſtopher Thou* firſt Preſident.

But I am by no means to omit, that notwithſtanding onſiderable Reinforcement brought to *Anjou* in the *Netherlands*, things grew worſe and worſe with him; his Money and Credit were gone; he was diſtracted with two Religions and Factions, the King would do nothing at all for him, notwithſtanding the King of

Navarre offered King *Henry* to carry the War into the very heart of *Spain*, and to prevent all Jealouſy, make up his Army only of *Swiſs*, *German* Horſe from Countries in alliance with *France*, and of *French* both of the one and the other Religion; nay, he offered to leave the Command to ſome *French* Mareſchal of the King's own Nomination, and to ſend *Madam* his Siſter and the Prince of *Conde*'s Daughter for Hoſtages: But theſe Propoſals gave ſtill but the more umbrage, that there was a joint Intereſt concerted between him and *Anjou*, who for ſome raſh Words he had ſpoken in his Paſſion againſt the Favourites, was thwarted in every thing by them: Thoſe People that governed him had neither Honour nor Faith, who endeavouring always to keep him at Defiance with *Montpeſier* and other Perſons of Worth, ſpurred him on to Revenge, and to ſeize upon ſome Places. The Enterprize ſucceeded in the beginning of this Year upon *Dunkirk*, *Dixmude*, *Dendermont*, *Vilvord*, *Aloſt* and *Meenen*, but failed upon *Oſtend* and *Bruges*; at which laſt Place the Undertakers were ſeized, and confeſt *Anjou* was to ſeize *Antwerp*, and the Perſon of the Prince of *Orange*; at the ſame time the Duke knowing what had been done in other Places, would not defer ſeizing the *Korneberg* Gate of *Antwerp*, as had been concerted: wherefore going out under pretence of viewing his Army in their Camp, the Signal was given, and he had preſently a great many Men within the City, crying, *Kill, vive the Maſs, and the Town is our own*; but the Burghers ſtood ſo ſtoutly to it, and made ſo many Barricadoes and other Defences, and *Fervaques*'s Retreat being cut off, the Prince of *Orange* maſtered and led him away Priſoner with his Hands bound behind him; who had it not been for the Prince, had been torn to pieces as the Author of that infamous Treachery. The Duke loſt 1500 Men upon this occaſion, and there were 2000 ſhut within the City, who not only had Mercy ſhewed them, but in three Days time were ſent to the Duke with a great deal of Civility.

Anjou ſeizes divers Places in the Netherlands. 1583.

The Duke hereupon full of Shame and Confuſion retired with his Army ſtill about 10000 Men to *Bracken*, from whence he wrote Letters to the States full of Complaints of his ill treatment, which had thrown the

People to those Disorders; he expreſt his Good Will towards them, and deſired to have their laſt Reſolutions: They ſent ſome Deputies to him, and the Queen of *England*, Queen Mother and the King himſelf for the Honour of the *French*, interpoſed to allay the Fury of the *Flemings*, and palliate the young Prince's Fault. The States by a proviſional Treaty, agreed to give him 90000 Florins to pay his Army, provided he retired to *Dunkirk* and tarried there, whilſt they endeavoured an Accommodation, and in the mean time ſurrender *Dendermond* and *Dixmude*; but they coming to no ultimate Reſolve, the Duke after two Months melancholy ſtay at *Dunkirk*, embarked on the 28*th* of *June* for *Calais*, which with other things gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity to recover *Dunkirk*, *Newport*, *Furnes*, *Dixmude*, *St. Winox*, *Bergh* and *Meenen*, while *Biron* left the Country with his *French* Troops, and went to the Duke in the Country of *Cambray*; who we may ſay never enjoyed himſelf aright afterwards.

Court Factions.

In the mean time Factions were very rife at Court; *Joyeuſe* and *Eſpernon* levelled at this Prince, whoſe Grandeur was an Obſtruction to their vaſt Deſigns, and the *Guiſes* chimed in with them upon this Head: *Eſpernon* ſhocked the *Guiſes*, but *Joyeuſe* would hold in with them, becauſe of his Marriage into their Family; the Queen Mother hated all of them, but endeavoured for her own ends to introduce *Anjou* to the management of Affairs: On the other hand, *Joyeuſe* had a mind to have a ſhare of the Kingdom, and pitched upon *Languedoc*, to which he would have joined *Avignon*, and he endeavoured to get the Pope to excommunicate *Montmerancy* as a Favourer of Hereticks, to effect it; but tho he went to *Rome* on purpoſe to obtain it, he could not prevail. The *Venetians* finding the King ſtile him his Brother, in his Letters of Recommendation, upon his return rendred him as much Honour, as if he had been a Son of *France*: The Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Mantua* treated him in the ſame manner: But all this could not make him forget the Pope's Unkindneſs, which ſo ſtuck to him that he fell very ill, and ſo continued for a long time, whereby his Rival gained ſo much ground, that he might if he would eaſily have ſupplanted him.

The

The Carriage of this King *Henry* is very ſtrange upon other Accounts as well as to his Favourites; he made it his Buſineſs to defame his own Siſter *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, and to make the World think hard of her, and yet would force her Husband to receive her. In the mean time the Expences of the Favourites were exceſſive, which occaſioned ſuch a Scarcity of Money, that many times they had not enough to keep up the King's Diet; on which he called an Aſſembly of Notables at *St. Germain en Laye*, which was divided into three Chambers, each of which had a Prince of the Blood for a Preſident; it was well propoſed to ſet aſide the Sale of all Offices and Imployments, to aſſign a Puniſhment for all thoſe that ſhould invent any new Impoſts or Creations, to purge the King's Council of ſuch as had any Combination with the Financers, and to prevent all villanous clandeſtine Dealings by them. The Clergy forgot not to demand the Re-eſtabliſhment of Elections, and Publication of the Council of *Trent*; but they could obtain neither. As for the reſt, the King eſtabliſhed four Councils, *viz.* one for Foreign Affairs, another of State, the Council of Finances, and the Privy Council: They conſiſted of Military and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons beſides Lawyers; to whom the King preſcribed even the Faſhion of their Clothes both Winter and Summer, and aſſigned them 2000 Livres *per Annum* Salary. The Remainder of the Year was ſpent in theſe Regulations, during which the Cardinal *de Birague* died at the Age of 74 Years, who ſaid of himſelf, that he was a Cardinal without a Title, a Prieſt without a Benefice, and a Chancellor without the Seals; to which it may be added, that he was a Judg without Knowledg in the Law, and a Magiſtrate without any Authority.

Aſſembly of Notables.

All this while the King of *Spain* being apprehenſive, leſt the *Netherlands* ſhould give themſelves up to the *French*, endeavoured all he could to ſet *France* on Fire; and 'tis ſaid, that having found among *Don John*'s Papers a kind of Treaty between him and the Duke of *Guiſe*, he threatned the ſaid Duke to reveal his Secrets to the King, unleſs he would contract the like private Intelligence with him, and would at the

the ſame time have obliged him to take up Arms, to which he could by no means bring him; upon this he turned to the *Hugonots*, and offered the King of *Navarre* 50000 Crowns *per* Month, and 200000 Crowns advance, which he in ſome time communicated to King *Henry*; ſo that this Contrivance and Bait alſo failing him, he was continually at the *Guiſes*, to rivet themſelves more cloſely to him, to which end he let them ſee a Treaty of *Montmerancy*'s then in agitation, who being puſhed at by *Joyeuſe*, that had undertaken to thruſt him out of *Languedoc*, had ſecretly made Application to *Philip* for Protection: *Guiſe* would fain have brought *Anjou* in, for the Advantage it would have been to the Party, but he after ſome temporizing diſcovered the matter to the King; from which time forward languiſhing more and more, he died on the 10*th* of *June* this Year, being 300000 Crowns in Debt, and the King choſe rather to expend 200000 upon his Funeral than pay a Penny of them. 1584. Anjou's *Death.*

The Death of this Prince changed the whole Scene and Intereſts of the Court Factions; every Body was now ſenſible the King was uncapable of getting Children, and where the Succeſſion was then to go: The Queen Mother was for having her Daughter's Children by the Duke of *Lorain* to come to the Crown, and ſhe would fain have brought the King over to her Mind; but the Duke of *Lorain* careleſly ſeeming to take no notice of her Deſign, and puſhing on the Cardinal *Charles de Bourbon* before his Nephew the King of *Navarre*, King *Henry* conſidering all the Practices upon this account, to remove all, would fain have brought the King of *Navarre* back to the Church of *Rome*, before he called him to Court; wherefore he ſent *Eſpernon* to him, who ſtrove to perſuade him to it by Arguments of Intereſt, which are uſually moſt prevalent with Princes; but that Prince rejecting them, the League made uſe of it very much to his Diſadvantage, and told a thouſand Stories to render him odious both to the King and People; nay, when they had ſtained his Honour by all the wicked Inventions they could ſuggeſt, they began highly to extol the Piety, Courage and Goodneſs of the *Lorain* Princes, whom they termed Bucklers of their Faith, and Fathers of *Practices about the Succeſſion.*

their

their Country and People. Then having heated the Zealots, ſtirred up the Factious, and perſwaded the Simple, they began to raiſe and liſt Soldiers, hold Aſſemblies, chuſe private and nameleſs Chiefs, upon whoſe Summons they were to meet at certain Places to renew the League, firſt at *Paris*, then in the Provinces. *Nevers* took the moſt pains in it; in a few Months it grew formidable, and they would have the Pope countenance it by a publick Act, which he thought not fit to do. Indeed the extraordinary Oppreſſions of the People by Impoſts gave it a great ſtrengthening, the King having made Edicts for more than fifty Millions, of which not two came into his Coffers; and the Gifts this Year amounted to five Millions of Gold, and the Regulations the King pretended now to make did rather irritate than amend Matters: So that the King now obſerving how much the *Guiſes* had gained the Affection of the People, he ſhewed himſelf in publick, careſſed the Deputies from the ſeveral Cities, and the chief Burghers of *Paris*, aſſiſted at the Fraternities and ſolemn Maſſes: But this borrowed Humour was ſoon ſpent, and he ſhadowed himſelf within his Cloſet, as before. In ſhort, *Eſpernon* having now endeavoured to ſeize the Duke of *Guiſe*, he eſcaped to his Government of *Champagne*; and at *Jonville* a Treaty at laſt was concluded between the *Guiſians* and K. *Philip* in *December*, for the preſervation of the *Roman* Catholick Religion: That upon the Death of *Henry* III. the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ſhould ſucceed: That all Heretical Princes ſhould be excluded, and the Hereticks baniſhed: That the Council of *Trent* ſhould be obſerved. The King of *Spain* was to advance the Princes conſiderable Sums.

eaty between Philip II. *and the* Guiſes.

The League begin a Civil War. 1585. This League being concerted to the prejudice of the States of *Holland*, as well as the *French Hugonots*, they offered to put themſelves under the Dominion of K. *Henry*; upon which the *Spaniards* preſſed the Duke of *Guiſe* to declare himſelf. Wherefore having put the Cardinal of *Bourbon* into a ſecure Place at *Peronne*, he put forth his Declaration on the 18th of *March*, not ſigned by any; and then a ſecond ſigned by the Cardinal, with the Names of all thoſe Princes, Prelates and Officers, that he ſaid were his Aſſiſtants. Then fallin

falling to work, *Toul* and *Verdun* were ſurpriſed by *Guitand*, but they failed of *Metz*. *Guiſe* himſelf ſecured *Chaalons* and *Meziers*, with ſome others in *Burgundy*; *Aumale* moſt of the Cities of *Picardy*, *Briſſac* that of *Angiers*, *Entragues* that of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Main Dijon*, and the Nobility of the Country a great many Cities and Caſtles in *Dauphine*. However, they failed in their Deſign both upon *Bourdeaux* and *Marſeilles*, of which laſt Place the Duke of *Nevers* was deſigned Governour, for which end he was gone to *Avignon*, tho others ſay it was with a deſign to ſend to the Pope for the approbation of the League, without which he could not heartily join in it; nay, he went himſelf to *Rome* ſome time after, where finding the Pope ſtill averſe to the Motion, he utterly renounced the League; and thus having offended his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Guiſe*, he neceſſarily became his Enemy.

On the other hand, the King's Council did not all proceed upon the ſame foot: *Eſpernon* was for attacking the League without delay, others temporized, and the King at laſt, by his Mother's Perſuaſions, relaxed ſo far, that he gave her Commiſſion to go to *Eſpinay*, to find out the Duke of *Guiſe*, and treat with him; but he having craftily protracted time, till his Troops were ready, at length told her, That neither himſelf, nor his Friends would lay down their Arms, till they were ſatisfied in their Demands. In the mean while the King of *Navarre* put forth his Manifeſto to juſtify his Cauſe, and offered bravely to decide the Quarrel with *Guiſe* ſingle, or with Seconds, which the other declined, proteſting the great reſpect he had for the Birth and Merit of the King, with whom he had no Difference, only he intereſted himſelf for the Defence of the Catholick Religion.

Theſe Manifeſto's however had a good effect upon many Perſons; beſides which *Montpeſier* cut off 500 Men of the League under *Dron*; the Duke of *Joyeuſe* drove *Elbeuf* from *Tourain* to *Normandy*, and being attended with other Succeſſes againſt them, the *Guiſes* thought it now beſt for them to petition the King for an Edict againſt the *Hugonots*; but they broke off all Conference again, and quickly had recourſe to their Arms,

Arms, at which the King fell into ſuch a Conſternation, that he ordered the Queen Mother to agree with them upon any Terms: So that the ſaid Edict was granted them, and the full Command of the Armies to execute the ſame. They had alſo divers Cities, as *Chaalons*, *St. Diſier*, *Rheims*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, *Soiſſons*, *Dijon*, *Beaune*, *St. Eſprit*, *Rue*, *Dinant*, and *Concarneau*; the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Guiſe*, the Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Main*, and *Elbeuf*, each a Troop of Carbineers for their Guards, 100000 Crowns to build a Cittadel at *Verdun*, and double that Sum to pay the Men they had raiſed in *Germany*, as alſo a Diſcharge of what Money they had taken of the King's.

Peace with the Guiſes.

Navarre and *Conde* had hitherto lain quiet, but now they were neceſſitated to raiſe men in *Germany*, and league themſelves with *Montmerancy*; ſo that K. *Henry* thought it beſt to draw the King of *Navarre* to him, as a Bulwark againſt the League; but he would not comply, and change his Religion. In the mean time the Governours of the Provinces knowing the King's Mind, did not much preſs the Execution of the Edict againſt the *Hugonots*, whoſe General Word was, *Vive le Roy*, and their Liveries white Scarfs with *Flower de Luces*. In *Dauphine Leſdeguieres* took divers Places from them, and *Conde* laid ſiege to *Brouage*, where hearing the Caſtle of *Angiers* (that had been a little before ſurpriſed) was beſieged by *Briſſac* and *Joyeuſe*, he left a Blockade where he was, and haſten'd to the Relief of it; but the Place having been ſurrendred before his Arrival, when he thought to repaſs the *Loire*, he found ſix great Boats full of Soldiers upon the River, and 500 Horſe on the oppoſite Shoar, to cut off his Men as faſt as they ventured to paſs over. He likewiſe knew that *Briſſac* coaſted him, and that *Joyeuſe* was at his Heels; but he wiſely dividing his Army into ſmall Parties, they happily ſlipt away, with the loſs only of their Carriages and Baggage, and the Prince himſelf got ſafe over into *England*. This made the Forces before *Brouage* diſperſe upon the Approach of *Matignon*, as alſo thoſe under *Turenne*; ſo that in ſhort, the *Hugonots* declined, and had the worſt of it in all Parts: Wherefore many of them, for fear of the King's Edict, and the Oath of Abjuration,

Abjuration, left the Kingdom; all which made the King of *Navarre* unite more firmly with the Prince of *Conde*, ſome Months before which they were both excommunicated by *Gregory* XIII.

This Popiſh Thunderbolt, contrary to expectation, proved leſs injurious to the Prince than to the See of *Rome* it ſelf, both Papiſts and Proteſtants being thereby excited more narrowly to inſpect into the Authority it had over Sovereigns. Neither was *Henry* III. without ſome apprehenſion leſt this ſhould be a ſtep towards dethroning himſelf; ſo that he put a ſtop to it, and would not ſuffer it to be publiſhed in his Kingdom. However the King was obliged to ſet two Armies on foot againſt them, one under *Guiſe* towards *Champagne*, and another under *Mayenne*, who was continually thwarted by *Matignon*, according to private Direction: So that ſeparating at laſt, the Duke marched to *Perigord*, and the Mareſchal back to *Bourdeaux*, who next year beſieged the Caſtle of *Caſtels* upon the *Garonne*, while *Mayenne* had a deſign upon *Montauban*. But the King of *Navarre* forced *Matignon* to quit *Caſtels*, and the Prince of *Conde* returning from *England* with 10 Ships and 50000 Crowns lent him by Queen *Elizabeth*, diſengaged *Rochel*, which was in a manner blocked up, and ſurprized *Royan*, which yielded him 200000 Crowns annual Contribution. About this time the Prince married the Daughter of *la Trimoville*, whereby he engaged her Brother Duke *Claude*, and all the Friends of that Potent Houſe on his ſide: And while he was ruining the Harbour of *Brouage*, *Mayn* failed to ſurprize the King of *Navarre*, and *Matignon* beſieged *Caſtels* again, whoſe Surrendry was delayed by the Enmity between him and the Duke, who came to the Siege; but he falling really ſick at laſt, the Place was given up *May* 15*th*, upon Articles that were but ill obſerved. *Chaſtillon* was alſo ſurrendred to them in *June*, and ſome of the Inhabitants cruelly condemned to the Gallows by the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*; but the brave *Turenne* regained it the ſame Year by a Petard only.

Prince of Conde married. 1586.

Caſtels ſurrendred to the League.

Mayn after this grew weary, and laid down his Command, while the Duke of *Guiſe* on his ſide ſeized *Kaucour* and *Douzy*, as *Aumale*, with the *Picards*, did on

on *Dourlens* and *Pontdormy*, which is a Paſſage ov the *Soan* below *Pequigny*. On the other hand, t King having raiſed an Army to ſcour *Auvergne*, *V zelay*, *Givaudan*, and from thence to paſs into *Da phine*, deſigned to be commanded by *Aumont*, *Joyeu* the Favourite muſt not be denied to have it. *Eſperno* muſt alſo have the like, and a Government as well the other, who had that of *Normandy*: For *Proven* becoming vacant by the Death of the Grand Prio he was preſently veſted with it. But ſo many Forc not being to be maintained without a great deal Money, *Paris* contributed 200000 Crowns, and dive new Offices would have been created, if the Parli ment had not rejected the Edicts.

In the mean time the *Swiſs*, the King of *Denmar* and other Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, ſent a ſolem Embaſſy to the King to deſire him to grant a Peace the *Hugonots*, purſuant to the Edicts of Pacificatio to whom, after many Put-offs, he gave but a ver crude and diſobliging Anſwer. However, during the Delays he endeavoured to allay the Fervour of t League, and bring back the King of *Navarre*. T Queen-Mother was perpetually negotiating betwe them; and as for the Favourites, we are to obſerv that the Duke of *Joyeuſe* could do nothing that was ver material in the Field; but the Duke of *Eſpernon* w more fortunate, he had the *Hugonots* and ſome Mal contents under *Cadenet* and *Alemagne* to deal wi in *Provence*; but in a ſhort time he gained ſo mu advantage over either, that he became, at leaſt for t preſent, both Arbitrator and Maſter.

In *December* the Queen had a Conference with t King of *Navarre* and *Conde* at *St. Brie*; but her B of fine Ladies would not do, the Princes ſtood fir and ſhe on the other hand declared the King's Re lution was to have but one Religion in his Kingdo In the mean time the *Guiſes* finding the King did n care for them, they traduced him of being an E courager of Hereticks, and what not; while the P piſh Party grew more and more ſuperſtitious in th Proceſſions and other Trumperies, ſo that this Y was called, *The Year of White Proceſſions*: Nay, t King himſelf was ſo ridiculouſly devout, that the Co

False Devotions.

mon People were not to be wondred at; beſides which he amus'd himſelf with carving of Images, buying and breeding of little Dogs at a vaſt Charge, beſides Monkeys and Peroquets.

Now *Eſpernon* being raiſed to the higheſt Pinnacle of Favour, the *Guiſes*, to whom he was an Enemy, framed divers Projects to deſtroy him; but he had the Artifice to perſwade the King they were all Contrivances againſt himſelf, and therefore he was eaſily induced to keep about his Perſon that famous Band of forty five *Gaſcogns*, which made the *Guiſes* the more to fortify themſelves againſt all Attempts. But to paſs over this matter, the Winter Diverſions of the Court, and other things not worth obſervation, we'll advance to another Year, and ſee the Operations thereof.

At the return therefore of the Spring *Joyeuſe* became one of the hotteſt Heads of the League; he went and made War in *Poictou*, where he ſurprized two Regiments of *Conde*'s, and cut them off; after which he took *St. Maixan* and *Tonnay Charente*, then returned to Court, that he might not wholly loſe the King's Favour, which *Eſpernon* had almoſt engroſſed wholly to himſelf: But being in the King's Cloſet relating what Feats he had done, he was much damped with the News brought him thither by one of his Men, that the King of *Navarre* had defeated one part of his Army, and purſued the other as far as *la Haye* in *Touraine*. But the King's redoubled Favours towards his Rival troubled him moſt, he having married him now to *Margaret de Foix*, who had ſome Alliance with all the Princes of Chriſtendom. 1587.

Now the Proteſtants being offended with the King's Anſwer to their Ambaſſadors, in a great Aſſembly held at *Lunenburg* reſolved powerfully to aſſiſt the *Hugonots*, and upon a general Review near *Strasburg* had drawn together 6000 Horſe, 5000 Pikemen, and 6000 *Swiſs*: 4000 were already gone to *Leſdeguieres* in *Dauphine*, who were all cut to pieces near *Vizilles* by *la Valette* and others. Beſides theſe the Duke of *Bouillon* raiſed 2000 Foot, and 4000 *French* Horſe, without counting 2000 more of the ſame Nation. *Caſimir* appointed the Baron of *Doua* to command the Army, under whom were *Bouillon*, *Scrogel*, and others, who

A great Army of Germans raiſed for the Hugonots.

could by no means agree among themſelves.

The King was extremely uneaſy upon the approac of this Inundation of Strangers; he could no way ſatisfy *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*, but was unwillingly for ced to the War of the three *Henrys*, as they called it One of his Armies was commanded by *Montpeſier*, and ther by *Guiſe*, and the third he kept near his ow Perſon. The Confederate Army of *Germans* brak into *Lorain* thro the Straits of the Mountains of *Voſge* where that Duke, and *Guiſe* with all his boaſting could not draw together 10000 men; and having ra vaged that Country for a Month, they reſolved to pa the *Loire*: They ſtaid 10 days at *Baſſigny*, from whenc advancing towards the Head of the *Siene*, they paſſe it above *Chaſtillon* and *Le Yonne* at *Mailly*; but they re fuſed to paſs the *Loire* at *Navy*, as *Navarre* deſired and choſe rather to deſcend to *Beauſſe*, where ther was the beſt Forage, while the King lined the Bank of the *Loire* with his Army to prevent their havin ſuch another opportunity to paſs it. Near *Montarg* they had ſome hint of the great Victory obtained b the King of *Navarre*, who after his being return to *Guyenne*, was by expreſs Order from the King pur ſued cloſe by *Joyeuſe*, who was reinforced with 1000 Men, and *Matignon* was commanded to join him wit all his Troops; but *Joyeuſe* haſting to overtake the Kin before t'other could advance, came up with him betwe the *Drouge* and *l' Iſle*, in a Plain near *Coutras*, whe

The Battel of Coutras. both Armies drew up in Battel-array on the 20th *October* in the Morning, and furiouſly engaged. T Shock laſted but half an hour: The Princes Troo preſſed ſo hard upon the Enemies Horſe, that th were quickly cut in pieces, which made their Infant loſe their Courage, who were quickly put to the ro and moſt of them periſh'd by the Sword. *Joye* having generouſly reſolved to die by the Artille fell into the hands of two Captains, who killed h in cold blood, tho they were offered a Ranſom a Hundred Thouſand Crowns. All the Canno Baggage, Enſigns, and almoſt all their Chiefs, w loſt, beſides 5000 men dead upon the ſpot, of wh 400 were Gentlemen and Officers. The King of *N varre* had not above 25 or 30 Men miſſing: *Co*

unhorſed by *St. Luc*, who forced him to ask his Life, and preſently after ſurrendered himſelf Priſoner to the Prince, who would have the King now march and join the *Germans*, but neglecting this wiſe Counſel, his violent Paſſion for the fair Counteſs of *Guiche* drew him another way: So that the Foreigners ſeeing this, they began to treat about their leaving the Kingdom, and the rather becauſe of the Defeat of the *German* Horſe at *Auneau* by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who slew 2000 of them in the Streets and their Lodgings. But *Doua* bravely forced his way through the City Gate with his great Standard, and eſcaped. They received a ſecond check at the Bridg of *Gien*, and endured ſuch Fatigues in their March, that they were neceſſitated to accept of an Accommodation, wherein *Bouillon* would not be comprehended, but retired to *Turarets*; after which the chief Commanders were splendidly regal'd at *Marſigny* by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and then they marched home by different ways; the Prince of *Conti*'s Brother, with the Count of *Soiſſons*, with much difficulty got into the Country of *Main*; *Lorrant* went away with the *Swiſs*, and *Bouillon* to *Geneva*; but both of them died ſoon after, and the blame at *Marſigny* was accuſed for it. *Bouillon* left his eſtate to his only Siſter *Charlotte*, but required ſhe ſhould not marry without the Conſent of the King of *Navarre*, Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Montpeſier*, and made *la Noue* her Guardian; but there were great conteſts about that petty State and Lady, before ſhe could arrive there.

The Germans agree to return home.

In the mean time, the Catholicks chimed out the praiſes of the Duke of *Guiſe* in all Places, the Pope preſented him with a fine Sword, and the Duke of *Savoy* with a Suit of Armour, and this Elogy; *That belonged to none but* Henry *of* Lorain, *to call himſelf Head of the League.* All *Paris* ecchoed with the loud noiſe of his late Victory over the *German* Horſe: But for this he was extremely mortified to find the King of mind to pull him down, and advance *Eſpernon* his favourite to the higheſt pitch of Grandeur: He earneſtly ſolicited the Office of Admiral, vacant by the death of *Joyeuſe*, for *Briſſac*; but *Eſpernon* carried both that and the Government of *Normandy* for himſelf,

ſelf, beſides a great many other new Favours; whe
fore *Guiſe* in a great Aſſembly of his Houſe, and
Chief of the League, on the firſt of *Jan.* at *Na*
reſolved to addreſs the King that he ſhould be ſu
moned to join more openly with the League,
diſcard ſuch as were Enemies to the Publick, and
bettors of Hereſies, who ſhould be named to him,
cauſe the Council of *Trent* to be publiſhed, to eſtab
the Inquiſition, to command the Clergy to rede
their alienated Lands, to conſign ſuch Places as t
ſhould name into the Hands of certain Perſons wh
they ſhould build Forts, and to maintain an Army
the Frontiers of *Lorain*, to prevent the *Germans*
more returning into the Kingdom. The League
much ſtrengthened by the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*,
Villeroy the Secretary of State's joining in with the
as the *Hugonots* were weakened by the Death of
Brave *Conde*, who was a Prince of true Chriſtian
ety; and 'tis hard to diſtinguiſh, whether his Coura
Liberality, Generoſity, Love of Juſtice, Courteſy
Affability had the preheminence in him; the 5th
March was the fatal Day to him, who was villano
poiſoned by his own Domeſticks: The Judges wo
have made the Princeſs his Wife to be the Author,
nothing but her being with Child of a Son, could
that innocent Lady.

The Leaguers addreſs the King. 1588.

Conde's Death and Character.

Now there being ſixteen Perſons of the League, w
governed that Party in the 6 Wards of *Paris*; and
King reſolving to puniſh them, as Perſons that hate
ſome ſtrange Deſigns againſt his own Perſon, they
newed their inſtances to the Duke of *Guiſe* for a
tance, who from *Soiſſons* on *May* the 9th arrived
Paris, and was by the Queen Mother amidſt the
clamations of the People conducted to the *Louvre*:
Viſit was ſpent in Accuſations and Reproaches on
King's Part, and in moſt humble Submiſſions on
of the Duke's: There were inſtead ſtrange Amuſeme
Stories, Buzzings in the City, from whence the K
May 10th ordered all Strangers to depart, and
Houſes to be ſearched; againſt which ſome of the
riſians reſiſting, he ſent 5 or 6000 Men thither, and
ted Men in divers Places, but the City Companies
little, and his Soldiers were beaten off or hemme

Combuſtions in Paris.

y the Leaguers, and a great Hurly-burly there was eve-
y where in the City; however it were in reality with
he King and the Duke in their Hearts, the latter o-
itted an Opportunity of ſeizing the other's Perſon,
who fled to *Chartres*, while the Queen Mother ſtaid
t *Paris*, according to her wicked way, to keep up
hings in ſuch a tottering Poſture, that they might al-
ways ſtand in need of her Mediation. In the mean
ime the King wrote circular Letters to the Governors,
nd ſo did the Duke to his Friends, who now in *Paris*
ized upon the *Baſtile* and *Arſenal*, and on ſeveral
owns in the Provinces; *Aumale* ſecured all *Picardy*
or them except *Bologn*, which he attempted three
imes in vain: The Cardinal of *Guiſe* ſeized *Rheims*
nd *Chaalons*, but *Montpeſier* obviated their Deſigns up-
n *Normandy*; the Queen Mother perpetually treated
ith *Guiſe*, and made uſe of the Dutcheſs of *Montpeſi-*
, by whom the Duke was perſuaded to reconcile him-
lf to the King, and ſo the Leaguers in a penitential
abit, conducted by *Henry de Joyeuſe*, called *Father*
Angel, went to crave Pardon of his Majeſty at *Char-*
es. For the ſame end the Parliament ſent their Depu-
es, who repreſented their Concern he ſhould leave
aris, and begged him to return: He anſwered as to
he firſt, *That if he had deſigned to ruin the* Pariſians,
s they would have made the People believe, it was in his
ower to reduce them to Aſhes; and for the other, *He*
ould treat the Inhabitants of Paris *as Children that had*
ffended their Father, not as Slaves; but threatned to
ake away the Sovereign Courts, if they perſiſted in
eir factious Humour, and aſſured them he would aſ-
mble the Eſtates General before the Year's End for the
formation of the Government.

At the ſame time the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Party
avoured all they could to ruin *Eſpernon*, and the
en Mother chiming in with them, they wrought
upon the King, that he ſent him Word he muſt
away from Court for ſome time: But his Ab-
did not preſently calm the Tempeſt; *Villars*
d not deliver *Havre* to the King, and the Duke
Guiſe in the Agreement inſiſting peremptorily, for
aving *Orleans* to be one of the Places given for their
ecurity, the King was forced to give way to it; but

by a Subtilty unbecoming a great Prince, he afterward pretended the Secretary in the Tranſcript had miſtake *Orleans* for *Dourlans*; and this Conteſt proved on of the main Occaſions which led him to the greate Extremities againſt *Guiſe*.

Edict of Reunion. However the Treaty was concluded in *July*, and th *Spaniſh* Armado appearing on the Coaſt, he was fright ned to grant them the Edict of Re-union, whereby h renewed his Coronation Oath, ſwore to eradicate a Hereſies, never to make a Peace or Edict in favour the *Hugonots*, required all his Subjects to ſwear to i and that they ſhould acknowledg no Succeſſor f their Prince that was an Heretick or Favourer Hereticks, declared them Rebels that refuſed to ſig this Edict, and approved of all that had been done *Paris*, on the 12*th* and 13*th* of *May*, as well as elſ where, as proceeding from a pure Zeal for the *Roma Catholick* Religion: So that now all things ſeemed t be well between the King and the Leaguers.

In the mean time the King of *Navarre* was ende vouring to get the favour of *Rochel*; *Leſdeguieres* w ſucceſsful in *Dauphine*, with whom *la Valette* joined in a Offenſive and Defenſive League, while *Montmeran* ſigned the Edict: But all this while not totally to fo get *Eſpernon*, the Mayor of *Angouleſme* having O ders from the King to oppoſe his Entrance into *Angou leſme*, the Duke prevented the Courier, and got i wherefore the Mayor entred the Caſtle with ten M well armed, to ſecure him there in his Lodgings, u der pretence of bringing a Courier to him; but n going directly to his Chaſe, he miſſed his Prey, a

Eſpernon in Danger. with his Brother-in-law was ſlain: However both P ties armed in the City, but finding an abſolute Nec ſity for it, they came to an Accommodation; *Ville* was accuſed of counterfeiting Letters to deſtroy *pernon*, but the King clearly owned the Buſineſs; t he and others were ſoon after diſmiſſed by him, and ſeemed now prodigal of his Favours only to the L guers, declined the Cardinal of *Bourbon* the next kin to his Blood, and allowed the Clergy to g 500000 Crowns towards the Charge of the Armi one of which was commanded by *Main*, and the oth upon *Guiſe* his Refuſal by *Nevers*.

The King, who was all this while at *Chartres*, when he received the News of the Defeat of the *Spaniſh* Armada by the *Engliſh*, he went to *Blois* to take notice of the Deputies of the States as they repaired thither: The firſt Seſſion was opened on the 16*th* of *October*, wherein the Clergy had four Archbiſhops, 21 Biſhops, two Heads of Orders, and 134 Deputies: The Nobility had 180 in Velvet Gowns and Caps, and the third Eſtate had 191, partly Lawyers and partly Traders. The King knew before hand their Inſtructions were to diminiſh his Authority, and augment that of the States; wherefore in his Harangue he ſhewed his Reſentment againſt *Guiſe*, who by the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* made ſuch a violent Complaint to him, that he was obliged when he gave it to be printed, to retrench and alter divers things therein. At the ſecond Seſſions the King ſwore to the Edict of Reunion, would have it to be a Fundamental Law, and the three Orders confirmed it by their Oaths. It's a hard matter to reſolve whether this Prince was ſincere or no in theſe things: However it were, he was much offended with the Complaints of the Eſtates againſt the Government, that they demanded the Suppreſſion of new Offices, an abatement of the Tailles and Impoſts, the Puniſhment of the Treaſurers and Favourites, and that they would ſet up the Laws, whereby his Prerogative muſt be clipped, and their Liberties ſecured againſt the Invaſions which any of his Succeſſors might make upon them. *An Aſſembly of the States.*

The *Hugonots*, actuated by the ſame Spirit in an Aſſembly at *Rochel*, endeavoured to reſtrain the Power of the King of *Navarre*; for apprehending he might change his Religion, they required Protectors in each Province, and Courts of Juſtice to do them Right: The firſt he avoided, but the other he granted, tho he revoked it two Years after. But to leave them, and the Armies under the Duke of *Main* and *Nevers* to do no great Feats either in *Dauphine* or *Poictou*; we are to obſerve, before we proceed farther, that beſides what Diſtaſts have been already noted between the *French* King and his Eſtates, he was extremely concerned at their preſſing him to receive the Council of *Trent*, that their own Inſtructions or Memorials ſhould be conclu- *K. Henry uneaſy.*

ſive, but moſt of all at the Deputation they made to oblige him to declare the King of *Navarre* uncapable of ſucceeding. Neither could he be pleaſed at all, with the Pretenſions the Duke of *Savoy* now made to the Marquiſate of *Saluzzes*, where he took divers Places from *la Valette* the Governor, and in *Carmagnole* a vaſt Magazine with 400 Pieces of Cannon: He would charge the Duke of *Guiſe* with this, tho he was really innocent of the matter, and endeavoured all he could to convince him of it.

In the mean time, the King fell into great Aſtoniſhments and inexpreſſible Thoughts of Deſpair; nay, he would ſometimes lay the whole weight of the Government upon the Queen Mother, and during theſe Intervals or Weakneſs of Spirit, ſeemed to have an intire confidence in the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſo far as to take the Sacrament together; but ſoon repenting of that, and growing credulous and extremely ſuſpicious, he once for all reſolved upon his Death: The Mareſchal *d' Aumont* would have him tried in a legal way; *Grillon* refuſed to aſſaſſinate him; but this was the way the King would have him diſpatched, and no other; the Reſolution could not be kept ſo private, but it was known to many, and the Duke had notice of it a hundred ways, with the particular Circumſtances thereof: But the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* making him believe all theſe Reports tended to frighten him away, ruin his Reputation, and ſo judicially proceed against him in his abſence, he would not ſtir, but imprudently lodged in the Caſtle. The Council ſat in the Hall of the Caſtle near the King's Chamber, which was two Story high, and where the King had ordered little Cells to be built in the Night for his *Gaſcoin* Guards or *Forty Five*: So that the Duke in the Morning about Eight, going with the Cardinal his Brother, the Biſhop of *Lyons* and others to the Council-Chamber, the King ſent to ſpeak with him in his Chamber; but he

D. of Guiſe *ſlain.*

was beat in the Paſſage by nine of thoſe Guards, and after having received 12 or 15 Stabs, was ſlain. This done, *Aumont* ſeized the Cardinal and Archbiſhop, as others did the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, Prince of *Joinville*, Dukes of *Nemours* and *Elbeuf*, with divers others. At the ſame time

leu Grand Provoſt of the Houſhold, entred the Council-Chamber, and bawling out as if they would have murdered the King, ſeized the Preſident *de Nully*, the Provoſt and two Sheriffs of *Paris*, while others got out in great Confuſion, and ſome made a ſhift to get to *Orleans*.

This done, thoſe that were the Enemies of the *Guiſes* would not let the King alone, till the Cardinal was alſo diſpatched, and his and his Brothers Bodies were burnt to Aſhes. *Pericard* the Duke's Secretary ranſomed his Life at the Price of his Maſter's Secrets: There were but a few People that gloried of having a hand in this Tragedy; however 'tis remarkable, that thoſe who were moſt obliged to the Houſe of *Guiſe* were the main Inſtruments of their Deſtruction, and that they were baſely drawn into the Snare under the Publick Faith. After the Maſſacre was over, the King ſaid to his Mother, *Madam, now I am a King indeed*; but ſhe made him anſwer quickly, *He was not yet in the Condition he thought himſelf to be in:* And it was not long before he found this fully confirmed, by the Non-obedience paid to the Orders he had ſent abroad to ſeize the Heads of the League; for the Duke of *Mercœur*, by Intelligence from Queen *Loviſa* his Siſter, prevented their taking of him at *Nantes*; *Main* went from *Lyons*, and made himſelf Maſter of the Citadel of *Chaalons* in *Burgundy*; the People of *Orleans* armed againſt their Governor *Entragues*, and the ſixteen Chiefs having kept the News private till they had ſecured the Gates of *Paris*, made *Aumale* Governor; and when they heard *Orleans* had declared, and *Main* in *Burgundy*, they withdrew from the King's Obedience, whom they now called *Henry de Valois:* Nay, things were carried on with that Exceſs of Heat and Paſſion, that the Faculty of Divinity upon a Conſultation, declared the *French* were diſcharged of all Oaths of Fidelity and Obedience to *Henry de Valois*, and that they might with a ſafe Conſcience take up Arms againſt him. *Harlay* the firſt Preſident of the Parliament, and others oppoſed theſe Pretences, but *le Clerk* confidently reading over a Liſt in Court of ſuch as he had Orders to arreſt, and naming the Preſident, and ten or twelve more, all the reſt followed them moſt generouſly

The Kingdom all in Diſorder. 1589.

ly to the *Baſtile*. It's impoſſible to expreſs the Confu-ſion wrought by theſe Proceedings; but the League having reformed the Parliament to their Mind, the firſt Act they required of them, was a Declaration to be ſworn to by all Perſons for the Preſervation of Religion and the Publick Tranquillity; then they obliged them to receive the Petition of the Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*, for Informations concerning the Death of her Husband. The King making Oppoſition to theſe Proceedings, commanded *Aumale* out of *Paris*, interdicted the Parliament and all other Judges to exerciſe any Juriſdiction, and declared the Revolters guilty of Treaſon, and haſtily transferred the Parliament, and Chamber of Accounts by an Edict to *Tours*, that of *Roan* to *Caen*, and the Univerſity and Preſidial of *Orleans* to *Beaugency*. In ſhort, the King ſhewed himſelf very unactive, and ſo gave his Enemies Opportunity to do what they would.

Queen Catherine de Medicis's Death.

It could never certainly be known, whether the Queen Mother had any hand in the Murder of the *Guiſes*, but 'tis certain the King would never after communicate any Affairs to her; ſo that ſhe languiſhed away and died on the 5*th* of *January* with this infamous Character, *That ſhe never did any Good but by miſtake.* The King on his part, finding all Parts in Commotion, diſmiſt the Eſtates on the 20*th* of the ſame Month, with Marks of his Favour to divers of them, which now ſignified little; then transferring all his Priſoners from *Blois* to *Amboiſe*, except the Duke of *Nemours* who made his Eſcape, he had News on the laſt of *January*, that the Citadel of *Orleans* had ſurrendered to the Citizens; he heard almoſt at the ſame time, that *Paris* had drawn in all the Towns and Paſſages round about them, except *Melun*; that all thoſe in *Normandy*, except *Pont de l' Arche*, *Diep* and *Caen* had declared for the League; that *Bois-Daufin* had ſtirred up the Country of *Mans*; that the Duke of *Maine* was Maſter of all *Burgundy*, except *Semur* and *Flavigny*; and that *Lyons* had choſen the Duke of *Nemours* for their Governor; *Tholouſe* alſo revolted, and ſlew ſome of its Magiſtrates; the *Pariſians* and the Dutcheſs of *Montpeſier*, not agreeing well with the Duke of *Aumale*, invited the Duke of *Main* to *Paris*, a

Champag

Champagne being on his ſide, except *Chaalons*.

The People of *Paris* were ſo enchanted with the Memory of the Duke of *Guiſe*, that they would needs make the Duke of *Main* his Brother King; but he having well conſidered the matter, took all the Precautions to prevent it; however they conſtituted him Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of *France*, but limitted his Power to the meeting of the General States on the 15*th* of *July*; they cauſed new Seals to be made, that on the one ſide had the Flower-de-luce, but on the other an empty Throne with theſe Words, *The Seal of the Kingdom of* France: They made ſeveral Reglements for the better management of this Revolt, which they called a Revolution, which the Heavens, they ſaid, ſeemed to authorize; becauſe States have their Periods as well as Men, and the Reign of *Henry* III. ought to be the Climacterical, he being the 41*ſt* King ſince *Pharamond*. To this pretended Order ſucceeded a General Diſorder throughout the Kingdom, there being nothing to be ſeen but Robberies, Seizures and what not: Diviſions reigned every where, even to private Families.

The King in *March* retired to *Tours*, ſent the Cardinal of *Bourbon* Priſoner to *Chinon*, the Prince of *Joinville*, now Duke of *Guiſe*, to *Tours*, and the Duke of *Elbeuf* to *Loches*, while *Aix*, *Arles* and *Marſeilles* took the Oath to the League. On the other hand, *Main* lived diſſolutely enough at *Paris*, even to the contracting of that with a Lady of Pleaſure, which becauſe his Time would allow of no other than palliative Remedies, made him lumpiſh and unactive, and it conſequently ſtupified the whole: However Count *Randan* debauched *Rion* and part of *Auvergne* to the League, as the Duke of *Merceur* did all *Bretagne*, except *Vitre* and *Renes*; *Limoges* continued obedient to the King, *Civil Broils.* *Matignon* did him good Service at *Bourdeaux*, and ſince the King of *Navarre*'s Return to *Rochel*, he had taken *Maran* and *Niort*; likewiſe the Cities of *Loudun*, *Thovars*, *Monſtreville*, *Liſle*, *Bouchart*, and even *Chaſtelraud* it ſelf opened their Gates to him; from thence he advanced to *Argentor* in *Berry*, to aid that City that held for the King, againſt the Caſtle that was for the League, which made *la Chaſtre* ſo jealous,

that

that he declared for the League, and the City of *Bourges* with him. The King would now fain have courted the aſſiſtance of this Prince, but was diſſwaded from it by the Duke of *Nevers*; neither was *Navarre* very forward to comply, for fear he might be ſacrificed to appeaſe the Fury of the League; but *Mornay* at length removed all Obſtacles between them, upon condition the Treaty ſhould not be divulged, till the King of *France* ſhould think fit: It imported a Year's Truce, during which *Navarre* was to aſſiſt him with all his Troops, and give him up all the Places he took from the Common Enemy; while he was to have reciprocally *Pont de Ce* upon the *Loire*, and one Place in every Bailiwick as a Retreat for his ſick Men.

Confederacy between the two Kings.

The Pope's Monitory.

The Pope's Legate would hereupon have perſuaded the Duke of *Main* to an Accommodation; while the King on his part finding them ſtill obſtinate, cauſed the Truce, tho with much Repentance, to be publiſhed; he had endeavoured alſo to ſet things to rights in the Court of *Rome*; but they coming to underſtand at the ſame time that there was a Confederation between the two Kings, let fly a Monitory, commanding the Releaſment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and in default thereof declared he incurred the Cenſures of the Church, contained in the Bull of *Cœnæ Domini*, of which he could not be abſolved but by the Pope himſelf, unleſs at the point of Death, or upon giving Security to make Satisfaction: He was alſo cited to appear perſonally at *Rome* within 60 Days, with a great deal more ſuch inſolent Stuff. The King foreſaw this, and therefore the King of *Navarre* had *Saumur* upon the *Loire* given him, and the two Kings met on the 30*th* of *April* at *Pleſſis les Tours*. Their Reſolution was to attack *Paris* the Head of the League, and they reckoned upon great Aſſiſtances from the *Hugonots*, *Engliſh* and *Swiſs*; and then they parted after two days to make their reſpective Preparations.

Adventures of War.

The two Parties in the Provinces had had divers Rencounters: *Santour* a Royaliſt was defeated by *Hautefort* at *Mere* upon the *Siene*; but the Duke of *Montpeſier* at *Falaiſe* gave the Leaguers under *Briſſac* a more conſiderable Overthrow, and then marched and rooted

ed them out at *Vimontier*, *Bernay* and *la Chappelle-Gautier*, and made them that were not knocked on the Head, return to their Ploughs again. On the other hand, the Duke of *Main* took the City of *Vendoſme* by the Treachery of *Beuchard* the Governor; and the Count of *Brienne* was taken Priſoner at *St. Ovin*, after all his Cavalry had been cut off: The King of *Navarre*'s Abſence made way for the Duke of *Main* ſoon after to attempt *Tours:* He got thither on the 8*th* of *May*, and the King himſelf, who was gone out to walk towards *Marmouſtier*, miſſed narrowly of being ſurprized by ſome Light Horſe; he took the Suburbs called *St. Symphorien*, but *Chaſtillon* in the Evening arriving with the King of *Navarre*'s Forces, intrenched himſelf in an Iſland over againſt the City; upon which the Duke at break of next Day marched ſilently off towards *Anjou:* Hereupon the King's Friends taking Courage, he deſired *Navarre* to attempt *Orleans*, ſent *Soiſſons* to ſecure *Renes* in *Bretagne*, and he went himſelf on a Progreſs to *Poictiers*; but *Orleans* would not ſtir, *Soiſſons* was taken Priſoner by *Merceur*, and the King did not find that Reception in *Poictiers* which he expected; ſo that returning to *Tours*, and growing careleſs, the King of *Navarre* ſtirred him up to action again, to which the Good News of the Defeat of *de Saveuſe* and *de Broſſe* by *Chaſtillon* near *Bonneval*, did ſomewhat contribute; as did alſo the gaining of the Battel of *Senlis*. *Tore*, who had great Influence over the City, having reclaimed them to the King's Service, *Aumale* would needs ſet upon it; now the very ſame day they had capitulated to ſurrender, *la Noue*, and the young Duke of *Longueville*, who had drawn together about 10000 Men to go and meet the *Swiſs* raiſed by *Sancy*, and others, briskly attacked *Aumale*'s Camp, and quickly defeated him with the Slaughter of about 2000 of his men upon the Place, and almoſt as many in the Woods of *Chantilly* were knocked on the Head by the Peaſants, beſides 1000 Priſoners taken with all their Baggage and Artillery: After which the Victors marched along even by the very Gates of *Paris*, poured ſome Vollies of ſhot into it, and then put ſome Proviſions into *Vincennes*.

The Battel of Senlis.

Main

Main hereupon, after he had reduced *Alenſon*, and recovered *Montereau*, that had been ſurrendred to *Eſpernon*, marched to cover *Paris*, and it was time for the King's Army was already advanced to, and had taken *Pontoiſe* by capitulation. The King at the ſame time had notice of 10000 *Swiſs*, 2000 *German* Foot and ſome Light Horſe that were come to *Poiſſy* to his Aſſiſtance; with which Reinforcement, if he had followed the Advice of the King of *Navarre* and others he might quickly have maſtered *Paris*. The Duke of *Main* on his part took all the Precautions to ſecure it; but there being a great many Royaliſts within and a Multitude of other Cauſes concurring to incline the Citizens to an Accommodation, *Main* was reſolved to try to force his way thro the Enemy with 4000 Men, when an Accident as dreadful as it was unforeſeen, ſnatched him from the very Brink of that Precipice.

James Clement, a *Jacobin* Friar, by whom ſet on is no ways certain, having obtained a Paſs-port from Count *de Brienne*, and counterfeit Letters of Credence from Preſident *de Harlay*, to go to the King, he was on the Road met by the Sollicitor-General *la Gueſle*, who underſtanding he had Buſineſs of great Importance, introduced him into his Chamber next Morning; where as the King was reading the Letters he delivered him, he drew a Knife out of his Sleeve, and thruſt it into his Belly: The King pulled the Knife out himſelf, and gave him two Blows; *Gueſle* imprudently ſtruck him on the Forehead with the Pummel of his Sword, and ſo he was preſently diſpatched by two or three of the Guards. The King died next day, which was *Aug.* 2. at four in the Morning, having been viſited the Evening before by the King of *Navarre*, with whom he could not converſe; however he embraced him ſeveral times, called him his good Brother and lawful Succeſſor. This Prince when he died, was in the 11*th* Month of the 39*th* Year of his Age, and the 2*d* of the 16*th* of his Reign: And having no Children by Queen *Loviſa*, with him ended the Branch of *Valois*, who had reigned 161 Years, and furniſhed *France* with 13 Kings that had a great many good Qualities; but to ſay the Truth

Henry *III.* *murdered.*

Truth, not overfortunate in War, tho they acquired Dauphine, *Burgundy*, *Provence*, and *Bretagne*, and expelled the *Engliſh* out of *France*, after a War of 130 Years together with various Fortune and Succeſs. But they began to burden the People with Taxes little known before, alienated the ſacred Demeſnes of the Crown, allowed *Plebeians* to poſſeſs Fiefs, took away Canonical Elections to Benefices, introduced the Venality of Offices, and even of Nobility; multiplied Offices of Juſtice, and of Finance; compoſed a great Number of Reglements and Ordinances, changed the Antient Militia of the Kingdom to keep up a Standing Army, levelled the Power of the great Lords; introduced Women to the Adminiſtration, and in ſhort made divers other Alterations, which we will leave undecided, whether they have been more profitable or prejudicial to the Government.

CHAP. II.

The Reign of HENRY IV.

THIS Prince who was akin but in the tenth or eleventh Degree to the laſt, tho the next of the Maſculine Line, during the Night between the ſecond and third of *Aug.* whilſt his Predeceſſor was in his greateſt Agony, held ſeveral Councils tumultuarily in the ſame Houſe with his moſt cordial Servants; and when he ſaw the King expire, retired to his Quarters at *Meudon*, followed by a good Number of the Nobility, more out of Curioſity than Affection: Some ſwored, tho a few, ſwore Allegiance to him, without any Conditions: *Biron*, the moſt conſiderable and meritorious Perſon there, ſuppoſing the Kingdom muſt have been diſmembred, propoſed to have the County of *Perigord*, tho preſently again he renounced the Deſign, and at *Sancy*'s Motion, and went with him to Geneva, made the *Swiſs* to remain in the new King's Service, which was a great Advantage to him, but he could expect little from the Princes of the Blood; the 1589.

Lords

Lords of the late King's Court were not well inclin
towards him, neither were the *Hugonots* without J
louſy leſt he ſhould change his Religion, and lea
them: So that he did not know whom to adviſe wi
or what to do; but in an Aſſembly of Nobility th
met over againſt his Lodgings, they ſent the Duke
Longueville to declare to him, that the Quality
Moſt Chriſtian being eſſential to a King of *Fran*
they intreated him to take up the Crown with th
Condition; they further agreed they might own hi
in caſe he ſhould inſtruct himſelf within ſix Month
that in the mean time he ſhould forbid the Exerciſe
the new Religion; that he ſhould admit none to Co
mands or Offices that did profeſs it, and ſhould ſuf
the Nobility to ſend their Deputies to the Pope,
make him ſenſible, and allow of the Reaſons whi
obliged them to remain firm to his Service. The Ki
readily agreed to all theſe except the ſecond Hea
However *Eſpernon* and *Vitri* forſook him, and the
ample of the firſt was the Cauſe that the great
part of the Army disbanded, which the King reſent
as long as he lived.

Propoſals to the King.

On the other hand, the Leaguers at *Paris* ma
Publick Rejoicings for *Henry* the Third's Death; b
when they were a little come to themſelves, they w
of Opinion they ought not to admit of an hereti
Prince to inherit the Throne of *St. Lewis*. T
Duke of *Main* did not indeed well know what to
ſolve upon, his Friends were for having him procla
ed King; others would have him make terms w
King *Henry*, while ſome would require him to obl
the King to return into the Boſom of the Church,
proceed to elect another in his Room: But he re
ting all theſe Motions, reſolved to proclaim *Cha*
Cardinal of *Bourbon*, King. Hereupon the Ki
finding there was no good to be done with *Ma*
marched for *Normandy* to receive the *Engliſh* S
cours: The moſt affectionate to the Publick Liber
were for having the States decide the Important
fair of the Crown; the King ſummoned them
meet at *Tours*, and *Main* at *Paris*; and both ma
as many Friends as they could: The two Princes w
both valiant, and near of the ſame Age; *Main*
repu

inclin[ed] ...uted the better Commander, but ſoon loſt it for
...ut Je...t of Activity; neither was his ſullen Gravity plea-
...d le... to any, and the ill management of his Money
...ſe wi...e him be in the want of it, when moſt in need:
...ity t...ereas the King on the contrary was full of Careſ-
...Duke...affable, familiar, active and vigilant, and lay
...ality ...ſo long in his Bed, as the Duke ſat at his Table.
*Fran...*s for the two Parties, that of the League was
...ith t...h the ſtronger; the beſt Cities and all the Parlia-
...wn hi...ts, except *Renes* and *Bourdeaux* were on their
...Month..., beſides all the Eccleſiaſticks, the Aſſiſtance of *The League ſtronger.*
...erciſe...n, Incouragement of *Rome*, and all the Catholick
...o Co...ces, *Florence* and *Venice* excepted. The Royal
...ld ſuf...y had moſt of the Gentry, the late King's Offi-
...ope, ...all the Proteſtant Princes, and the *Hugonots* with
...s wh...r old Soldiers, who did the King very ſignal Service:
...he K...However he had for the preſent but 3000 *French*
...Hea...Foot, two Regiments of *Swiſs*, and 1200 Horſe;
...the ...ching therefore into *Normandy* as aforeſaid, the
...great...vernor delivered up *Pont de l' Arche* to him; he
...reſent...ſure of *Diep* and *Caen*, which incouraged him to
...ge *Roan*, whither *Main* haſtened with 4000 Horſe
...13000 Foot, which made the King decamp, and
...th; ...went and took the City of *Eu*. But he was amazed,
...ey w...n told the Enemy had paſſed the *Seine* at *Vernon*,
...nereti...h made him think it very adviſable to retire un-
...the Cannon of *Diep*. Here *Main* thinking he had
...at to ...in the Pound, ſent word of it every where; up-
...roclai...which the Parliament of *Tours* was ſo concerned, Henry *cooped up* at Diep.
...ns w...they ſent Deputies to propoſe to the King, to aſ-
...o obl...ate the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* to the Crown;
...arch, ...the King himſelf was ſo ſenſible of his Dan-
...he re...that had it not been for *Biron*, he would have
*Cha...*e over for *England*. His Quarters were at the
...he K...rough of *Arques*; *Main* being poſted on the Hill
...*Ma*...he Right Hand, attacked the Suburb *du Polet* in
...*liſh* S...: Then thinking to gain the King's Retrench-
...Liber...ts, he loſt 500 Men, and then marched 7 or 8
...tant ...gues off, but ſuddenly returned to attack *Polet* a-
...them ..., tho he did it; but very coldly, and at length
...th ma...ched off for good and all towards *Picardy*.
...ces w...he Duke of *Main* having upon this occaſion be-
...*lain* ...yed his own Weakneſs and the League's, it gave
...repu...

the Royaliſts ſo mean an Opinion of them, and ſ
good an one of themſelves, that henceforward the
made no difficulty of ſtanding their Ground an
where, but alſo followed and ſought them out with u
equal Forces. However, beſides what has been alread
noted in reſpect to the State of the Party, as to F
reign Friends and Alliances; and to ſay nothing of th
France divided within it ſelf. Pretenſions of the Duke of *Lorain* to the Crown ſ
his Son the Marqueſs *du Pont*, to little purpoſe; w
will a little take notice of the Diſpoſition of the Pr
vinces: The Duke of *Merceur* was Maſter of the be
ter part of *Bretagne*; *Normandy*, *Picardy* and *Cha
pagne* were almoſt all Leaguers; *Burgundy* was ke
quiet under the Command of the Duke of *Ma*
ſaving that in the following Year *Tavanes* a Roy
liſt took ſome Caſtles there: The greateſt part
Guyenne obeyed the King's Commands; the Count
along the *Loire* was much embroiled, *Berry* and *Or
annois*, as alſo *Main*, *Perche* and *Beauſſe* were for t
League, *Tourain* and *Bleſois* for the King; *Montm
rancy* had ſecured for him that part of *Norma*
whereof he was Maſter; in *Provence* the Parliame
and *la Valette* made War againſt one another: T
Duke of *Nemours* held *Lyons* and *Vienne*, and *d'
bigny*, *Grenoble* with ſome petty Towns for the Leagu
Leſdiguieres Head of the *Hugonots*, and *Dorm*
Head of the Catholick Royaliſts, being allied to
ther, maſtered almoſt all the reſt of *Dauphine*:
Auvergne, Count *Randan* a zealous Romaniſt ſecu
Limagne, but moſt of the Lords of the Province ſto
ly reſiſted him.

Henry attacks the Suburbs of Paris. Now the *Pariſians*, who thought they were ſure
taking the King at *Diep*, were ſtrangely ſurprized
ſee him with a Reinforcement of 4000 *Engliſh*, a
a long March, come upon *All-Saints* Day to force t
great Retrenchments of the Suburbs of *St. James*
St. Germains, and then the Suburbs themſelves, wit
much Vigour, that he might have entred the C
had his Cannon come up ſoon enough to beat the G
open. *Main* having heard of the King's Appro
diſpatched *Nemours* thither, and arrived next
himſelf with the groſs of the Army; upon which
King drew off to *Linas*, and at laſt to *Vendo*
W

ich he took, and ordered the Governor to loſe his ad. After this the King marched to attack *Mans*, ere *Bois-Daufin* and the Gentry in it made leſs re- nce than was expected; in ſhort, the League in *ou*, *Main* and *Tourain*, could preſerve only *la te Bernard*, which the King left alone, being more nt upon the Reduction of *Normandy*. *Succeſsful in* Anjou, *&c.*

n the mean time Pope *Sixtus* ſent Cardinal *Caetan* Legate into *France*, where he arrived in *Nov.* ſo ught with an Opinion of his great Power and Con- t, that he thought to diſpoſe of all *France* at his Pleaſure: He publiſhed his Brief containing the bject of his Legation, but there being no mention e therein of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, *Main* was eſt with ſome Fears, leſt the Pope and *Spaniard* agreed to make ſome other Perſon King, and con- ently make him loſe that Authority he ſhould pre- e under the Name of that Cardinal; and there- he haſted before the Legate's Arrival at *Paris*, to him ſolemnly declared King, and from thence ard they began to adminiſter Juſtice in the Name *Charles* X. the Title and Power of Lieute- General being ſtill reſerved to the Duke of *Main*. *Cardinal of* Bourbon *declared King.*

here were four different Factions in *Paris*, beſides *Royaliſts* who durſt not openly appear, *viz.* the *icks*, the *Lorainers*, the *Spaniolized*, whom the *vian* Gold had blinded, and the *Fourth* were for the rty of the Subject, and for reſtraining the Pre- tive within the Bounds of the Law. The *Spani-* at firſt promiſed much to themſelves, and therefore *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Mendoza* propoſed, that his ter might be choſen Protector of the Holy Uni- but *Main* oppoſing this, they continued from eforward but at ill terms one with another. In mean time the Duke being reproached by the *Pa-* that he did nothing with his Army, he took the in *Nov.* gained *Bois de Vincennes*, and ſome other es upon Articles, beſieged *Pontoiſe* in *Jan.* which 1590 but a poor Defence, and then went to attack *lanc*. The King in the *Interim*, having reduced ſt all the Places in *Normandy*, when he was infor- of the Siege of *Meulanc*, he haſted thither with

part of his Troops, put ſome Relief into the For and in a few days after came up with his whole Army and in order to draw the Duke off, attacked *Poiſſ* took the Town by *Eſcalado*, and fell to batter th Bridg; the Duke ran thither upon the noiſe of th Cannon, and could no ways ſtop their Fury but b breaking down two Arches of the Bridg; wherefo the King having done what he deſired, went and lai Siege to *Dreux*.

The King all this while preſſed for a Conference t be inſtructed in the Romiſh Religion, tho he wro the quite contrary to the Proteſtant Princes, ſo th many of his Enemies began to favour him; but t Faculty of Theology condemned theſe Propoſition That it was lawful to agree with the *Bearnois* (as the called him) to own him upon condition he became Catholick, and to pay him Taxes and Subſidies. T *Spaniard* at the ſame time, to keep up the Broils and M ſeries of *France*, ſent the League a Reinforcement 1500 Lances, and 500 Carbineers under *Philip* t young Count of *Egmont*, with which the Duke marc ed to the relief of *Dreux*: The King thereupon poſt himſelf at *Nonancour*, and tho his Army were leſs number by one third, reſolved to give him Battel; order to which, drawing near the *Eure* towards *Yv* that ſo if the Enemy attempted to paſs over, he mig fight them ſeparately, and the Leaguers thinking that Motion he was flying, the Duke by *Egmont* a others was preſſed to engage him; but thoſe that led ſo loud for Battel, fell into a ſudden Conſternati when they ſaw the King's Forces inſtead of running way, march up directly to the Teeth of them: It w

The Battel of Yvry. the 14*th* Day of *March*, the Fight hapned in t Plains of *Yvry*; the League made no great Mat of it, for in leſs than half an Hour they were utte defeated; their Lances were broke, *German* Foot to pieces, and moſt part of the *Frenchmen* killed on the Spot: The *Swiſs* only ſtood their ground, when they ſaw the Cannon like to bear upon the they ſubmitted to Mercy, and the King ſhewed hi ſelf very generous to them by reſtoring their Pikes a Colours, and he wrote a very civil Letter to the C tons upon this occaſion: *Main* with the broken Re

nt of his Army escaped to *Mantes*, while *Nemours*, *Aumale* and other Commanders retired to *Chartres*. the mean time the King being advanced to *Rosny*, *Sain* retired speedily to *St. Dennis*, so that *Mantes* *Vernon* turned their Backs upon the Duke.

The King's Arms were successful in *Auvergne*, on the y same day wherein the Victory of *Yvry* was won; and it was the Opinion of the wise *la Noue* he should now march directly for *Paris*, where his Successes had nderfully raised the Courage of his Friends, and epressed that of his Enemies; but *Biron* prevented it, ether with *d'O*, Superintendant of the Finances, for me particular Interests of their own. So that the ing having rested 15 Days near *Mantes*, this gave League an Opportunity to recover out of their onishments; some Proposals there were indeed made an Accommodation, which came to nothing; so t the King having taken *Lagny*, *Province*, *Monste-au*, *Bray* on the *Seine*, and *Melun*, besides the Castle Bridg of *St. Mour des Fossez* on the 25*th* of *A-*; and his Army amounting now to 15000 Foot, almost 4000 Horse, *Paris* found it self blocked and had made no Provision of Corn and other cessaries to speak of for such an occasion. *Ne-rs* was constituted Governor, a young active nce, and of Persons of Note had none about him the Chevalier *de Aumale*; *Vitri* was indeed drawn her at last; they had 1200 *German* Foot, and as ny *French* Soldiers, with 1000 *Swiss* in the City, des some Horse and others. I will not run over the mes of the Princesses, Ladies, Legate, *Spanish* Am-sador, and others that were in a manner hemm'd in the Royalists; neither will I pretend to extol the l of the *Parisians* upon this occasion; only I must a word declare they set all Hands on work, and tributed every thing now that possibly could be ected for their Defence: The King on the other d in the first place mastered the Bridges of *Cha-on* and *St. Cloud*, took *Vincennes*, besieged *St. nis*, and posted Garisons of Light Horse in all the ng Houses for 7 or 8 Leagues round, to keep all visions out of the Place, and so reduce them by mine; but this being tedious, he endeavoured to

The King successful, blocks up Paris.

draw the Beſieged to a Battel, and therefore ordere an Attack to be made upon the Suburbs of *St. Laurenc* but here experiencing their brave Defence, he retur ned to his former Deſign of famiſhing them. At th ſame time *Main* was gone to *Flanders* for Aſſiſtanc which the *Spaniards* were not very forward to give him and the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* hapning to die this Conjuncture, this put him into a new Perplexit leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould preſs him to chuſe a ne King; however he protracted the Election by ſom plauſible Delays: But the Heads of the League ha cunningly before hand ſo diſpoſed the People, as th his Death ſhould cauſe no Alterations; for havin conſulted the Faculty of Divinity thereupon, they a ſwered, That *Henry* of *Bourbon* could not, becau of the Scandal and Danger of relapſing, be admitte to the Crown, if King *Charles* X. or any other lawf Succeſſor ſhould happen to die, or yield him up h Right, or if even the ſaid Prince ſhould obtain Abſ lution; and that thoſe who died for ſo Holy a Cauſ ſhould gain the Palm of Martyrdom, and be crow ed in Heaven as brave Defenders of the Faith.

Now *Main* after five Weeks having got only of th Duke of *Parma* 4000 Foot and 200 Lances, to whic he joined 2000 *French*, he advanced as far as *Laon* whither the King marching to charge him with 25 Horſe, *St. Paul* in the mean while conducted a go Convoy of Proviſions along the Banks of the *Marn* to *Paris*, during whoſe Siege the War went variou on in the Provinces: The Leaguers in *Bretagne* ſurp zed the City of *Sable*, but in attacking the Caſtle we defeated: *Montmerancy* moved ſlowly in *Langued Albigny* and *Leſdeguieres* had divers Rencounter *Provence* was miſerably diſtracted by three or fo Factions; ſo that the Duke of *Savoy* playing Pranks there, a great Aſſembly of the Clergy a Nobility held at *Aix* in *Jan.* reſolved to put that P vince under his Protection, and that the Eſtates of *Bigarrats* (ſo they named the Royaliſts) ſhould confiſcated. But to paſs over many minuter Thin it's fit to obſerve, that the Prince of *Dombes* in B tagne rudely repulſed the Duke of *Mercœur*, took *nebon*, *Montcontour* and *Lambale*. The Change at

The War in the Provinces.

Melo is also worth remarking, for the Governor *Fon-*
nes lodging with all his Treasure in the Castle upon
the Harbour, the Inhabitants being perswaded he had
ed to introduce a strong Garison into the City,
ired to be rid of him, and therefore having cor-
d his Gentleman, they scaled the Castle on the
of *March* at Night, where he was killed with a
bine; then they fell in with the League, yet refu-
a Garison, and kept the Castle themselves.

By this time the Affections of prudent Men as well as
une and Success began to look towards the King;
the Pope not only admitted to Audience the Duke
ney deputed from the Catholick Nobility, but gave
Legate in *France* Orders to proceed with Modera-
: The Duke of *Nevers*, who had hitherto remain-
Neuter, in order to bring him over, bethought him-
of dividing the King from the *Huguenots*, and
efore going to him about the beginning of *July*,
brought in great Numbers of the Gentry by his
rest and Example. Now it was that the King
lled the Chancellor *Chiverny*, and restored the Seals
im.

About the time of the King's Return to his Camp,
St. Dennis that was but ill provided, surrendred, and
Leaguers Design upon *Senlis* miscarried. In the
n while there flocked People from all Parts to the
e of *Paris*, from one Motive of Interest or other;
Prince of *Conti* brought the Forces of *Poitou*,
ain, *Anjou* and *Main*; *Humieres* sent part of
e that were in *Picardy*, and *Turenne* somewhat re-
red of his illness, was brought thither in a Litter
he head of 1000 Horse and 4000 Foot. In the
n time, the King being much distracted with the
erent Interests and Practices of the *Romanists* and
guenots in his Army, and finding the Siege spun out
length, consented to a Conference between the
ate and the Marques of *Pisany*, newly retur-
from his Embassy at *Rome*, but it came to no-
g.

But to come now a little more particularly to the Siege; when it had lasted about six Weeks to the mid- dle of *June*, Wheat came to be at double the Price, and in a Fortnight after failed them all on a sudden; so

Famine in the City.

ſo that it grew extreme hard with the meaner ſort o
People, of whom one day great Crowds of the
were gathered together at the Gate of *St. Victor*, h
ping to get out by a Paſsport they had deſired of t
King; but the ſame being denied them, they made
horrible an Outcry as much ſtartled the whole Cit
Wherefore there was ſome better Order taken f
their Support; but that not laſting long, they we
reduced to the husking and grinding of Oats to ma
Pottage, and inſtead of Wine they invented a ſo
of Drink made of Oatmeal and Roots. In *Ju*
Bread roſe to a Crown a Pound, the Septier
Wheat to above 120 Crowns, one Sheep a hundr
Livres, and other things in proportion. Amongſt t
Poor, Dogs, Cats and Mice were great Dainties; a
Unguents, Candles, Greaſe, and the moſt ſtinking C
were uſed for ſeaſoning their Broths of Herbs a
Graſs. For want of Aliment, they were fed wi
Proceſſions, Prayers, Sermons, and falſe Intelligen
cies: But the ſame proving but ſlender Nouriſhme
above 10000 People periſhed for want of Foo
However ſome Indulgence to the Beſieged from t
Officers and Soldiers without, made the City hold o
ſome time longer than it could have done.

In the mean time the *Politicks* and *Royaliſts* w
daily contriving how to deliver up the City to t
King; but they were ſo narrowly watched that
their Projects miſcarried, tho they brought the P
ple one day at the Palace to take up Arms and c
out *Peace* or *Proviſions*, which ſtruck ſuch a fear e
in the Chiefs of the League, that they conſulted ab
a Conference for a Peace, during which the King
ſpur them forwards, attacked their Suburbs, and g
ed them all in one Night. The Cardinal of *Go*
and Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, having obtained a Paſspo
waited on him at *St. Anthony des Champs*, where t
moved again, what had been before done by othe
That he would grant them a Truce, ſo as that t
might go to the Duke of *Main*, and diſpoſe him
treat jointly with them; to which the King agre
provided they would capitulate to ſurrender in
Days, but this would not be accepted.

Treaty broke off.

So

me of the King's Commanders were for aſſaulting City, and alledg'd it might be carried; but the conſtantly declined that, as believing the other would do, and thereupon he himſelf not only grew ous and careleſs, but his Example was followed vers others; ſo that *Main* on the ſame day of Conference at *St. Anthony*, being arrived at *ux* with 5 or 6000 Men, he ſent the *Pariſians* d of it, and that he hoped the Duke of *Parma* ld ſoon arrive. In effect *Parma* with 12000 Foot, D. *of* Parma *marches to raiſe the Siege of* Paris. o Horſe and 1600 Waggons, departed from *Valen-ues* on the 6*th* of *Aug.* and advanced to *Meaux* prefixed Stages, incamping after the *Roman* Mode ch Places as he had cauſed exactly to be ſurveyed, which he continually compared with his Maps: King who never expected any ſuch thing, on the of *Aug.* raiſed the Siege with a Deſign to fight ; his Light Horſe beat thoſe of *Parma* at *Chelles*, whence the Duke obſerving the Diſpoſition of the al Army, thought fit inſtead of fighting to in-ch himſelf: The King defied him by a Herald to el, but he would not ſtir, only ſaid, he might him there if he durſt; however after ſome , having the Opportunity of a great Fog, he ddenly and briskly attacked *Lagny*, that he gained efore *Aumont* could come up to ſuccour it; ſo that Tables ſeemed now to be turned, the *Pariſians* e ſupplied with Plenty of all Neceſſaries, and the g's Army became ſo ſtraitned, that for three or Days they wanted Ammunition and Bread. *Takes* Lagny. ereupon things grew into much Diſorder, and the g meeting with nothing but confuſed Advice, he ned towards *Senlis*; and having paſſed the *Oyſe*, Dukes of *Parma* and *Main* came out of their nches, the firſt of whom going *incognito* to ſee *is*, the Miſeries he obſerved there begat more Pity im than Joy for having delivered them. After this ſpread their Forces over *Brie*, and recovered all little Places; they would willingly have opened *Seine* as they had done the *Marne*, and therefore *ma* be ieged *Corbeil*; he took it indeed at laſt, with loſs of more Men by a Dyſentery than were ſlain, aving been computed 3000 periſhed by that Diſ-temper;

Parma *returns home.*

temper; ſo that no Perſuaſions of *Main* could no hinder him from returning home: However he l him 8000 Men, and promiſed to return next Y with more; but before his Departure he had the M tification to ſee his Conqueſt of *Corbeil* loſt, *Givry* h ving recovered it by *Eſcalado*. The King follow the Duke in the Rear to *Arbre de Guiſe*, and aft wards at *St. Quintin* underſtood that *Humieres* Lieutenant in *Picardy* had won the City of *Corb* where a great many rare Manuſcripts were deſtro ed.

In the Provinces, the Duke of *Lorrain* conquer *Villa-Franca* on the Frontiers of *Champagne*; in *B tagne*, 5000 *Spaniards* landing there under *Aquila* conjunction with *Merceur*, took *Hennebond*; *Le guieres* became abſolute in *Dauphine* by the taking *Grenoble*. In the mean while the King of *Spain* be ſatisfied, if he could wreſt *Provence* out of the Ha of the *French*, he ſhould be Maſter of the *Mediter nean*, break their Alliance with the *Turks*, Commu cation with *Italy*, and Trade into the *Levant*, g the Duke of *Savoy* 47 Gallies, and allowed him make Levies in *Milan* and *Naples*, with which he tred *Provence*, and was received in a very ſole manner at *Aix*, where appearing in Parliament, t made a Decree to confer upon him the Title of Go nour and Lieutenant General of the Province un the Crown of *France*.

Both the King's Party and that of the League w equally tormented with Diſcords and Factions; *M* grew extremely jealous of the Reputation of *Nemou* the Heads of the ſixteen Diviſions of *Paris* were uniting the Great Cities into a Republican Form Government; while the King on the other hand, continually perplexed with the Importunities of *Catholicks* and *Hugonots* that were on his Side. P *Sixtus* V. who began to favour him, as alſo *Ur* VIII. were tripped out of the World, and *Gre* XIV. was an avowed Favourer of the *Spaniſh* Intere

1591. and the beginning of this Year, the King was fart mortified with the miſcarriage of an Enterprize made upon *Paris*, where 60 of his moſt daring C tains, diſguiſed like Peaſants, and leading Horſes la

Meal (for the City began to grow in want) had
rs to ſeize the Gate *St. Honore:* The Politiques
d have joined them, there were 500 Curaſſiers, *King's De-*
00 Carbineers concealed in the Suburbs that *ſign upon*
to ſecond them, and theſe again would have *Paris miſ-*
backed by 1200 Men; then the *Swiſs* were to *carries.*
marched with ſeveral Waggons laden with Pon-
Ladders and Hurdles, to ſcale it in ſeveral Pla-
at the ſame time the King himſelf was to have
at the Entrance of the *Fauxburg* to give Or-
but finding the ſaid Gate filled up with Earth,
dged his Deſign had taken Wind, and ſo retired.
ever the *Pariſians* thought it a neceſſary Expedi-
r their Security to take in 4000 *Spaniards*, and
nto *Meaux.*
e King notwithſtanding the rigour of the Seaſon,
d attack and continue the Siege of *Chartres*, be-
eartened thereto by *Chiverny*, and the Place was
t ſurrendered upon the 18*th* of *April*; while *Main*
ay of Diverſion aſſaulted and took *Chaſteau-*
ry. But here to paſs lightly over the Ambition
eak contrivance of the young Cardinal of *Bour-*
o get himſelf declared King; the Negotiations
ace began anew after the taking of *Chartres*,
t the Heads of the League met at *Rheims*, where
dering Peace would blaſt all their ambitious De-
they ſent *Javin* to the King of *Spain*, who diſ-
ed what that Prince's Intentions were, to have
ſembly of the General States to confer the Crown
rance upon him that ſhould marry his Daughter
lla as the neareſt Princeſs of the Blood Royal; up-
hich Condition he promiſed, to ſend ſuch nume-
Forces into *France*, as ſhould drive out the King
Navarre, and withal offered 10000 Crowns *per*
th to maintain the Duke of *Main.* The Pope at
ame time by two Monitories forwarded the De-
nd the Deſtruction of the *Hugonots*, and raiſed
Foot and 1000 Horſe under the Command of
rata his Nephew: The Pope's Bull had ſcarce a-
her effect than to excite the *Hugonots* to demand
dict, gave an Opportunity to thoſe of the third
to ſtrengthen their Cabal, and provoke the Par-
nts of the one and the other Party to make bloo-

dy

dy Decrees. The Chamber of *Chaalons*, a Mem of that at *Tours*, annulled the Pope's Monitorie contrary to the Rights of the *Gallican* Church, o red them to be torn by the Common Hangman, *Laudriano* the Bearer to be apprehended, and not cealed upon ſevere Penalties.

In the mean time, tho *Biron* had taken *Louviers* the King, yet his Council was divided into two Par however having brought them together at *Mantes*, after having heard their Opinions, he put forth his claration in *July*, requiring his Parliaments to proc againſt *Landriano* as they ſaw juſt Cauſe; at the ſa time he thought it convenient to grant a Declaratio favour of the *Hugonots*, which revoked all Edicts out againſt them, and confirmed all the Edicts of cification, but only proviſionally, till he ſhould be to reunite all his Subjects by a happy Peace. As the Buſineſs of the Bulls, this Company went fart than the Chamber at *Chaalons*, and declared *Gre* an Enemy to the Peace of the Church, King State, and adhering to *Spain*, *&c.* But that at *P* pronounced a quite contrary Decree, while the C gy at *Mantes* declared the Pope's Bulls null, and Archbiſhop of *Bourges* propoſed to create a Patriarc *France*, while others propounded to ſummon a Na nal Council; but the Pope would not be fright herewith. During the four Months they ſat, the K beſieged *Noyon*, and all that *Main* and others could to relieve it, not taking effect, it was ſurrendered on the 18*th* of *Aug.* There was no Province all while ſo embroiled as *Provence*, where the Duk *Savoy* thought to have made a firm footing, but he ſtrangely baffled at *Marſeilles* and *Berry*. Indeed Baſtard Brother *Amadeus* with 6 or 7000 Men, ſ of them being the Pope's Forces, but ill Soldiers, beſieged the Fort of *Mereſtel*, which would have tributed much for the Recovery of *Grenoble*; but brave *Leſdeguieres* having drawn his Men toget was not ſatisfied with raiſing the Siege, but and attacked him at *Pontchara* in his Trenc broke in, routed him, and killed 3000 of his Men on the Place on the 18*th* of *Sept.* and next day 2000 *Italians* at diſcretion, who were fled to the

King's Edict in favour of the Hugonots.

Savoyards *defeated by* Leſdeguieres.

Avalon, whereof his Soldiers maſſacred 300, Remainder he ſent packing home with white s in their Hands. Now to compleat the Duke's rtune, he beſieged *Vinon*, which hindred the ing of Corn to *Aix*; the Town had nothing but Wall of dry Stones laid upon one another; e valiant *Meſplez* was in it, and that was a ſuf- t Bulwark; he ſuſtained his Attacks for three together, and gave *la Valette* time to come to his f: The Duke being much more numerous, drew o fight him, but loſt a great many of his Men, ll his Baggage. After this many Places that ſided the Duke, deſerted him.

D. of Guiſe *made his Eſcape.*

t to return again more immediately to the King's rs, the Proſperity of them was interrupted by Eſcape of the Duke of *Guiſe* out of the Caſtle *Tours*; it was believed the Ladies about Queen *a*, who were then at *Chenonceaux*, had greatly ributed towards his Eſcape, and *Rovry* in love one of them, was ſuſpected to have granted her ne Favour, upon promiſe of another. As the was much alarmed, ſo the League was overjoy- d made Bonfires; but the Jealouſy conceived t by the Duke of *Main*, diſpelled the Fears of ne, and cauſed the promiſing Hopes of the other niſh. In the mean time *Conti* Lieutenant General e King in *Poictou*, as *la Guierche* was for the ue, fought to Extremity; *Guierche* met with divers ks, but the greateſt was his Defeat at the taking *Montmorillon*, where he loſt his Cannon and all his try; and a Month after going to the Relief of wn Caſtle of *Guierche*, which was ſurprized by a leman named *Salerne*, *Abin* and *Roche-Poſay* having e of his March, ſet upon him, routed his Men, himſelf was drowned in the River.

etagne at the ſame time was not only vexed with *French*, but *Merceur* fixed the *Spaniards* at *Blavet*; *Dombes* with a Reinforcement of 3000 *Engliſh*, iege to *Lambale*; the Place had been infallibly but for the unfortunate Death of the wiſe *la* who was a Perſon almoſt equally lamented by ds and Enemies, a very great Soldier, and h was more, a very honeſt good Gentleman. Both

Parties

Parties expected their Foreign Supplies, *Main* wen
Verdun to receive the Pope's Forces: The King
11000 Foot and 500 Horſe from *Germany* at the
pence of the Queen of *England*, and free Towns
Germany; with theſe he braved the Enemy at
dun, who durſt not ſtir; and being in thoſe Parts,
thought it convenient, in order to ſecure *Sedan*, to
ſtow the Heireſs upon *Turenne*, to whom he lay
der ſo many Obligations, and withal made him Ma
chal of *France*, who now made a brisk War upon
Duke of *Lorain*. This done, the King went to
on, and upon the Inſtance of the Queen of *Engl*
who did not care the *Spaniards* ſhould neſtle in
mandy, he ſent *Biron* to beſiege *Roan*, where the
queſs of *Villars* now commanded; the Forces in
The Siege of Roan. drew near the Place, where *Biron* beſides *French*
3000 *Engliſh* under the famous Earl of *Eſſex*;
the Mareſchal after ſome Bravadoes, being yet
weak, went and took *Geurnay* and *Gaudebec*,
coming again before *Roan*, endeavoured to turn
little Rivers of *Robec* and *Aubet* another way; he
ceeded in the former, but could not in the latter.
more of this Siege by and by.

We are now to take notice that *Main* was
diſtreſſed than ever; *Nemours* diverted part of
Forces to erect a Sovereignty in *Lyonnois*, young
was labouring to make himſelf Head of the Part
his Father had been; he fearfully dreaded the *Spani*
who were full both of their Brags and Menaces:
nothing lay ſo heavy upon him as the Heads of
ſixteen Wards of *Paris*, who carried things ſo abſol
that nothing was left to make them Maſters, but to
their hands of part of the Parliament, of whom
was as much afraid as they, as foreſeeing they wo
ſooner or later return to the King. Now it hapn
that the Parliament ſhould acquit one *Brigard*, wh
the Sixteen had accuſed of keeping Correſp
dence with the *Royaliſts*; they were ſo enraged,
appointing a ſecret Council, they drew up a Sente
of Death againſt the Preſident *Briſſon*, *Larcher* a C
ſellor in Parliament, and *Tardif* a Counſellor at
Chaſtelet, by virtue of which they ſeized and han
them all three in Priſon.

is horrid Violence amazed a great many People, in-
h that the Great Ones and others ſolicited *Main*
was at *Laon*, to haſten their Deliverance from
Tyranny; the Duke from ſome Jealouſy of Dan-
as in ſuſpence for a time, but finding the Sixteen
ot put themſelves into a Poſture to maintain their
ies with Vigour, he marched directly with
Horſe and 1500 Foot for *Paris*, and ſent to *Buſſy*
iver up the *Baſtile*, which he tamely did. After
the Sixteen ſeeing nothing undertaken againſt
and ſo growing ſecure, the Duke ſuddenly with
wn Hand drew a Sentence of Death againſt nine
moſt criminal, four only were taken and imme-
y hanged; and then ſent a Pardon or Abſolution
Parliament for the reſt, that had any hand in
id Crime. Thus this potent Faction was brought
, by which 'tis certain the King's Affairs were
ed, with whom it was impoſſible he ſhould ever
complied or agreed: But indifferent People be-
that by ruining them the Duke had as it were
f his Right Arm with his Left; the Parliament
ſame time being wholly deſtitute of Preſidents,
ated four moſt affectionate to his own Perſon.

Main comes to Paris, &c.

Ruins the Sixteen.

the mean time *Roan* well provided of all things
a vigorous Defence; *Biron* had but juſt inveſted
on the King's Arrival on the firſt of *December*.
a, notwithſtanding his voluntary Offer of Aſſiſt-
to the Beſieged, would not ſtir without poſitive
rs from *Spain*; and then began his March from
els towards the end of *November*, with 10000
3000 Horſe, 40 Pieces of Cannon, and 2000
gons; he was met both by *Guiſe* and *Main*,
hey three had a long Conference before they pro-
d any farther: *Parma* got *la Fere* upon the *Oyſe*
hem, and *Diego* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador declared,
Maſter demanded the Crown for the Infanta,
he offered to marry to ſome *French* Prince.
nited Forces of theſe Dukes amounted to above
Horſe, and 15000 Foot; the King bravely made
againſt them for three Weeks together,
imes maintaining one Poſt and ſometimes a-
, but he had like to have been taken, and
was wounded with a Piſtol-ſhot at *Aumale*. In the
mean

mean time *Villars* Governor of *Roan*, on the 26th *Feb.* in the Morning, made a Sally with above 200 Men on the ſide of *St. Catherine* Fort, killed all t met with, and nailed up the Beſiegers Cannon. *Biron* at laſt coming thither, briskly charged them, their Horſe ſtood firm till their Foot had time to treat, and then marched off themſelves in good der. This might have given *Main* and *Parma* portunity to ruin the Royaliſts, but they only th eight hundred Men into the Place, and then repa the *Somme*.

1592. Some time after *Villars* giving *Main* Notice t the Town muſt be forced to capitulate, if not relie by the 20th of *March*, the Duke repaſſed the Ri and made great Marches to come up by the time p fixed; the King would needs fight them, but find the ill State of his Army, he raiſed the Siege. *Pa* would have fallen upon him in his Retreat, but *M* refuſed, and engaged him next Day to beſiege *Ca bec*: The Place was eaſily taken, but they unluc poſting themſelves at *Yveton*, they had not been t long, but the King cut off their Proviſions, and raſſed them perpetually with Skirmiſhes, ſo that t were forced to march ſilently away to *Caudebec*. on which *Biron* ſurprized one of their Quarters, all the Money they had in Store for the Payme their Army, which with other Straits, and m particularly the want of Water, made *Parma* b two Forts over againſt one another upon the Ri with Redoubts and great Retrenchments; then ha cauſed a great many Pontons to be made read *Roan*, and covered 25 or 30 Boats with Planks to his Cavalry, he marched the whole Army over i Night, at which the King next day was much ſu zed, and forthwith ſent 2000 Horſe by *Pont de l'* *che* in hopes to overtake them at the *Eure*, but caught only 500 Foot that lagg'd behind; while *ma* made ſuch haſt, that he got in four Days from *debec* to *Charenton*; but *Main* retired to *Roan*, w he was under the Doctors Hands for ſome time, having no good Underſtanding with the *Spani* he eſſayed to form a new Party to make the Car of *Bourbon* King.

The Siege of Roan *raiſed.*

In the mean time all things were in diſorder, and the Royal Authority languiſhed very much; the King being encountred with a thouſand Difficulties and Importunities, he was much afraid leſt the States at laſt ſhould chuſe a King, who would have the Intereſt of *Italy* and other *Popiſh* Princes to ſupport him; beſides he wanted Money, and was vexed to be no more than the Companion of his Subjects: Wherefore he thought ſeriouſly of an Accommodation with *Main*, and this Agreement was made, that the King ſhould have ſix Months time to be inſtructed by ſuch ways as ſhould be no prejudice to his Dignity or Conſcience; that the Nobility of his Party ſhould ſend a Deputation to the Pope, to have his Authority for it, that in the *Interim* they ſhould endeavour to make a Peace, and that it ſhould be owned by thoſe Princes that were united. Afterwards they added, that the *Hugonots* ſhould enjoy thoſe Edicts granted them before 1585; the Exerciſe of the Catholick Religion was to be reſtored everywhere; the Soldiery regulated, the Impoſts moderated, and Privileges preſerved.

The *Hugonots* were not pleaſed, and the *Spaniards* were ſtrangely alarmed at this Treaty, ſo that the King and *Main* had both like to have been abandoned. *D'Aumay* would not give up *Quillebeuf* to *Bellegard*, to whom the King had given the Government of it, till Death made way for the laſt to enter it: *Villars* by this Change thought he might carry the Place, ſo that he and *Main* beſieged it with 4000 Men without any good Succeſs.

After the raiſing of the Siege of *Roan*, moſt of the King's Army went and beſieged *Eſpernay* in *Champagne*; where the brave Mareſchal *de Biron* was ſlain by a Cannon-ball in the Approaches, a Man very conſiderable in Council as well as the Field, who would be ignorant of nothing, had a hand in every thing, and managed a Pen as dextrouſly as he did a Sword. The Town in ſome time capitulated, ſo did *Province*; then having built a Fort in the Iſle of *Gournay* upon the Marne. Upon the Frontiers of *Bretagne*, *Conti* and *Soiſſons* having beſieged *Craon* upon the *Oudon*; *Mercœur* aſſiſted by *Bois-Daufin* and *Belle-Iſle*, paſſed the River undiſcerned, which obliged the Princes to re-

Biron ſlain.

treat in open day, tho with the loſs of 1200 men, a
their Cannon, and afterwards the Cities of *Chaſte*
Goutier, *Mayn* and *Laval*. On the 4*th* of *Ju*
Henry Prince of *Dombes* loſt his Father *Francis* D
of *Montpeſier*, aged 50 years, and inherited his T
and Eſtate. But to evade this Interruption, *Aum*
recovered *Mayn* after 15 days Siege, but lay t
months before *Rochfort*, with the loſs of a great ma
Men. *Sourdeac* bravely defended *Breſt* for the Ki
and worſted his Enemies: He alſo gained a Victory
ver ſeven *Norman* Ships that were coming to ſurp
the Harbour of *Camaret*. Moſt of *Guyenne* was
der the King's Obedience. In the mean time
Spaniards, beſides what Pranks they acted at *Bla*
favour of *Luſſan* againſt the Mareſchal of *Matig*
had like to have got footing in *Bayon*, by the means
Merchant named *Chaſteau Mortin*, and a Phyſi
called *Roſſius*; but the Conſpiracy being diſcove
they were both hanged. On the other hand, am
the Confuſions of three or four Parties in *Prove*
that for the King began to be predominant: *La Va*
prevailed mightily againſt the Duke of *Savoy*;
being unfortunately ſlain at the Siege of *Roquebr*
that part of the Parliament who were retired to
ſternon, took up the Government, till the King ha
therwiſe diſpoſed of it. The *Gaſcons* would have
Duke of *Eſpernon* to ſucceed him; and the Inhabit
of *Provence* acquieſcing, ſent to the King to de
him. The King had no great Inclination to him;
rather than he ſhould aſſume the Power without
Concurrence, he ſent him a Commiſſion, with a
obliging Letter; but took the Office of Admiral
him, which he conferred on young *Biron*, and u
hand ordered ſome Perſons to thwart the Duke i
Government, till he had time to force him out.

The Turmoils of Provence.

About the ſame time the Affairs of the Duk
Savoy growing worſe and worſe in *Provence*, he u
ly deſerted it, and *Leſdeguieres* was called in by
Parliament of *Siſternon*: Having therefore made a T
with *Nemours*, he went thither about the end of
refuſed what was demanded by the Parliament of
took all the little Caſtles about it, and towards *A*
beat the Duke, who had undertaken to ruin him,
re

relieve *Aix*, which he was juſt upon reducing, when *Nemours* broke the Truce, took *Eſchelles*, and gained *Maugiron*, who commanded for the King in *Vienne*; upon which *Leſdeguieres* returned to *Dauphine*, and never left purſuing the Duke, till he had diſperſed his whole Army. After this he made War upon the Duke of *Savoy*, took *Perouſe*, gained all the Paſſes, fortified *Briançon*, and took the City and Caſtle of *Cavours*.

In the mean while *Eſpernon* with 3000 men paſſing along the Frontier of *Languedoc*, made the Duke of *Joyeuſe* leave the Siege of *Villemar* on the *Tarn*; but ſoon after, as it were purſuing his own Deſtiny, he returned to it again: But *Montmorancy* fearing his Power would be too great, detatched ſome Troops thither, who having notice that the Duke's Light Horſe had been ſent out to quarter in ſome adjacent Villages, they attacked him on the 19th of *October*, while *Temines*, who had thrown himſelf into the Place, at the ſame time made a great Sally, forced his Retrenchments, routed, ſlew and drowned many of his Men, even the Duke himſelf, the Bridg upon the River falling under him. They were much ſurprized with this Loſs at *Thalouſe*; and in this Extremity they gave the Command of the Army to Father *Angel*, the Duke's Brother, and a Capuchin. Joyeuſe *drowned.*

Eſpernon arrived in *Provence* towards the end of *Auguſt*, and ſpent the two following Months to fix himſelf there. *November* he ſpent about ineffectual Negotiations of Peace: Then he went to attack, and took *Antibes* upon Articles; but carrying himſelf with exceſſive Pride and Haughtineſs towards the People, it generated the moſt cruel and furious Hatred in them againſt him, as has been heard of in theſe latter days, of which by and by.

Now the *Spaniards* continually preſſed for an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, that they might puſh for a new Choice to their mind, and reſolved to ſend an Army of 6000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe, to ſupport the Choice; the great *Parma* dying at this time, wrought ſome Alteration in Affairs: Nay, *Mayn* was now as forward to have the Eſtates held, as he had been before to retard it, and preſently made four Mareſchals, and *Villars* Admiral. *Guiſe* and *Nemours* were on their part forming *New Projects and Cabals.*

forming each his Cabal at *Paris*, while the *Politicks* an Aſſembly reſolved to ſend to the King for a Commerce, had not *Mayn* prevented it. On the Ki part all was out of order, and embroiled, both in Parliament, Council, and very Houſe, with which Year unhappily concludes.

1593. We are now come to another, the moſt remark in this Reign, wherein their confuſed Affairs bega aſſume ſome Order. On the 5*th* of *January*, *M* publiſhed a Declaration, inviting all Degrees of ſons to join with the League, and to meet in the

Aſſembly of the States. ſembly of the Eſtates on the 17*th* of *Febr.* there to m choice of ſome good Remedy, to preſerve both Ch and State. Then appeared an Exhortation of the gate's, ſaying, they muſt chuſe a King that was Catholick, which plainly pointed to the *Spaniard*. Aſſembly was opened the 26*th*, in the *Louvre*: T were a pretty many Clergy of Note among them ; the third Eſtate was a Mob hired by *Mayn* and the *niards*. None but the Nobility were for the Duke, endeavoured, contrary to antient Inſtitution, to add new Orders, *i. e.* one of Lords, and the other of M bers of Parliament and Gown-men ; but the reſt fi ly rejected this Novelty. On the ſecond Day of Sitting they had a Meſſage by a Trumpeter from Popiſh Lords with the King, importing, that if were for an Union, they ſhould depute worthy Pe to a Place agreed on between *Paris* and *St. Dennis*, on their part being ready to do the ſame. The E hereupon refuſed abſolutely to confer with an here King, but were content to do it with thoſe Catho that were of his Party, for the good of Reli and the publick Peace. This Anſwer being m *Mayn* went to *Soiſſons* to confer with the Duke of *Taſſis*, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who would the *Infanta* choſen Queen ; but they parted ve ſatisfied.

Mayn went from *Soiſſons*, and joined Count *M field*, with whom he took *Noyon*, which hindred *B* from taking *Selles*. On the other hand, the King in *February* to *Tours*, with an intention to marry hi ſter to *Montpeſier*, to treat with *Merceur*, and to the Parliament to take off the Modifications ma

Edict for the *Hugonots*, but neither of them ſuc-
eeded: So that, what with theſe Diſappointments,
ith an infinite number of Perplexities more, and Ca-
ls, he grew extremely uneaſy in his Mind, and now
ewed ſome tendency to embrace the Popiſh Religion.
In the mean time the Duke of *Feria*, Ambaſſador Ex-
raordinary from *Spain*, arrived at *Paris*, where he
reſented the Eſtates with ſome Letters from K. *Philip*,
ith this Superſcription: *To our Reverend, Illuſtrious, Magnificent and Well-beloved, the Deputies of the Eſtates General of* France. On the contrary, the Catho-
ck Royaliſts preſſed the Conference ſo heartily, that
o private Inſtructions of *Feria*, nor the Sixteen, could
nder ſome Commiſſioners on both ſides from agreeing
it, and that at *Surene* on the 29th of *April*; but thoſe
om the Eſtates waiting for the Return of *Mayn*, *A Conference between thoſe of the League, and the Catholick Royaliſts.*
journed it for 8 days. At firſt there aroſe a Difficul-
, which had like to have ſpoiled all: Thoſe of the
eague would not ſuffer *Rambovillet* to be preſent, be-
ſe the Dutcheſs of *Guiſe* accuſed him of having a
nd in the Death of her Husband; but he ſtifly inſiſting
on it, poſitively denied the Fact, and offered to
himſelf by Oath, and ſo was admitted. The
rchbiſhops of *Lyons* and *Bourges* made eloquent Diſ-
urſes on either ſide, one to ſhew, That they could not
wn an Heretical Prince; the other, That they ought
obey him: And the laſt required the League to
in with them for his Converſion, as they termed it.
t the others would have nothing to do with him, till
nverted. This was it that determined the King to
rſake the Reformed Religion, and turn Romaniſt:
nd indeed, if he had any Intentions of doing it at
, it was high time; for the Eſtates having ſome days
made a ſolemn Proceſſion, were preparing to
a King; and if the *Spaniards* had then propoſed
uke of *Guiſe*, as they did a Month after, it's
n all had been carried that way in ſpite of
whoſe Faction was not yet ſtrong enough.
he ſame time the Conferences being continued,
ke had no aim in conſenting to them, but only
ſe the *Royaliſts*: The Sixteen on the one hand,
nd the *Hugonots* on the other, did in vain endeavour
interrupt them. They were transferred from *Su-*

rene to *Raquete*, and then to *La Villette*, where th
Conference broke up. broke up, becauſe the Leaguers would conclude u
nothing, but referred the Judgment of the King's
duction to the Pope, who only, ſaid they, had
Power of opening the Gates of the Church to h
and this the other rejected, becauſe that would be
ſubmit the Crown of *France* to the Pope's diſpo
A Ceſſation of Arms having been continued during
time of this Conference, the King would allow it
farther than three days, but in exchange offered a Tr
The Proceedings of the States. for ſix Months. *Mayn* durſt not accept it, for th
verſion the Legate and *Spaniards* ſhewed unto it, w
laſt ſtill inſiſted upon the Right of the *Infanta*, w
if the *French* pleaſed, ſhould be married to Arch-D
Erneſt, and reign jointly. *Mayn* from the Nobi
made anſwer, That the Fundamental Laws of
Kingdom would not allow of a Stranger; yet
Eſtates, to ſhew their Acknowledgments to the Ca
lick King, deſired he would take it well t
ſhould chuſe ſome *French* Prince, that might be m
ried to the *Infanta*; to which the *Spaniards* agr
provided their King might chuſe the ſaid *French* Pr
and that the Houſe of *Lorain* were comprehe
therein. The three aſpiring Princes were *Nem*
Guiſe, and *Mayn* for his eldeſt Son. At the
time the Parliament of *Paris* being alarmed at
Rumour of the *Infanta*'s being like to be choſen,
a Decree, That Remonſtrances ſhould be offere
Mayn for maintaining the Laws, and hindering
Crown from being transferred to Strangers, and
clared all Treaties to that purpoſe null, and cont
to the Salique Law.

To During theſe Tranſactions, the King cauſed *D*
t be beſieged: The Town was taken by Aſſault,
he Caſtle upon Articles; ſo that the *Spaniards*
ceiving now the Affairs of the League upon th
cline, at laſt, in a Council held with *Mayn*, nom
ed the Duke of *Guiſe* for King, to his inexpre
Aſtoniſhment; and all the Put-offs that he could
by the advice of *Baſſompierre*, was to demand
Days time to give notice of it to the Duke of *L*
his Maſter; during which ſetting all his Engine
work, he managed the Eſtates ſo well, that on the

*

July they conſented to return for Anſwer, That uke of *Lorain* humbly thanked the moſt Catho- ing for the Honour he did their Houſe, proteſt- y would ever perſevere in their Acknowledgments, eclared their Readineſs to perſwade the Eſtates uieſce with that Choice, when there ſhould be enough to maintain it; and they had agreed to Conditions, as were reaſonable to be ſecured to eads of the Party. This ſunk the *Spaniards*, concluded to treat with the King for a Truce; e himſelf after a Conference with ſome *Popiſh* es, had his Confeſſion of Faith drawn up *July* and the following Sunday was appointed for him ke it in *St. Dennis* Church, at which the *Pariſi-* nd others ſhewed exceſſive Marks of Joy: *Mayn* d alſo to do it, treated about a Truce for three hs, and both of them agreed to ſend to the Pope his Abſolution, without which the Duke would means hearken to a Peace. Wherefore the King diately nominated the Duke of *Nevers*, and four e more of rare Merit for this Negotiation; while on his part choſe the Cardinal *Joyeuſe*, and *de y*, tho they were not ſent away till three hs after. The Duke in the mean time ſuffered f to be re-ingaged after a ſtrange manner with *Spaniards* by a new Oath never to depart from the Union, not to treat with the King of *Navarre* ever he did, and to proceed to the choice of a olick King, upon condition they would furniſh with 12000 Foot and 6000 Horſe to be maintained ir Charge: The Legate alſo gave him Trouble a- ntroducing the Council of *Trent*, but he eluded xecution of it.

K. Henry *turns Papiſt.*

The Truce in the mean time put a ſtop to their eedings in the Provinces; it made *Merceur* raiſe iege of *Montcontour*, drew the Royaliſts from of *Poictiers*, and freed *Cavours* from the Duke of y. *Eſpernon* had failed to ſurprize *Marſeilles*; but ed *Arles*; then went to encamp before *Aix*, e he built a vaſt Fort, or rather Camp upon *St.* pes Hill; and thinking hereby to force *Aix*, did unctually obſerve the Truce, which made the form a private Party under *Leſdeguieres* to diſpoſ-

Affairs of the Provinces.

ſeſs him; *Eſpernon*'s Abſence in *Languedoc*, and the H
tred bore him by the *Provenſales*, wonderfully favour
the Deſign: For upon the Day appointed, they dr
out the *Gaſcons* and the Duke's Soldiers from th
Places; and the Count of *Carces* with the People
Aix broke the Truce: *Toulon* alſo was taken, ſo t
almoſt all Places declared againſt him; but they n
lecting to ſhut up his Paſſage by the *Rhoſne* and
rance, he got again into his Fort, and made them feel
ſmart of their Imprudence.

But to return to the King again, he having b
like to be aſſaſſinated at *Melun*, *Aug.* 27*th*, by
Peter Barriere, and having frequent Notice of
like Conſpiracies, moſtly contrived by Monks
Churchmen, he preſſed, quite ruined as he was, f
Peace, with Offers of greater Advantages than *M*
had had when his Affairs moſt flouriſhed; but he k
the *Spaniards* ſtill in play, and endeavoured to ſeize
ons, and join it to *Burgundy*, imagining perhaps t
one of the two Kings with whom he ſhould ag
would leave him that Country in Sovereignty;
after the Citizens had ſeized his Brother the Duk
Nemours, they thought fit to ſtand Neuters, till t
entire Reduction, and ſo the Duke got nothing b
The King was now gone to *Normandy* to receive
Roſe, who commanded *Feſchamp*, to his Obedience;
while he was at *Diep*, the Wife of *Balagny*, Gove
of *Cambray*, came to him by Night to deſire a Pro
gation of the Truce, and they afterwards agreed
a Treaty, that he ſhould have *Cambray* and *Cam*
in Sovereignty, that the King ſhould take him
his Protection, and allow him certain Penſions, an
this *Balagny* ſhould only acknowledg him by ki
his Hand. From *Diep* he went to *Calais*, where
ſtead of finding ſome Agents from the Queen of
land to begin a Treaty, he met with nothing but

Henry *reproached by Queen* Elizabeth.

ters full of bitter Reproaches for his having apo
zed from his Religion, and found ſhe would recal
Forces out of *Bretagne*; he had much ado to p
her, and more to endure the Remonſtrances of
Deputies of the Reformed Churches, whom he ha
lowed to hold a General Aſſembly at *Mantes*; he
red them ſome Satisfaction, but they would no

conte

nted with ſuch ſmall Rewards for ſo many ſignal ces; wherefore he diſmiſſed and allowed them to Provincial Aſſemblies, and afterwards to convo- National Synod and Politick Aſſembly.

e League was now but as it were a **Caſtle in the** tho the Pope would not admit of **the Duke of** his Demands, and that *Main* **thought to make** Advantage of it. *Vitry* **Governor of** *Meaux* he firſt that forſook them, for which the King him 20000 Crowns, the Office of Bailiff and Go- or of the City, whoſe Privileges were enlarged, and the ſame was exempted from Taxes for nine Years. Moſt other Governors bargained for more or leſs, and nitted; nay, there was a great Party made at *Pa-* receive the King into it, had not *Mayn* diſcove- and prevented it: But he was ſtrangely ſurprized nd that *Aix* in the beginning of this Year, a 1594. e he thought the moſt aſſured to his Party of a- ſhould reſolve to chuſe a new Maſter, perſwade General Council of the Province to own the King, to intreat him at the ſame time to give them ano- Governor than *Eſpernon*; ſo that the Parliament ed, That all Acts of Juſtice ſhould be in the Aix *and* Lyons, *&c. ſub-* *mit.* s Name, and declared all thoſe Rebels, and Guilty of High Treaſon that would not obey him: After their ample alſo *Lyons* declared for the King; *Ornano* a *Spaniard* being come with ſome Forces to the Suburbs, they ſet up Barricadoes againſt him, and cried out, *Let the* French *Liberty live, down with the Tyranny of the* Italians; and next Day they ſhouted with one Ac- *Vive le Roy.* On the 15*th* of *Feb. Orleans* fol- ed the ſame Dance; *la Chaſtre* being brought over he Aſſurance of a good Sum of Money and a Ma- al's Staff, with ſome Advantages to the City; *rges* did the ſame within a few Days, and upon the Terms.

In the mean time, the King being deſirous to be Henry *crowned.* wned, and having not *Rheims* nor the Holy Oil yet s Poſſeſſion, he made choice of *St. Mary*'s Church *Chartres*, where the Biſhop of that Place performed Ceremony. On the other hand, *Mayn* being not able to prevent this, or keep his Party daily from fal- ling off, was at his Wits end; he could not be ignorant how

Divers *Places ſub-* *mit to the* **King.**

how *Briſſac* treated with the King: Indeed all was readineſs for two Months paſt to receive his Majeſ into *Paris*; but the Sixteen ſeconded by the *Span* Gariſon and 4000 of the Mob, to each of whom t *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador gave a Rix Dollar *per* Week, a a Proportion of Wheat, did ſo narrowly watch *Bri ſac*, that he could not put his Deſign in Executio There were other prudent Men concerned in this Pr ject, who before hand had obtained a particular Aſ rance from the King, that no manner of Violen ſhould be offered to any one Inhabitant of the Cit either in Body or Goods, that he ſhould give a Ge ral Indemnity without exception, take them all i his Protection; and as for the Strangers, that th might depart with Bag and Baggage unmoleſted.

Now the Orders being given for the Night b tween the 21*ſt* and 22*d* of *March* to ſeize the Ra parts and Gates, the King's Troops marched from *Dennis* to *Montmartre*; and *Briſſac* having ſhaken the *Spaniſh* Guards that attended in going the Rounds, King's Men in half an hour entred, ſome by Port *Ne* and Port *St. Dennis*, while others deſcending along t River, maſtered the Ramparts on that ſide, as alſo t Arſenal, the great *Chaſtelet*, Palace and Avenue to Bridges, and cut a Guard of *German* Foot in pie for not crying *Vive le Roy*, which the Citizens n cried round the Town, with Bills of a General P don in their Hands, which they diſtributed to all th met: Upon which *Briſſac* went to the King hard b and delivered him the Keys, for which he was mad Mareſchal; and about ten in the Morning he ent the City by the new Gate nobly attended, and w directly to *Noſtre Dame* to hear Maſs, and ſung *Deum*, commanding 500 Men to march before trailing their Pikes, as intimating it was a volunt Victory. By Noon all things were in a profou Peace to the Amazement of all; the King found Dinner compleatly ready at the *Louvre*, and his wh Houſe in as good Order as if he had reſided there long time. About three in the Afternoon the *Spania* marched away with their Colours furled and Dru covered: The King ſent *St. Luc* to aſſure the Car nals of *Piacenza* and *Pelleve* with the Dutcheſſes of

Henry *enters* Paris.

s and *Montpeſier*, of his Protection. The third after *Bourg* ſurrendred the *Baſtile*, and *Beau-lieu* Caſtle of *Bois de Vincennes*; and at the end of the King with his whole Court aſſiſted at a general eſſion, to give God thanks for having reſtored to the Capital City of his Kingdom. Thoſe who erved the King on this important Occaſion were eft without Rewards: The Parliament being re-liſhed, the King made a new Preſidentſhip for *Maiſtre*, and one in the Chamber of Accounts for *illion*, and two Maſters of Requeſt for *du Vair* *l' Anglois*. All Acts that during the Troubles been made againſt the King's Authority, were e-raſed, all Libels burnt; and the Parliament having ged their Stile, on the 1*ſt* of *December* revoked ecrees, Judgments and Oaths that had been made rejudice to the King's Authority, made all null that been done againſt the Honour of *Henry* III. that iry ſhould be made into his Murder; aboliſhed the Feaſts of the League, revoked the Authority to *Mayn*, and commanded an annual Proceſſion made in commemoration of the Reduction of the To the Authority of the Parliament they join-hat of the Univerſity and Clergy; and the ſame which was in *March*, the Members of Parlia-, and other Companies, who were at *Tours*, re-ed: *Francis d' O* reſtored to his Government of *ris*, went to meet them as far as *Bourg la Reyne*; and l were reunited without troubling any body, ſave t fifty Perſons, who had notice to leave the City, many others took the Alarm ſo far, that it was to have produced very ill Effects.

aris thus reduced, the other Cities ſtrove who ld come in ſooneſt. On the 26*th* of *April Villars* ght in *Rhoan*, *Havre*, *Montivilliers*, and *Pont-demur*, but would for his Reward abate nothing 200000 Livres ready Money, 60000 Penſion, the ernment of thoſe Cities, without owning for three s the Duke of *Montpeſier*, who had that of the vince, and the Office of Admiral; but *Biron* ld be diſobliged by this. Soon after *May David* ght in the City of *Verneuil*, beſides many others ſubmitted. During this Torrent of Proſperities

Mansfield

Mansfield beſieged *La Capelle*; but the King havi
relieved it, he inveſted *Laon*: It held out very ſtren
ouſly: *Vitry*, a Perſon of moſt heroick Valour a
polite Learning, was ſlain before it. At length it
pitulated, before which *Chaſteau Thierry* and *Poicti*
ſubmitted, and afterwards *Amiens*, *Beauvais* and *P*
ronne returned to their Duty. In *September* the Ki
laid Siege to *Noyon*, which was ſurrendred on t
18*th* of *October*; ſo that nothing now of all *Pica*
ſtood out, but *Soiſſons*, *Ham*, and *La Fere*.

But things were not yet ſo well qualified, but that
vers of the Royaliſts, out of envy to thoſe of t
League that had received large Rewards, and ma
Pariſians, grumbled. *Biron* was diſcontented for t
loſs of the Admiralty; but the diſcontented Cardi
de Bourbon in *July* ended his aſpiring hopes with
Life. Now while the Chiefs and Cities of the Lea
were preſſing their Surrendry to the King, the Peaſa
of the Upper *Guyenne* armed againſt the Plund
ings of the Nobility, and the Vexations of the T
gatherers: They were beat and diſperſed at *Lim*
by the Governour, ſo were thoſe of *Angoulmois*
Maſſez; but it was not ſo eaſy to quell thoſe of *Perig*
who being brought together to the number of 400
Matignon inveigling thoſe that bore Arms from amon
them, formed ſeveral Companies, and ſent them i
Languedoc: The King allayed the reſt of the Sto
by remitting the Remainder of the Taxes. *Breta*
and *Burgundy* yet ſtood out: There were 5000 *Spa*
ards in the firſt under *Aquila*, and *Merceur* had 3
very good men; but their Jealouſies rendred them
compatible: *Aquila* refuſed to join with the Duke
relieve the Caſtle of *Morlaix*, the Duke did the ſa
when *Aumont* had beſieged Fort *Crodon*. Howe
before this *Quinpercerontin*, had ſurrendred to the M
reſchal, and ſoon after *St. Malo* perfected the Trea
As for *Provence*, the King durſt not openly ſet a
Eſpernon, becauſe of his Alliances with *Bouillon*, *T*
moville, and *Ventadour*, and even with the Conſta
Montmerancy, who lent him 4000 men, with wh
and 2500 he himſelf had raiſed, he returned to
Fort, and held *Aix* by the Throat, as he did the Co
de Carces and the Parliament, exerciſing his Reve

New Commotions.

all thoſe that fell into his hands, from whence he could not be decoyed to Court. *Leſdeguieres* left *Savoy* to ſuccour them, and *Eſpernon* could not ſtop his March; but the Conſtable proving now a Mediator, a Truce was made for three months, and the Fort depoſited in the hands of *Lafin* with 300 men in Gariſon; but *Leſdeguieres* found a way to ſlip a great many Soldiers of his own in amongſt others, and ſo became Maſter of it, which was razed in two days time.

But to return again to the King, he went, after the taking of *Noyon*, to viſit the Frontiers of *Champagne*, and granted a Peace to the Duke of *Lorain*, whereby he promis'd to do him and his Children Right as to the Succeſſion of *Catherine de Medicis* their Grandmother, without prejudice to the Duke's Pretenſions in his own and their behalf to the Dutchies of *Bretagne* and *Anjou*, and the Counties of *Provence*, *Blois*, and *Coucy*: He left him *Marſal*, and *Dun*, and *Stenay* in exchange for *Jamets*; promiſed to one of his Sons the Government of *Toul* and *Verdun*, and to the ſurviving Brother of that Son. About the ſame time an Accord was made between the King and the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had *Rheims*, *Rocroy*, *St. Diſier* and *Ginville* in his poſſeſſion, the Government whereof was left to him by this Treaty, beſides that of *Provence*, and 400000 Crowns in Silver. *Burgundy*, which had hitherto remained entirely for *Mayn*, began to give him the ſlip; *Auxerre*, *Maſcon* and *Avalon* broke their Bonds. He uſed great Severity to preſerve *Dijon* and *Beaulne*, and perſwaded the *Spaniards* to make a ſudden War on that ſide, tho he very well knew they hated and ſuſpected him, and could readily have cut his Throat.

Henry grants Peace to the Duke of Lorain.

There were ſeveral Motives and Reaſons of State that might induce the *French* at this time to make War upon the *Spaniards*; but there were three Perſons more particularly that inſpired the King with this Deſign: *Gabriel d' Eſtree* his Miſtreſs, that he might conquer the County of *Compte* for her Son *Ceſar*; *Balagny*, that he might plunder *Hainault* and *Artois*; and the Mareſchal *de Bouillon*, that he might maintain himſelf in the Seignory of *Sedan*, and give Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* his Brother-in-law an opportunity to fix his Power by the Liberty of the United Provinces. For you muſt know

War againſt Spain reſolv'd on.

know the Mareſchal's Wife was dead; but ſtill he
tained the Principality, and married *Elizabeth*, *M*
rice his Siſter. *Bovillon*, *Balagny* and *Sancy* promi
mighty things, and the Duke of *Lorain* offered 4
men towards the Expedition.

The King approached to the Frontiers, ſuppoſing
have had ſome good Succeſs there; but the Severity
the Winter brought him back to *Paris*, and almoſt

Henry *like to be murder'd.*

a tragical Death: For the ſame day of his Arri
which was the 27*th* of *December* at 6 in the Eveni
while he was in his Miſtreſs's Chamber at the *Hoſtel*
Bouchage, and ſtepped forward to embrace *Monti*
he was ſtruck with a Knife on the lower Lip, wh
broke one of his Teeth. The young Fellow, wh
Name was *John Chaſtel*, and a Woollen-draper's S
was immediately ſeized, and confeſſed he was prom
ed to this Crime, becauſe finding himſelf laden with
pardonable Sins, and imagining he could not avoid
Torments of Hell, thought at leaſt to diminiſh th
by this Attempt, which he believed to be a meritori
Act, for that the King not being reconciled to
Church, could be nought but a Tyrant: He confe
alſo that he had been bred under the Jeſuits in *Clerm*
College, and that they often led him into a Chambe
Meditations, where Hell was repreſented with ſeva
moſt frightful Figures. This Diſpoſition added to
horrid Libels againſt *Henry* III. and this King, found
the Chamber of *Guignard* a Jeſuit, of which he was
Author, as alſo the Zeal which ſome of that Fra
nity had diſcovered for the Intereſts of *Spain*;
ſides, ſome ill Maxims they vented againſt Kings,
the antient Laws of the Kingdom, and other matt
made the Parliament pronounce a Decree for the
niſhing of *Chaſtel* for a Parricide, and baniſhing

Jeſuits baniſhed.

Jeſuits in fifteen days out of the Kingdom. Som
ther Parliaments followed them; but thoſe of *B*
deaux and *Tholouſe* refuſing, they ſheltred themſe
in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, till they were recal
Guignard was hanged, and ſome others puniſhed, m
particularly the Father of this wretched Parric
was baniſhed for nine years, his Houſe demoliſh
and a Pyramid ſet up in its place, upon one of
four Faces of which the Decree was engraven, and

her three divers Latin Inſcriptions, both in Verſe Proſe, in deteſtation of the horrid Fact, and Doctrine which was held to have been the occaſion

to ſay no more of this matter, the King now ed his Declaration of War againſt the King of and his Subjects. The Count *de Fuentes* now, up- 1595.
Death of Arch-Duke *Erneſt*, commanded in the *rlands*. In the mean time the Duke of *Nemours* g his eſcape, after he had taken divers Forts a- *Lyons*, was hard put to it by the Conſtable, from e, after he had committed the care of *Pipet*, the Caſtle of that Place, to his intimate Confident *eu*, he went to engage the Conſtable of *Caſtile* to nto *Lionnois*; but *Liſmieu* having given the Place the Conſtable, *Nemours* was at his wits end, fell a ſtrange Diſtemper, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion ſon, and died miſerably at his Caſtle of *Annecy* in being ſucceeded by his Brother the Marqueſs of *rlin*. His Death did not grieve his Brother *Mayn* h as the Loſs of *Beaulne* ſurrendred to *Biron*, e defection of the Cities of *Autun* and *Auſonne*: r was *Dijon*, by the help of *Biron*, far behind

the mean time *Velaſco* Conſtable of *Caſtile*, de- d into the *Franche Compte* in *April* with 15000 nd 3000 Horſe: Both *Biron* and *Montmerancy* afraid of him, and Madam *Gabriel*, who had a to the Country for her Son, as before noted, not let the King alone till he went thither in n. He took but a few Troops with him; and Frontiers of *Picardy*, he relied upon the Forces *uillon*, *St. Paul*, and *Villars*, recommending to above all things to keep a good Correſpondence; hen they were united into a Body, he gave the l Command to the Duke of *Nevers*. As for the nment it ſelf, he made the Prince of *Conty* chief Council at *Paris*, at which *Soiſſons* was ſo af- d, that it fomented the remaining Leven of the ns, and ſo affected the Commanders of the Ar- hat countermining each other, they did his work egligently.

The

The Conſtable of *Caſtile* having forced the *Lo*
ers to abandon all they had in the *Franche Comte*,
Tremblecour to capitulate in *Veſon*; after which b
about to make a Bridg at *Gray* upon the *Soane* to e
into *Burgundy*, the King with *Biron* advanced
a handful of Men to endeavour to retard him for a
while; and being on the laſt of *June* at *Fontaine F*
cois, between *Dijon* and *Gray*, he diſcovered the
mies whole Army deſcending from *St. Seine*, an
the ſame time found himſelf charged by *Mayn*'s *Fr*
Troops. *Biron* being rudely repulſed, the King ſ
the ſhock with 200 Horſe only, made ſeveral b
Henry *repulſes the* Spaniard. Charges, and drove 4 or 5 Squadrons back almoſt
the Body of *Mayn*'s Army, who on his part
thrice, and the fourth time went himſelf to int
the Conſtable to march on to a certain Victory;
he not ſtirring, and replying with Pride and ſe
Gravity, He knew well enough what to do,
extreamly exalted the King's Reputation, and b
the *French* quite off from the *Spaniards*: For *M*
now himſelf retired, upon the King's Aſſurance of
vour, to *Chaalons*, and ordered the Caſtles of *D*
and *Talon* to be ſurrendred to him, and began to m
his Peace.

When the King had ſpent ſome Weeks in ſettling
Affairs of *Burgundy*, and in reſtoring their Parliam
which had been interdicted, he entred the *Franch C*
te with a deſign to fight the *Caſtilian*, and, if
ceſsful, to conquer that Province. He might have
very conſiderable things, and perhaps had his ends
ſwered, had not the *Swiſs* Cantons interpoſed, and
Army been haraſs'd with Sickneſs: Wherefore he
a Journy from thence to *Lyons*, in order to treat
the Duke of *Savoy*, and bring the Affairs of *Dau*
and *Provence* into ſome tolerable Settlement. He m
a Truce with the firſt; and for the ſecond, he
Guiſe to the Government of *Provence*, gave the L
tenancy to *Leſdeguieres*, and that of *Dauphine*
Ornano. In the ſame Place a Treaty was concl
for the Reduction of *Bois-Dauſin*, and a Partic
Truce granted to *Merceur* for *Bretagne*, and a Ge
one to *Mayn* for all the remaining Parties of the Lea
The King's Neighbourhood haſtned alſo the moſt
rag

ns of the Parliament of *Tholouſe* to declare to
uke of *Joyeuſe*, that the King being now a Ca-
k, they were in Duty and Conſcience bound to
wledg him; and becauſe he forcibly hindred them
ne to any publick Reſolution herein, they retired
el-Saraſin, whence the King joined them, with
who in the beginning of the Troubles had tranſ-
themſelves to *Beſiers*. The Cities of *Carcaſſonne* *Divers*
Narbonne told the Duke the ſame thing, and ex- *Places*
his Gariſons, as on the other hand the Approach- *ſubmit to*
Matignon and *Levis* recovered *Rodez*; ſo that *the King.*
e had no other Places of Importance left him,
holouſe and *Alby*.

whilſt he was thus imployed in one part of his
om, the *Spaniards* made bloody work in *Picardy*,
Death of *Humieres*, the loſs of *Dourlens* and
ay, of which *Aumale* and *Roſne* were the Cauſe.
was the Duke of *Aumale's*, and *Gomeron* his Go-
r there being dead, his three Sons went to *Brux-*
demand what was due to them, where being de-
by the *Spaniards*, their half-Brother *Darvilliers*
e Command upon him, and called in *Humieres*
Gentry to his Aſſiſtance. *Humieres* bravely
g the *Spaniards* that were in the Town, was there
However, the *Spaniards* were forced out, tho ſome
ter they under *Thuentes* took *Chatelet*. The Peo-
nd even the Parliament, were ſo incenſed againſt
e, for the Death of the Brave *Humieres*, that the laſt
a Decree, pronouncing the Duke guilty of Trea-
nd the Parricide of *Henry* III. *Harlay* the Pre-
ſuſpended the Execution of the Sentence for ſome
but at laſt they dragged his Effigies to the *Greve*,
uarter'd it. The *Spaniards* ſtill went on, and be-
ouraged by *Roſne*, firſt beſieged *Dourlens*, then
to meet *St. Paul*, *Bouillon* and *Villars*. The French
chal at firſt made a ſtout Charge; but having the *worſted by*
he retreated, and the Admiral, who ſtaid be- *the* Spani-
o make another Charge, engaged ſo far amongſt *ards.*
emy, that he was taken Priſoner, and all his
ut in peces. The *Spaniards* killed him and *Seſſe-*
cold Blood, and his Office was given to *Dam-*
e Conſtable's Brother.

This done, the *Spaniards* took the Caſtle of *D*
lens by Aſſault, and made a great Slaughter of
Gariſon; then going into the Town, they ſpared
ther Woman nor Child, but cried out every wh
This is Revenge for Ham. Elated with theſe Pro
rities, they put a freſh Convoy into *la Fere*, and t
marched full of Confidence towards *Cambray*, t
they ſhould ſoon take it. For conſolation of t
Loſſes, the King was informed his Affairs went
ſucceſsfully on at *Rome*: However he thought it
viſable at laſt to ſend ſome Deputies thither, with
expreſs Procuration to treat about the Terms of
Abſolution, and receive it in his Name. *Perron*
d' Oſſat were the Perſons he pitched upon; but
Multiplicity of Affairs that intervened in the K
Council having obſtructed *Perron*'s Diſpatch for
Months, the *Spaniſh* Faction had a fair Opportunit
make the Pope believe they ſcoffed at him: So
when this Agent arrived, they practis'd all their
tilties, and laid what ſtreſs they could upon th
Succeſs at *Dourlens*, to hinder him and *d' Oſſ*
be admitted to Audience; but that being at laſt
tained, and two thirds of the Conſiſtory for allo
the King Abſolution, they propoſed ſuch Forma
as would require the King to ſubmit both himſel
his Kingdom to the Pope. However, the Agent
over this Difficulty well enough, and acquieſced
ſome others, to make the matter eaſy; and when
had agreed upon all the Articles, the Pope appo
The King abſolved at Rome. the 16*th* of *September* to be the Day of his giving
publick Abſolution, which he did on a Scaffold a
Porch of St. *Peter*'s Church. As ſoon as the King
informed of it, there were publick Thanks give
the Kingdom over, and he ſent to the Parliame
take off the Prohibition he had made of ſendi
Rome, appointed the Concordats with that See
be exactly obſerved, and did every thing that w
quiſite to teſtify his Acknowledgments to the P
tho perhaps it was all Compulſive, ſince in real
can never be thought he had any good Opini
the Juſtice of his Authority.

In the mean time the Siege of *Cambray* went
Balagny had but ill provided for its Security: But

People of *Artois* and *Hainault*, out of the Desire had to be delivered from the Oppressions of this strengthened the Besiegers Army with above Men, contributed great Sums of Money, and hem Guns, Ammunition and Provision; yet all id not much advance their Attacks, they were incommoded with Rains, and *Nevers* at *Peron*s forming a considerable Body to haras them: *Choſne* incouraged them to proceed, and the *Cam*ns being in despair, that the King would not adem into the Number of his Subjects, since they t the beginning of the Siege sent Deputies to reit of him, and thereby considering they must egroan under the Burden of some such severe r as *Balagny*, they resolved to shake it off at st Opportunity; and therefore as soon as a small h was made, they would capitulate. *Balagny* not appear, but his Wife the Sister of the brave *de Amboise*, went with a Pike in her Hand to the et-Place to stop their Resolution; but nothing do, surrender they did without any other terms he bare Words of the *Spaniards*: The *French* into the Citadel, which being weak and ill ed with Victuals, *Nevers* sent the Besieged they should capitulate upon the best terms they have. The Lady *Balagny* believing it a more gente to fall into the Arms of Death, than into and Nothingness, when she observed they be- treat, retired full of Sorrow into her Chamber, pired some Hours before her Sovereignty. The much concerned at this Loss, and his Soldiers uring that himself had been the Occasion by staylong with his Mistress at *Lyons*, he would aid all the Disgrace upon *Nevers*, who was so y touched therewith that it cost him his Life: o repair this Loss, he imployed his Forces cover *la Fere*, whither he went himself from *aux*, and brought the Duke of *Main* along im.

Cambray *taken by the* Spaniards.

s Duke, who had stood firm to his Protestation king no Accommodation till the King were re- 1596
d to the Church, seemed very ready upon the n News of his Absolution to acknowledg him;

Many were for excluding him now from any Tre
at all; but the King wiſely conſidering all Circumſt
ces, and that he might upon ſuch a rejection inſep
bly unite with the *Spaniards*, and the King's Miſ
being alſo deſirous to gain all the Friends ſhe co
ſhe ſtickled much in his favour, and ſo obtained
honourable Conditions; whereby there was an O
vion of all that was paſt, the Duke diſcharged o
Moneys received and diſpoſed of, reſtored to all
Goods and Eſtate, declared no Accuſation lay aga
the Princes and Princeſſes of his Houſe, about
Death of the late King: That the Demands of *A*
ceur and *Aumale* ſhould be willingly heard, and Ex
tion of Judgment given againſt the laſt ſuſpend
The Duke had *Chalon*, *Seurre* and *Soiſſons* for his Se
ty, and the Government of *Chalon* ſeparately fo
Years from that of *Burgundy* was given to his eldeſt S
He was acquitted of 350000 Crowns he and his Fri
were engaged for, as alſo all the other Debts he had
tracted in his own Name, as being Head of
Party, with the *Swiſs*, *German* Horſe, *Lorainers*
other Strangers, and the King obliged himſelf to
them amongſt thoſe of the Crown. *Joyeuſe* and
new Duke of *Nemours* had alſo particular Condi
given them; ſo that there only remained now
ceur, the *Duumvirs* of *Marſeilles*, and *Eſpernon*.

Main *makes his Peace.*

The War was continued in *Bretagne* laſt
where the Brave and Faithful Mareſchal *d' Au*
was killed before the Caſtle of *Comper*: The Pro
had afterwards three Months Truce granted it, d
which *Belle-Iſle* thinking to ſurprize *Mount St.*
chel for the King, was there ſlain. As for *Prov*
the King would gladly have had *Leſdeguieres* and
pernon both out from thence, who no ways agreed
one another; and the Duke of *Guiſe* being made
vernor of that Province, he ſoon quietted it, a
the ſame time laboured quite to expel the *Savoy*
Eſpernon, and to reduce *Marſeilles*. The *Savoy*
had only *Grace* and *Berre* now in their Hands,
firſt of which the Duke quickly recovered, but
held the laſt till the Peace of *Vervins*. The Re
tion of *Marſeilles* was the more important W
where the *Duumvirs Aix* and *Caſaux* were upon

G

d, and chose rather to treat with *Spain*, and have Dutchies for it in *Naples*, than with their natural and received a Re-inforcement of 1200 Men *Doria* Prince of *Malfy*: But this would not do, *berat* a Citizen having treated privately with to let him in, provided he might have the Office guier, be made a Nobleman, have the Govern- of *Noſtre dame de la Garde*, and 50000 Crowns; ke, *Feb.* 17*th* the Day appointed, approached half a League of the City, and placed ſome s yet much nearer in ambuſh under *Alemanon*: Morning *Aix* going out at the Royal Gate, Cuſtom was, with ſome Arquebuſiers, to ſearch the Walls; *Liberat* who was upon the Guard is People, pulled up the Draw-Bridg, and ſhut t; *Caſaux* was within the Town, and not know- Trick put upon *Aix*, came with his Men to- the ſame Gate as uſually; but *Liberat* killing ith his Piſtol, *Aix* with ſome of his Friends raned over the Wall into the Town, where he d *Liberat*, and recovered the Gate. But the te *Bernard* going out with ſome noted Citizens Street, and crying out *Vive le Roy*, in a r of an Hour they had 1000 Men; and *Ale-* advancing from without with 300 Soldiers, *Aix* ourage, and retired to the Fort of *St. Victor*, *Caſaux*'s two Sons went into that of *la Garde*: whence they all three in a ſhort time fled to and there ended their Days miſerably, leav- to be poſſeſſed by *Guiſe* for the King's Uſe. uke after this beat *Eſpernon* at the *Argence*, and and drowned a great many of his Men; ſo that *on*, what with this Diſaſter, his being like to have own up by a Peaſant at *Brignoles*, and other Diſ- ements, had recourſe to the Interceſſion of the ble his Wife's Uncle; ſo that *Roquelaure* was to *Provence* to treat with him; the Duke firſt d of a Truce, and then of theſe Conditions: e ſhould be confirmed in all his Offices and Go- nts; beſides that he ſhould have that of *Limo-* e joined with thoſe of *Saintogne* and *Perigord*, Survivance of them for his Son; alſo a Sum of and Aſſurance that thoſe on whom he had

Marſeilles *ſurrendred to the King.*

Eſpernon *treats and ſubmits.*

beſtowed the Government of Places in *Proven* ſhould be continued in them.

At the ſame time, *la Fere* being ſtill beſieged by *French*, Archduke *Albert*, being emulous of the Gl of *Fuentes*, armed powerfully to relieve it; but fi ing it would not do without hazarding a Battel, contented himſelf with throwing into it 500 Ho each carrying a Sack of Corn behind, and a Bun of Match about his Neck; and then turning towa the Sea-Coaſt, ſuddenly fell upon *Calais*, inveſted fore by *Rhoſne*, who had ſeized upon the Forts of *eullay* and the *Oisban*. The firſt thing the Archd did was to force the Suburbs of *Courguet*; and then ving made a Breach in the Rampart, they capi ted to give up the Town within eight Days, and Citadel in ſix more if they were not relieved. ther could the Count of *St. Paul* by Sea from *St. ley*, the King from *Bologn*, nor the *Hollanders*, bec of the high and contrary Winds, relieve them. *H ry* depended much upon the Queen of *England* Relief, and ſent *Sancy* to her for that purpoſe; ſhe was much out of conceit with him for chan his Religion, and demanded *Calais* for herſelf: was indeed prevailed upon at laſt to ſend 8coo under *Eſſex* to Sea for that purpoſe; but it pr too late, and the Citadel was gone.

Calais *taken by the* Spaniards.

It had been no great Difficulty for the King to made the *Spaniards* periſh for Want in *Calais*, ha been ſure of the Fidelity of the *Engliſh*; but b diſtruſtful of that, he returned to the Siege of *la* which had held out much longer by the ordi Rules, had it not been in reſpect to *Colas*, the of *Spain* having given *Oſorio* Orders not to ſta the laſt Extremity, for fear he ſhould be obliged t liver up that Man; ſo that the Capitulation was on the 15*th* of *May*, to which *Colas* ſigned, *de la Fere*. But in the *Interim*, the Archduke m ing from *Calais* on the 3*d* of *May* to comple Exploits, attacked *Ardres* a little but very f Place, *Belun* and *Montluc* were within it; ho the horrible Slaughters of *Dourlens* and *Calais* rified the Soldiers, the unfortunate Death of *luc* with a Cannon-ball, and the taking of the

La Fere *ſurrendered to the* French.

*

with great Effuſion of Blood, with *Rhoſne*'s ing upon the Baſtion with his great Guns, all red to the Surrendry of the Place on the 21*ſt* y, for which *Belin* was like to have loſt his Court. So many Loſſes one upon the neck of made the King very uneaſy; and the Motion o him by young *Montpeſier*, whom others ſet on, would give the Governments in Propriety to hat held them, did not at all reliſh with him; did the *Hugonots* give him any leſs diſquiet than randees; he could not grant their Edict without ging the Pope, wherefore they deliberated to them a Protector, and eſtabliſh an Order a- them, that would as it were form another in the Heart of the Kingdom. The King at ne was labouring to unite all the Proteſtants his in one League againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; eſe Diſcontents of the *Hugonots* caſt a Coldneſs their Spirits, ſo that the *German* Princes ex- themſelves, except the Count *Palatine*, and f *Wirtemburgh*: *Bouillon* and *Sancy* had much engage the Queen of *England*; at length they n Offenſive and Defenſive League, ſhe and the bliging themſelves mutually to aſſiſt one another 000 Men in eithers Country, if attacked, and ke no Peace or Truce with the *Spaniard* but nt Conſent; the *Dutch* entred into it alſo, and ſed to bring 10000 Foot and 1500 Horſe to the ers of *Picardy*.

Ardres *to the* Spaniards.

Henry *forms a League againſt the Houſe of* Auſtria.

e to ſay nothing of the Comet that appeared in is Year, we are to mention another Prodigy, hat one *Ramee* a young Man, pretended to be Heir to the Crown, as being the Son of *Charles* d *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, and fancied *Catherine ledicis* ſtole him away in his Cradle, and ſent nto the Country, that her Son *Henry* III. might d; he was aſſiſted in acting this Comedy by a nt of *Vermandois*; but they were taken up, and paid for it with the loſs of their Lives: It was ſed ſome of the Great Ones had a hand in this vance for diſturbing the Government.

A ſham Prince.

e King all this while kept fair with the Church of and was ſo complaiſant as to breed up the young

An Assembly of Notables.

Prince of *Conde* in the *Popish* Religion; then for defraying the Expences of his Army, he chose an Assembly of Notables out of the Grandees, Prelates, Officers of Justice and the Treasure, because the General States would have been too tedious and dilatory; and indeed as much as the wisest Politicians formerly loved them, so much did the Princes of the latter times dread them. The first Session was opened on the 4*th* of *November* at *St. Ouin* in *Roan*, where the King amongst other things told them, to their great Satisfaction, That he had not called them thither to follow him blindfold in what he should desire, but to take their Counsels, to believe them, to pursue them; in short, to put himself under their Tutelage. Many excellent Regulations were made, but little of them put in Execution, saving what related to the raising of Money; in order to which all Officers Wages were retrenched for a Year, and a Sol *per* Livre laid upon all Goods entring into any enclosed Town, except Wheat.

1597. Now King *Philip* being grown old and weary of the War, easily gave ear to the Propositions made by the Pope for an Accommodation; and indeed such Measures had been taken, that the Treaty was much advanced, when an Accident of the greatest Astonishment to *France* interrupted it, and brought the Kingdom into extreme Danger. *Teilo* Governor of *Dourlens* formed a Design to surprize *Amiens*; in order thereunto on the 10*th* of *March*, a little before nine in the Morning, when all People were at Church, 16 Soldiers disguised like Peasants, entred the Gate of *Montrescu* some carrying Nuts, others Apples, while the rest drove a Cart laden with Straw. One of the first let a Bag of Nuts fall to amuse the Guard, and at the same time the Cart advanced upon the Bridg of the second Gate, and there stopt to hinder the Portcullis from barring up the way: The Signal being given by the firing of a Pistol, these Soldiers briskly charged the Court of Guard; upon which a Body of 200 Foot concealed in a Chappel about 200 Paces off, another of a thousand more, and after these a Body of Horse that waited a Quarter of a League from thence, ran in to second them, and became quickly Masters of the City without much Resistance.

Amiens surprized by the Spaniard.

The

They were ſtrangely ſurprized in *France* at this Adenture, and the King by the Duke of *Main*'s Perſuaon forthwith ſent *Biron* to inveſt it on *Artois* ſide with 000 Horſe; whilſt the King ſtrangely dejected, and alo incommoded with the Reliques of a Diſtemper which is Pleaſures had brought upon him laſt Year, endeaoured to haſten Levies both of Men and Money at *aris*. The Provinces on this ſide the *Loire* underook to maintain five Regiments, a great many of the obility flocked to him, and the Parliament branded thers with Infamy that would not; *Rhoſny* Superinndant of the Finances undertook to raiſe a conſideble Fund by voluntary Loans, and the Creation of ivers Offices; the Parliament and every Body elſe in manner ſhewed great Forwardneſs to contribute toards the Charge. From the end of *March*, *Biron* as ſcouring the Country round towards *Dourlens*, to revent the *Spaniards* from conveying Ammunition into *Amiens*, and at laſt began a Circumvallation beond the *Somme* of 40000 Fathom in circumference, anked with ſeven ſtrong Pentagones, and laid a Bridg over the River above *Longpre*. All *April* was ſpent in marching Troops thither, *May* in making their odgments, ſo that the Approaches were not begun till owards the beginning of *June*. The King came thiher with the whole Court and even with his Miſtreſs, t which the haughty *Biron* taunted, which was not aferwards forgot. In the mean time the Remainder of he *Spaniſh* Faction revived in *Paris*, whereof ſome of hem were hanged; and at the ſame Juncture an Aſſemly of the Nobility was held in *Bretagne*, even in the reſence of *Briſſac*, and with the Knowledg, as they id of *Montpeſier*, *Trimoville* and *Bouillon*, where it as propoſed to erect a third Party under the Name f *Good Frenchmen* and the Protection of *England*, but he Progreſs made in the Siege of *Amiens* put this by. *Merceur* upon the end of the Truce was managed to e quiet, and thereby incurred the ſame Reproach, herewith he had often taunted *Main*, *That Opportuities had never failed him, but he had often miſſed his Opportunities*. The Duke of *Savoy* and *Leſdeguieres* made a ſharp War upon one another, with various Fortune. The Duke of *Florence* ſeized the Iſle and Caſtle

Inteſtine Deſigns in the Kingdom.

Caſtle of *If* near *Marſeilles*, and made Pretences to keep it for a while, only to ſee how the King's Affairs were like to go, for many looked upon the loſs of *Amiens* to be the loſs of *France*. The *Hugonots* now, as it were banded apart, and held frequent Aſſemblies conſiſting of three Deputies from every Province, *viz.* a Gentleman, Miniſter and Elder, and ſent Deputies to deſire the King to convert the Truce granted them by *Henry* III. into an irrevocable one: They apprehended the Legate's coming into *France* forboded no good to them, which with the Suggeſtions of *Trimoville* and *Bouillon* made ſome of them ready to run to their Arms, and but few of the reſt came to the Siege of *Amiens*, ſome People having maliciouſly buzzed there would be a St. *Bartholomew* in the Field, as well as there had been at *Paris*.

Amiens *attacked by the* French.

However the Siege went on, *Biron* for his Honour-ſake ſurpaſſed himſelf; and the Queen of *England*, tho much diſſatisfied, ſent the King 4000 Men. There were but 500 Gariſon Soldiers in the Town, but above 60 Cannon mounted, who yet made ſo brave a Defence, that it was three Months before the Beſiegers got to the Ditch: In the laſt of three notable Sallies they ſlew 500 *French* and 30 Officers; they revived the uſe of Mines and Countermines on each ſide; but at laſt the Beſieged were very much weakned, the Inhabitants conſpired to deliver it up, ſo that *Teilo* finding himſelf much ſtraitned, ſent to deſire and incourage the Archduke to come to his Relief.

The Archduke, tho ill ſeconded by the King of *Spain*, to preſerve ſo important a Conqueſt, diligently drew together 18000 Foot and 4000 Horſe; and being accompanied by the Duke of *Aumale*, and old Count *Mansfield* carried in a Chair, marched on, and ſent *Coutreras* before with 900 Horſe to obſerve the Enemy; but he was ſharply repulſed near *Querieu*, which was but a bad Preſage of the Duke's Enterprize, and a worſe yet was the Death of the valiant *Teilo*, who no doubt would have bravely ſeconded him: He was ſlain by a Musket-ſhot, and the Marqueſs of *Montenegro* owned for Governor in his Room. The Archduke advanced not above two Leagues the three firſt Days of his March, *Montpeſier* with the Light Horſe hovering

about

out him. Now whether the Archduke had notice of e King's being gone a hunting, or what elſe moved m, he marched more Leagues in that one Night and xt Morning than he had done in all before; ſo that out Noon he appeared on the ſide of a Hill about o Paces from *Longpre*, deſigning to gain that Poſt, after the Bridg upon the River, and ſo throw 2500 oice Men into the City under *Buquoy*. At the ſight of em all was in alarm, the Outguards abandoned their oſts, the Foot fell firſt into Confuſion and then to the out, and nothing that the Generals did could hin- r the Terror from ſpreading it ſelf more and more ro all the Army; the *Spaniſh* Horſe already cried out *ctory*, and the Soldiers ſaid, *Come we muſt fall on.* But e Archduke loſing three Hours time in Council, and *Main* gueſſing at his Deſign, ſent ſome old Soldiers and pieces of Cannon towards *Longpre*; and the King re- rning from his Sport, put Courage into his Men, tho not ithout much difficulty: At laſt the Archduke moving wards *Longpre*, but being unexpectedly flanked by the Guns, they were ſo diſcouraged at this unexpected Sa- ute, that the Archduke went and poſted himſelf at *St. Sa- veur*: *Main* in the Night cauſed the Avenues to *Longpre* be fortified, and it was well, for the Archduke had laid Bridg over againſt *St. Saveur*, and immediately endea- oured to paſs his Forces over to attack *Longpre*; but find- g the *French* ſo well prepared, he thought of nothing ow but of his Retreat, and therefore marched away little after Midnight from *Vienancour*, without any terruption, attacked *Monthulin* that incommoded *rdres*, then diſmiſſing his Army retired to *Arras*.

In the mean time the Beſieged on the ſame day he ent off, which was *Sept.* 19*th*, capitulated to ſurrender ſix Days, unleſs relieved within that time, of which ey were allowed to give the Archduke Notice, and elivered Hoſtages for their Performance of the Agree- ent: The Place was given up accordingly, and the ing made *Vic* Governor of it, who took care to re- eople it, and obtained the Re-eſtabliſhment of all eir Privileges; but they had a Citadel raiſed over eir Heads, which makes their Poſterity ſigh to this ve- y Day for the neglect of their great Grandfathers. he King paſſing by *Arras*, carried the News of the Surrender

French *recover* Amiens.

Surrender of *Amiens*, by ſaluting *Albert* with ſome Vollies of Shot; then inveſted *Dourlens*, but before the end of *October* was forced to quit it with great Damage, and ſome Shame.

There is nothing elſe material that fell out in the compaſs of this Year, but ſome Overtures of a Peace between the two Crowns, to which both Kings, from divers Conſiderations, were equally inclined; and
1598. therefore now *Vervins* was the Place agreed on for the Treaty, for which K. *Henry* named *Bellievre* and *Sillery* to be his Plenipotentiaries, as the Arch-Duke, according to the Powers he had from the King of *Spain*, made choice of *Richardot*, *Taſſis* and *Audiencier*. Here, after the Legat had found an Expedient for adjuſting their Differences about Precedency, they agreed to a Ceſſation of Arms for four Leagues round *Vervins*. It will be too tedious to purſue the Particulars of this Negotiation: The *French* inſiſted upon the Reſtitution of what they had loſt, and would have all things put upon the ſame foot as they were by the Treaty of *Chatcauin Cambreſis*, An. 1559. And the *Spaniard* were for great Advantages to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Mercœur* to be comprehended, the *Netherlanders* excluded, and much more; but the old Fox *Leſdeguiers* having put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Arms, by his taking the Fort of *Barraux*, the Terms made for him were, That the Pope ſhould be ſole Judg of the Differences between him and the King, and decide them in a year; but if he died before, the Parties were to take three months for chuſing ſome other Arbitrators; and in the interim the Duke was to give up *Berre* in *Provence*, diſown Captain *la Fortune*, that in his Name ſeized upon *Soure* in *Burgundy*, and ſtand Neuter between the two Crowns.

Treaty of Vervins.

Agreement for the D. of Savoy.

As for *Mercœur*, the King finding he daily ſifted an Agreement, by *Schomberg*'s Advice drew towards *Bretagne*, ordered *Briſſac* to begin the War, who quickly took *Dinant*, while the Rumour of the King's March ſo terrified the Commanders of all the little Places on the Frontiers of *Bretagne*, as *Craon*, *Rochefort* in *Anjou*, *Montjau* in *Main*, *Mirabeau* in *Touraine*, *Tifanges* in *Poictou*, and *Aurenis* even in *Bretagne*, that they brought the Keys to him on his way. The Duke

uke of *Merceur* was much aſtoniſhed at this, and w now the only Refuge was the King's Clemency, hich he had recourſe to by the Interceſſion of the e King's Miſtreſs newly made Dutcheſs of *Beaufort*, ho would needs make the Duke's only Daughter the rice of it, for her Son, called by the Courtiers *Ce-r Monſieur*, and brought the Duke's haughty Lady, ſpite of all her Pride and Artifice, to comply with ; upon which the King allowed the Duke an Edict moſt as honourable as he could have expected when s Power was greateſt, whereby all his Followers were ſtored to their Eſtates and Privileges, himſelf had al-wed him his own, 236000 Crowns reparation for his rlike Expences, beſides 17000 Crowns Penſion, leave ſell the Corn in ſtore, to the value of 50000 Crowns, keeping of the Caſtles of *Guingamp*, *Montemort*, d *Lamballe* ; Paſports for the *Spaniards* that lay in River of *Nantes* to retire, beſides other things, as anted in the Edict for *Main*. In purſuance of the greement, the King having made his Son *Cæſar* Duke *Vendoſme*, which Dutchy was to be held by him th the ſame Rights and Advantages as the preceding kes had held it, with other Advantages; the Mar-ge was ſolemnized in ſo pompous a manner, as if had been a Son of *France*, the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe* t diſdaining to perform the Ceremony.

While the King was at *Nantes*, he finiſhed the Bu-eſs of the *Hugonots:* For their Deputies being come him at *Blois*, he cauſed them to follow him thither, d put them off till after the Treaty with *Merceur*; d then he granted them that Edict, called from the me of the Town, *The Edict of* Nantes. It con-ned 92 Articles, more advantageous than the former icts, ſince they were allowed to be Officers of Judi-ture and the Finances. There were 56 more added, ich were called, *The Secret Articles*, the moſt im-rtant being that which left them ſeveral Places of Se-rity, beſides thoſe they held already. The King d not ſend it to be verify'd in Parliament, till the pe's Legate was gone out of the Kingdom ; ſo that came not thither till the following Year, when Deputies boggled at it very much, and more par-ularly that they were hereby qualified for Offices

Edict of Nantes.

and

and Places of Truſt, inſomuch that the King w
forced to ſend for ſome of the chief of them to a
tend him in his Cloſet, where he made a moſt p
thetick Speech to them upon that occaſion, and wi
ſome difficulty brought them to a Compliance.

But to return again to *Vervins*, the Treaty ſti
went on; the *Engliſh* were not averſe to a Peace, pr
vided the *United Provinces* were taken care of, fro
whom the Queen's Ambaſſador had Orders not to ſep
rate; but *Henry* made more haſte than they wou
have him, and the Treaty was ſigned on the 2*d* o
May; but he promiſed the *Engliſh* he would not rat
fy it till forty Days after: But Queen *Elizabeth* bei
not able to prevail with him to protract it a mon
longer, wrote to him very roundly, and in ſu
Terms as accuſed him of Ingratitude; nay the *Engli*
declaimed moſt outrageouſly in his Court againſt th
Procedure, and made their Complaints reach the Ea
of all Proteſtant Princes. The *Hollanders* were mo
modeſt, and Arguments were urged to both to co
in, which they rejected, as prejudicial to their Intere
ſo that the King ſent his Ratification to his Deput
about the end of *May*. The principal Articles of t
Treaty were, that in caſe the King of *Spain* ſhou
give the *Low Countries*, and the Counties of *Burgun*
and *Charolois* to the *Infanta* his Daughter, ſhe and h
Territories ſhould be comprehended in the Treat
without making any new one for that purpoſe. T
two Kings were mutually to ſurrender what they h
taken from one another ſince 1559. *viz.* *Henry* the Co
ty of *Charolois*, and *Philip* *Calais*, *Ardres*, *Monthul*
Dourlens, *la Capelle*, and *la Catelet* in *Picardy*, alſo *B*
vet in *Bretagne*; both the one and the other reſervi
all Rights and Pretenſions to be proſecuted amicabl
and in a way of Juſtice, which regarded *Navarre* an
Burgundy.

Articles of the Peace of Vervins.

There was nothing treated on here concerning t
Duke of *Florence*; but *D'Oſſat* being gone into th
Country, he on the 9*th* of *May* decided the Matte
in diſpute, and the Duke was to give up the Iſles
If and *Pomegues*, from whence he might remove h
Cannon, Equipage and Ammunition, for which t
King ſhould own himſelf his Debtor 200000 Crown

t good Assignments should be given him for it, and
r security of the said Payment 12 Nobles of the
rench, whom he himself should nominate. Thus
ance was now brought into a perfect State of Tran-
illity, and they had no more to do, than by degrees to
cruit the infinite Damages they had sustained, and
cruit their Strength and Forces, half consumed by
many ghastly Wounds, and so great an Effusion of
eir best Blood. They began to ease the Govern-
ent by disbanding as many as they could of the Ar-
y; but this having caused a world of Robberies,
e King by a Declaration of the fourth of *August*, for-
d the use of Fire-Arms to all sorts of People, except
ns d' Arms, Light-Horse-Guards, Officers of the
dnance, all Provosts and Archers. The same
nth the Treaty of Marriage was concluded between
tharine the King's Sister and *Henry* Duke of *Bar*,
n to *Charles* Duke of *Lorain*.

About the same time there was an Assembly of the
ergy held at *Paris*, where the Archbishop of *Tours*
manded in their Name, the Publication of the
uncil of *Trent*; saving the Rights of the *Gallican*
urch; the re-establishment of Canonical Elections,
Benefices having care of Souls; the Revocation of
efs of Nomination to Benefices, full Liberty for the
ergy to enjoy their Revenues, without any Obli-
tion but performing their Functions; repairing
Churches; due Observation of those Contracts
Clergy had made with the King. The King an-
ered them very gravely and concisely, and promised
Reply to each of their Demands as soon as he could
liberate with his Council thereupon. And so we
ve this Matter.

Assembly of the Clergy.

We will here pass over the King of *Spain*'s having
tled the *Low Countries* upon his Daughter *Isabella*,
d the Circumstances of his own Death; neither
ll we but just mention K. *Henry*'s Sickness in *October*,
hich menaced him with Apprehensions of Death be-
g near, and the Sollicitations of his Mistress upon
s Recovery, to marry her: And note, that in the
ginning of this Year there happened four Illustrious
arriages; first of the King's Sister with the Duke of
r, on the last of *January*; that of the Duke of *Nevers*
with

Divers Illustrious Marriages. 1599.

with the Duke of *Main*'s Daughter; of his Son *Henry* wit
Henrietta the Sister of *Nevers*, and then of the Duke
Montpesier with *Henrietta Catherine*, the only Daught
of the Duke of *Joyeuse*: The King the same Year
rected *Aiguillon* to a Dutchy and Peerage in favour
the Duke of *Mayn*'s Son. The Solemnities of the
Weddings were but just over, when the said Duke
Joyeuse, according to an obsolete Vow of his, and t
Sollicitations of his Mother, retired to the *Capuchi*
Convent at *Paris*, and in three or four Days after,
the amazement of all, was seen in a Pulpit, where th
penitential Habit, and his Sermons much fuller of Ze
than Learning, gave him more Lustre in the Opinio
of the People, than either his Birth or Dignity ha
given him at Court. The Marchioness of *Belle-I*
having at the same time retired into the Convent
Fuillantines at *Tholouse*, was no less talked of, she b
ing the handsomest and wittiest Lady of her time.

In the beginning of the Year *Sillery* was sent
Rome about the Business of the Marquisate of *Sal*
zes, and obtaining a Divorce from his Queen *Marg*
ret; but she well knowing the King upon that wou
marry his Mistress, gave the Pope notice of it, and th
it was the Reason of her Non-compliance; upon whi
the Pope shewed himself averse, tho it's thought t
King would have gained his Point this way in tim
But a strange and very wicked Hand did not unty b
cut the Knot of all these Difficulties; for the Dutc
ess of *Beaufort* being with the King at *Fontainble*
and big with Child, he desired her upon the Approa
of *Easter* to retire to *Paris*, and lodg at *Sebasti*
Zamets, who on *Maundy Thursday* having taken a m
particular Care to treat her with such things as we
most agreeable to her Palate, it hapned as she went
Mattins in *St. Antonys*, that she fell into a Swoon, a
being carried from *Zamets* to her Sister *Sourcis*, di
there next day, appearing so hideous, and her Visa
so disfigured, that none could behold her without H
ror, which made some say, the Devil had served her
to whom she had sold herself, upon condition she sho
alone engross the King's Favour. The Pope believ
this as a Favour granted him from Heaven, in answ
to his Prayers, and Queen *Margaret* concurri
there

Dutchess of Beaufort's *Death.*

erein, made no ſcruple to declare the Marriage null, d not lawfully contracted, and permitted the Par- s to remarry elſewhere.

I will not enter upon a Narration of the ridiculous ory of *Martha*, Daughter to a Weaver of *Romar-*, who pretended to be poſſeſſed, and whom ſome the *Romiſh* Clergy endeavoured to make uſe of to e prejudice of the *Hugonots*, whoſe Edict was now ified in Parliament. Neither ſhall I but juſt menti- one *Francis Trovillu*, a Peaſant of the Country of *ayn*, who had a Horn growing on his Head; nor Smith of *Conflans*, who lived for three whole ars without eating or drinking, but afterwards he to do both: But here remark that the Kingdom ng in Peace, the Great Men were but little conſi- ed in the Adminiſtration of Affairs; the Council mpoſed all of Men of the Quill, deſired to bring m lower, that they might ſtand upon equal terms: oſe that had been of the League were well treated; *ayn* indeed was low, and affected to appear yet poor- than he was, knowing his Want of Power and Riches was now his only Security: The moſt diſcon- ted were the Dukes of *Bouillon*, *Tremoville*, *Mont- ancy* and *Montpeſier*, eſpecially this laſt, who be- prepoſſeſt with an extravagantly high Opinion of nſelf, was flattered by the *Spaniards* to evil Sugge- ns; therefore going into *Guyenne* in *May*, he be- ed himſelf ſo, as gave the King ſome Suſpicion of nger, to prevent which he went to *Blois*, where he s when the News of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Voyage liged him to return to *Fontainbleau*. About which e his Chancellor *Chiverny* departing this Life, *Bel- re* ſucceeded him, who with *Villeroy* Secretary of te, and *Sillery* Preſident of the Parliament of *Pa- Janvin* of that of *Burgundy*, and *de Rhoſny* Super- endant of the Finances, governed all, eſpecially laſt, with whom the King was moſt familiar of , and who made it his Buſineſs divers ways to fill Coffers. The King indeed was vaſtly charged h annual Rents, Penſions and Salaries; and that refore they might bring the Revenues into the and Channel of the Exchequer, the Treaſurer in firſt place endeavoured to open all the Springs

Regulations made by the Treasurer.

from whence they were to flow, and ſtop up all B leaks: Moſt enormous Abuſes were committed upo the levying of ſuch Monies as were raiſed by extra ordinary Commiſſions; and it was the Cuſtom of ſom of the Council, to procure very eaſy Adjudication that they might have a ſhare in the Profit. As for th firſt, he ordered the Receivers to make Receits f theſe as for the other; and for the other, havin found that the Sub-farms amounted to thrice as muc as the General Adjudication, he tied up the Hands the Principal Farmers, and cauſed the whole to b brought into the Treaſury; he reſtored all the Alien tions to the King, who made them treble the value; g all Privileges revoked that had been granted for abo 30 Years, with all Patents of Nobility from the ſa Term: Then was the famous Privilege called the *Fra chiſe* of *Chalo St. Mars* utterly aboliſhed: Then ſent Commiſſioners into the Provinces to regulate t Tailles, which becauſe the open Country was mu deſtroyed, were leſſened about 600000 Crowns, a all Arrears remitted to the Year 1597. which amou ed to above 20 Millions.

In the mean time, the King and the Duke of *Sa* could not agree about the Marquiſate of *Saluzz Sillery* who was then at *Rome* propoſed as an expedie that the Duke ſhould enjoy it till a definitive Senten provided he would hold it as a Fief movant of *D phine*. The Pope finding this would not do, wo have it ſequeſtred into his Hands, but neither the K nor the Duke approved of this; ſo that the Duke laſt finding nothing could be done at *Rome*, nor by Agents in *France*, he reſolved to go himſelf thith having ſo good an Opinion of his own Abiliti that he did not doubt but to bring the King and Miniſters to acquieſce with his Arguments and Reaſo and accordingly ſet out in the beginning of *Dec.* that Kingdom.

King in love with Balſac.

The Marriage of the King with Queen *Marg* being fully diſſolved, he propoſed a Match with *M ry de Medicis*, Daughter to *Francis* Duke of *Flor* but in the *Interim* the King's Heart was ſo ſtrangel namoured with an airy, witty and pleaſant Lady, med *Henrietta de Balſac*, who was the Daughter

M

ry Bouchet Miſtreſs to *Charles* IX. and ſhe mana-
her Careſſes ſo well by the advice of her Parents,
ſhe made the King promiſe to marry her, if with-
hat Year ſhe brought him a Son, and give her at
100000 Crowns, before ſhe would yield to his
ires; after which he gratified her with the Lands
Verneuil, and Title of Marchioneſs. But the Ne-
ation at *Florence* being carried on beyond what
expected, it's incredible how much concerned the
Marchioneſs was, tho ſhe diſſembled it, and her
ther the Count of *Auvergne* ſought to revenge the
ry, and joined with the Malecontents before men-
ed to coop the King up in Priſon, rob him of his
wn, and beſtow it upon ſome other Prince of the
d, and many were of Opinion the Duke of *Savoy*
privy to it. Whatever Deſign he had, he came by
Rhoſne to *Lyons*, and to *Orleans*, where he was re- 1600.
ed by *Nemours*, by Mareſchal *Biron* between that
Fontainbleau, and two Leagues nearer by the Duke
Montpeſier: He arrived at *Fontainbleau* on the 14*th*
Decemb. in the Morning, where he found the King
ready to mount his Horſe to go and meet him.
King entertained him there with all ſorts of Di-
ons for ſix Days, then going to *Paris*, offered
an Apartment in the *Louvre*; but the Duke thank-
him, went and lodged at the *Hoſtel de Nevers*.
he Duke omitted nothing to gain his Point, by
nts, New Years Gifts, and all other Complaiſan-
o the Miniſters that could be thought of; and be-
to unboſom himſelf to the King by complaining
he *Spaniards*, propoſing the Conqueſt of *Milan*
the Empire; and diſcovering the Friends, Means
Intelligencies he had for that purpoſe. The King
d him attentively, and gave him Thanks for his
Will, but after all told him, *The Reſtitution of*
Marquiſate ought to precede all thoſe Deſigns, and
they would conſider other Affairs, when once this
t was over. The Duke was ſtartled at the Re-
, but diſſembled to act in ſuch a manner, and re-
ſuch Civilities, as might indicate he was not diſ-
ſed, while the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador on his part was
armed at his being in *France*, and his Deſigns there;
one Day he plainly reproached him to his Face;

That the King had assured him, he was come purposely in France, *to perswade him to make a War upon* Spain: Th Duke was highly offended with the King for it, but no daring to question him, thought to revenge himself upo Mareschal *Biron* his supposed Favourite: Being there fore a hunting one Day, he took him aside, and bega to rail bitterly against the King, with a Design to pro duce a Quarrel; but the other railed worse than he made known all his Secrets, and the Conspiracy alre dy formed to dethrone him. The Duke both surprize and pleased, immediately closed with the Party, an from hence forward caressed *Biron* at a great rate, an studied to praise him to excess even before the King Face, on purpose to augment his Jealousy; and i short, he forced two or three stinging Expressions fro him, which the Duke presently conveyed to *Biron* b *Lafin*, whom we leave at present to pause upon it.

A Conspiracy against the King.

After twelfth Day the Treaty about the Marquisa was negotiated by Deputies on both sides; and dive things being offered *Pro* and *Con* in order to an A commodation, the Duke at last proposed to leave t Marquisate in exchange for *Bresse*, comprehending t City and Citadel of *Bourg*, *Barcelonette*, with its V carship, even to *Chigentiere*, the Valley of *Shire*, th of *Perose* and *Pignerol* with their Territories; whi was accepted of, and the Treaty signed, after whi the Duke returned homewards.

It would be too tedious to enter upon the Disputati held between *du Perron* Bishop of *Euvreux*, a *Plessis Mornay*; which last having composed a lar and most Learned Treatise against the Mass, the oth found fault and would impugn it, so that they had hearing before Commissioners upon the Verity or F sity of his Quotations from Fathers, *&c.* And *Mezeray* honestly observes, *du Plessis* was in the wro to propose it and challenge the other, when the Ki and all his Court were Parties against him, and th he lay under many other Disadvantages besides. A therefore a little to follow the Duke of *Savoy*, he be arrived at *Bourg*, *March* 14*th*, sent a Courier to gi the King Thanks for the Honour he had received *France*; and being at *Chamberry* on the 24*th* of *M Brusiard* the Brother of *Sillery*, and the Patriarch

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nſtantinople, went to ſummon him either to agree to
e Reſtitution, or the Exchange, ſince the time drew
ar: He put them off till he came to *Turin*, from
hence he ſent *Roncas* to form a new Delay, which
ve his Chancellor *Bely* time to compleat his Negoti-
ion in *Spain*; wherefore the King conſenting to a Pro-
ngation till the end of *July*, would however advance
wards *Lyons*, and being got to *Moulins*, he was like
ſuffer himſelf to be brought back to *Paris*, by the
portunate Letters of his Miſtreſs, the Marchioneſs
Verneuil; but this was put off by a Flaſh of Light-
ng breaking into her Bed-Chamber, which ſo
ghtened her, that ſhe was delivered of a Dead
ild.

The Duke on the other hand, bethought himſelf
all the Contrivances imaginable to amuſe the King
Winter; but after a great deal of ſhuffling, the
ticles were agreed to, and the King immediately
dered *la Paſſage* to march with 900 Horſe to take
ſſeſſion of *Carmagnole*, which was to be given up
the Agreement on the 16*th* of *Auguſt*; but the
ng was much aſtoniſhed, when he was informed the
ke refuſed to ratify them, and on the 7*th* of the
ne Month had plainly declared, that the moſt cruel
War in the World would be more honourable to
m than the Execution of ſo ſhameful a Treaty; up-
which the King ſent to declare War, and was ad-
nced to *Grenoble*: He began it at firſt with no more
an 7 or 8000 Men, but they ſoon increaſed: He di-
ded his Forces into two Bodies, the one was to en-
Savoy by *Chamberry*, another to fall into *Breſs* un-
r *Biron*, and the other under *Leſdeguieres*. *Rhoſny*
as very diligent in providing the Train of Artillery,
having been made ſome time before Maſter of the
rdnance; *Biron* on the 12*th* of *Auguſt* took and
llaged *Bourg*, and *Crecy* ſeized *Montmelian*; both
hich being looked upon impregnable, the Duke of
voy thought himſelf ſecure. The *French* next took
l the Places in *Breſſe*, and the Country of *Bugey*,
rillon ſeized the Suburbs of *Chamberry*: *Miolans*
nd *Conflans* made but little Reſiſtance; but the great
ains, and the Difficulty of carrying their great Guns
that Country, defended that of *Charbonnieres* near

The King makes War upon the Duke of Savoy.

Is successful.

fifteen Days, but when the Cannon came up it was take
on the 19*th* of *Septemb.* by Assault. This done, *L*
deguieres pushed on, and mastered all the Valley of S
John de Maurienne at the foot of Mount *Cenis*; th
entring into *Tarantaise*, they brought to him the Ke
of *Briancon*, *Monstiers* and *St. Jaquemont*; at whi
Successes the Pope was so alarmed, that he sent h
Nephew Cardinal *Aldobrandin* to the King in quali
of Legate, with Orders to use all possible means
procure an Accommodation.

The Duke of *Savoy* at the first Progress of t
French Arms seemed to be very careless, and spent h
time in Pleasures, which was much wondred at; b
finding *Montmelian*, who he promised himself wou
hold out at least six Months had capitulated on t
14*th* of *Octob.* to surrender upon the 16*th* of *Nove*
if not relieved within that time, he parted from T
rin with 11000 Men, 4500 Arquebusiers on Horseba
and 800 Maistres, and incamped at *Aixme*: The Ki
went to meet him as far as *Monstiers*, and had foug
him but for the great Snow that fell in the Night.
the mean time *Brandis* Governor of *Montmelian* fi
ing his Soldiers endeavouring all they could to ruin
way, tho he had Provision, Cannon and Ammuniti
enough, he was forced to anticipate the Form
the Capitulation, and upon the 9*th* of *Nov.* gave
the Fortress.

This Legate would not stir from *Rome* till the *S*
nish Ambassador had promised him in writing, the Ki
his Master would agree to such a Treaty as he co
make, and recal his Forces, whereof there were 40
in his Service, if the Duke persisted obstinate:
got the same from *Fuentes* at *Milan*, and the Duke
Turin promised to stand to what he did. The Ki
had done most of his Business before he would see t
Legate; *Bouvens* in *Bourg* shewed the most Resoluti
against him, but that also capitulated. *Biron* pla
the ambiguous part in all this War. In *Septemb.* be
at *Pierre-Chastel* in *Bugey*, *Lasin* came to him, and
his Orders made two Journies to *Roncas*; the Ki
who was then at *Chamberry* being informed of it, gre
jealous, and gave him a caution to have nothing to
with that pernicious Fellow, but he little regarded

being under the ſame Apprehenſions as thoſe are ys who ſtudy Miſchief, he went no more to ſee King without a great Crew of deſperate Fellows, always lodged in ſome By-Place. There were two gs made him ſwell to a Rage, that the King had ed the Government of the Citadel of *Bourg* for iend of his, and that he had not the ſole Command he War, but equally with *Leſdeguieres*, who was er preferred before him, a *Hugonot* and his Ene-

Biron *diſcontented, conſpires againſt the King.*

In this Fury, he conceived an Enterprize upon King's Perſon, but ſoon after abhorred it; howe- he ſhortly engaged with the Duke of *Savoy* and *tes*; *Lafin* was a main Agent in it, and they a- d at laſt to diſmember the Kingdom into as ma- overeignties as Provinces, and to ſhelter all of under the Protection of *Spain*; *Savoy*'s ſhare *Lyonnois*, *Dauphine* and *Provence*, *Biron*'s the Dut- of *Bungundy*, to which the *Spaniards* would have d the *Franche Compte* as a Dowry for a Daughter eir King's or one of *Savoy*, whom they promiſed ive him in Marriage; they were beſides engaged rniſh him with exceſſive Sums of Money. The had ſome Intimations of theſe Matters; *Biron* vo- rily attended him, with Acknowledgments of phrenſical Thoughts that had been in his Head, proteſted all ſincere Obedience for the future, for h the King freely pardoned him, and aſſured him, would give him ſo many Tokens of his Affecti- that he ſhould never have Cauſe to prove unfaith-

ut the Duke was no ſooner returned to *Bourg*, that he diſpatched *Boſco* to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Fuentes* then at *Some* with *Lafin*; which Trade con- ed all the Year 1601. till the Birth of the Dauphin, n *Biron* ſeemed to change his Mind, and ſent for n to return. *Fuentes* perceiving the Juggle, ſei- his Secretary, but failed to ſecure him: He was ly offended at the Detention of his Secretary; ſuſpecting the Mareſchal put more confidence in than he did in him, it proved the true Motive to him on to ruin him.

Now to paſs over the Ceremony and Solemnity of the g's Marriage with *Mary de Medicis*, which was cele-

Treaty between France and Savoy.

celebrated on the 18*th* of *December* at *Lyons*, by the Cardinal *Aldobrandin*; we are to note, that the Treaty of Peace that had been begun at *Chamberry* was continued at *Lyons* between *Sillery* and *Janin* on the King's part, and *Arconnas* and *des Alymes* on the Duke's, by the Legate's Mediation. The Pope and the *Spaniards* above all things dreaded the *French* should have the Marquisate, and it was very difficult to bring the Duke to offer *Bresse* in exchange, the *French* without demanding 400000 Crowns for the Expences of the War; the Legate obliged the Duke's Commissioners in consideration of that, to add *Bugey* and *Valromey* and then also the Bailiwick of *Geix*, that they might have *Cental*, *Demont*, and *Rocquin Sparviere*. Now the Chancellor and *Villeroy* having positively promised the Legate, none of the Places taken from the Duke should be demolished, whereof he had sent word to the Pope; *Rosny* had blown up the Fortress of *St. Catharine*: Upon this he revoked all he had said, and refused to meddle any further with the Treaty now ready to be signed. The Duke's Commissioners did not press him at first to undertake the Business anew, because they thought the Citadel of *Bourg* was in condition to hold out a long time; but quickly finding the contrary, he would not do it upon their Instances, till they had given him a Declaration in Writing that it was upon their Request, and that they would
1601. sign all he had agreed to. They had Letters from the Duke of the 8*th* of *January* to do it; but being countermanded afterwards by an Express, they could not be brought to consent, till the Patriarch found out the Expedient, that the Legate should give them a Promise under his hand to make the Duke approve of the Treaty, to free them from his Displeasure, and to warrant their Persons, declaring that what they had done was out of respect to his Authority, and because of the Rank he held in Christendom. Upon this Assurance they signed the Treaty upon the 17*th* of *January*; but the Duke and Count of *Fuentes* deferred for some time to ratify it; at which the Legate, who was then gone to *Avignon*, was so alarmed, that he rode Post to the Count at *Milan*, having first dispatched a Gentleman to the King to desire he would harbour

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ſtruſt concerning his making the Treaty good, and prolong the Ceſſation of Arms for fifteen days more.

Treaty ſigned.

he *Italian* had Artifice enough to bring both the Duke d the Count to ſign, and ſo the Ratification was diſ-tched to *Lyons*, where the Conſtable, *Sillery* and *nin* ſtaid to receive it; the King being ſome days be-e gone Poſt to *Paris*. The Articles were chiefly, hat the Duke quitted the Country of *Breſſe* to the ng, comprehending *Bourg*, with its Cannon and mmunition, *Bugey*, *Valromey*, and the Bailiwick of *Geix*, th the River *Rhoſne*, from *Geneva* to *Lyons*, except on-*Pont Greſſin*: He gave up alſo the City of *Chaſtelleny*, d the Tower of the Bridg *Chaſteau-Dauphine*, and moliſhed *Beche-daufin*. The King in exchange left n the Marquiſate of *Saluſſes*, with the Cities of *Cen-*, *Demont*, and *Roque-Sparvierre*, and all the Places had taken during this War.

Broils between the French *and* Spaniards.

The Treaty of *Vervins* did not hinder the two Kings om ſeeking to take Advantages over one another: The *aniards* complained, the *United Provinces* were ſup-rted both with Men and Money by the *French*, who their turn twitted them with the Forces they ſent Duke of *Savoy*, with *Fuentes* his Deſigns upon *arſeilles*, and keeping Intelligence with the Gran-es of the Kingdom: But what nettled the *French* oſt, was the Affront given to their Ambaſſador at *adrid*, where ſome young Gentlemen of his Train arrelling with ſome *Spaniards* one Evening, as they ere waſhing in the River; and it hapning that two the *Spaniards*, whom they proteſted were the Ag-reſſors, were killed, the Mob were like to force the mbaſſador's Houſe to do Juſtice by force, while the *lcade*, to appeaſe them, broke the Doors open, and rried thoſe Gentlemen away Priſoners. Now the ing of *Spain*, upon Complaint refuſing to deliver them, e *French* Ambaſſador was recalled without taking ave, and all Commerce forbid between his Subjects nd *Spain*. Hereupon the Duke of *Lerma*, K. *Philip* e Third's Miniſter, being averſe to War, deſired the Mediation of the Pope, and cauſed the Priſoners to be ut into his hands, who thereupon delivering them up o the *French* Miniſter at *Rome*, all was well again, nd another Embaſſy ſent to *Spain*.

During

During the Heat of these Contentions the King went to *Calais*, which gave the Arch-Duke, engaged in the Siege of *Ostend*, some Apprehensions he might be disturbed by him; but his Design was to negotiate at a nearer distance with Queen *Elizabeth*, who had some Project to impart for the humbling of the House of *Austria*, and had a mind to have an Interview with him at Sea, between *Dover* and *Calais*. He sent *Biron* into *England* to excuse it, to whom she shewed great Civilities, and, as they said, the Head of the Earl of *Essex*, her late Favourite, planted upon the Tower. From *Calais* the King hasted to the Queen at *Fontainbleau*, where she was delivered of a Son the *27th* of *September*, who was named *Lewis*: His Birth was preceded by an Earth-quake, a Presage of those terrible Wars wherewith *Europe* was to be shaken during his Reign. Five days after the King of *Spain* had a Daughter born, named *Anna Maria Mauritia*; and such as pretended to Skill in judging of future times, foretold it was decreed they two should be one day joined together, to produce a Prince that should in his single Person unite the Grandeur of those two most August Houses; which indeed is but too much verified in this our own day. But 'tis hoped the Divine Providence, and under it, those that are entrusted with the preservation of the Liberties of *Europe*, will avert it.

New Regulations made.

There were divers Regulations published this Year towards discharging the King's Debts, and making Money circulate; amongst others, the Suppression of the Triennials created upon necessity of the Siege of *Amiens*, and their Reimbursment by the antient Alternatives. They did however reserve those of the *Espargne*, *Parties Casuelles*, Extraordinarys for War, and some others: The Prohibition against transporting Gold or Silver out of the Kingdom, or exposing any foreign Coins, except *Spanish* Pistoles and Reals: Another the forbidding the wearing of Gold or Silver upon their Clothes, or to squander away that precious Metal in Guilding; which last the King authorized by his own Example, and looked very sourly upon a Prince that presum'd to appear before him with that Gawdry. Those that belonged to the Treasury,

and

d the like Perſons, who for the moſt part got their oney with the daſh of a Pen, were the Authors and omoters chiefly of thoſe Vanities: It was neceſſary erefore for repreſſing thoſe Inſolencies and Pillag-gs, to eſtabliſh a Royal Chamber, conſiſting of dges of known Integrity. The People were eaſily d with vain hopes, the Gallows would ſoon do them ſtice, and be the Reward of thoſe Varlets. But eat Preſents and Intrigues found able Mediators, o attacked the Clemency of the Prince with ſo ma-Engines and Importunities, that he admitted thoſe llows to compound, after the Court had ſat till 1604. d ſo puniſhed them only in their Purſes, and that ry lightly.

This Year found the Court very jocund, there were 1602.
thing but Balls, Hunting Matches, and great Gam-: The Courtiers promiſed themſelves a Golden Age, on the diſcovery of ſome Mines of Gold, Silver, pper, and Tin; and the Paraſites did not ſtick to , Heaven reſerved this Happineſs for the Reign of *nry* the Great, and that the Earth enamoured with incomparable Vertues, opened her Breaſt to let him old all that ſhe had which was rich and beautiful: the Charge proving greater than the Profit, all theſe tallick Treaſures vaniſhed into Fume and Smoke.

The Alliance between *France*, the *Swiſs* and *Griſons*, ng expired after the Death of *Henry* III. the A-nts of *Spain* endeavoured to break thoſe People off m the *French*, particularly the five petty Catholick ntons; ſo that for ſome time they had made one th them and the Duke of *Savoy*. The King now was ry deſirous to renew it with them, and the greateſt fficulty was to make the Treaty accord with what e King demanded upon the foot of the old ones: *Sil-y* thought he had overcome it, by promiſing the yment of a Million of Gold Arrear; but that be-g delayed, all was broke in pieces, when *Biron* ar-ed at *Soleurre* this year, and appearing there all *Alliance* lendid, martial and gallant, it had a great Influence *between* er thoſe warlike Spirits, tho it was the Arrival of France e Waggons loaden with Silver, that wholly won *and* Swiſs eir Hearts. The Alliance was then renewed, to laſt *renewed.* t only during the King's Life, but alſo during the

Life

Life of the Dauphin. The Mareſchal crowned the Fe
ſtival with a ſumptuous Entertainment. This was n
the leaſt of his Services, tho the laſt day of his Glor
and good Fortune; for at his return finding *Lafin* wa
ſent for to Court, he ſtaid in *Burgundy* till *June* fol
lowing.

An Edict about Lawyers. About this time happened ſome Commotions in *Gu
ennne* and *Languedoc* concerning the continuance o
Taxes; and while the King was in *Poitou*, the Pa
liament ordained that all ſorts of Lawyers, purſuan
to the 161*ſt* Article of the Eſtates at *Blois*, ſhould at th
end of all their Briefs ſet down the Particulars of a
the Fees they had received, and give a Certificate o
what they had gained of their Clients by their Plead
ings; and in caſe of refuſal, they were forbid to exe
ciſe their Profeſſion, upon pain of loſs of Life and E
ſtate. A great many of them would relinquiſh the
Functions, rather than comply, and ſo the Matter a
laſt came to nothing. The King all this while w
afraid of ſome inteſtine Troubles, and Dangers fro
the Intrigues of the *Spaniards*: Intimations he ha
already of *Biron*'s Deſign; and therefore when he w
come back to *Fontainbleau*, he would needs have *L
fin*, who was privy to the whole Secret, brought befo
him. We told you he was diſcontented before; t
ground they lay it upon is, that *Biron* with his ow
Hand had written a Project of the Conſpiracy, a
having given it *Lafin* to tranſcribe in his Preſence,
afterward rolled up the Original between his Han
like a Ball, and threw it into the Fire; but *Biron* n
minding it farther, *Lafin* cunningly pulled it out
gain, and put it into his Pocket. Whatever his Int
tions were at firſt, it's likely the Mareſchal was incli
to give all over upon the Delivery of the Queen of
Son; for in one of his Letters to *Lafin* he ſaid, Th
ſince God had beſtowed a Dauphin upon the King,
would think no more of his former Follies, and pray
him to return.

Biron's *Conſpiracy diſcovered.* *Biron* endeavoured to diſſwade *Lafin* from going
Court, and required him to burn his Papers; but *L
fin* diſcovered all to the King, and gave him his Pap
and Letters, with the Names of the Conſpirators,
mongſt whom he involved ſo many Perſons of Quali

en *Rhoſny*, that the King was much aſtoniſhed, d the Cabinet Council thought fit to diſcloſe matter no further than as it concerned *Biron*, at ſt for the preſent. There were divers Artifices uſed fore this to draw the Mareſchal to Court; but a ble Lord, his intimate Friend, gave him ſecret inti-tion to go into the *Franche Comte*, he being no ger ſafe in *Burgundy*; but he would take the other al Courſe, and arrived the 4th of *June* at *Fontain-au*. Here he found things look with a dark Coun-nance upon him: His Siſter the Counteſs of *Rouſſy* moniſhed him of the Danger, and wiſhed him to ke his Eſcape; but there was no need of it, if he d been ingenuous, and confeſſed the whole, for the g generouſly reſolved to pardon him: He therefore de three ſeveral Attempts to perſuade him to own Truth freely, and ſincerely aſſured him of a full and l Pardon, and told him, that what he deſired to informed in from his own Mouth, was not for want other Evidence, but to ſave his Reputation, and p the knowledg of it from any but himſelf. But Mareſchal would by no Means nor Arguments com-; and therefore the King reſolved to abandon him uſtice, but firſt communicated the Proofs he had to Cabinet Council: But the good King was ſtill loth come to extremity; and therefore at night in his oſet he made another Effort upon the Mareſchal, who s ſo far from complying, that he arrogantly replied, *at this was to preſs an honeſt man too far.* So t the King at the ſame time touched with Sorrow l Indignation, left him, ſaying, *Since you will re-l nothing, adieu, Biron.* In ſhort, he was ſeized by Biron *ry*, as he went out from thence, and carried next *ſeized.* to *Paris*, where the Parliament was ordered to ſecute him. I will not here traduce his Memory, as e have done, with his ill Carriage and Demeanour ring his Confinement and Examination. However, owned when he was brought before the Parliament ſelf, he pleaded as he had fought, that is, he did onders; and beſides the Reaſons and Arguments uſed for his Innocency, he added ſo lively a Repre-tation of his brave Actions, and ſo many Motives Compaſſion, that it drew Tears from the Eyes of

ſome

ſome of the Judges, who would then perhaps have acquitted him; but being adjourned to another Day, the King ſent an Order to them under the Great Seal, revoking the Pardon he had given the Mareſchal by word of mouth at *Lyons*, which was a very odd thing; and then the Judges unanimouſly declared him guilty of High Treaſon, and adjudged him to loſe his Head: In purſuance of which, on the laſt of *July*, about Noon, the Chancellor, with ſome others went to the *Baſtile* to put the Sentence in execution, at the ſight of whom *Biron* cried out, he was a dead Man, and asked if there was no Pardon. They give a very odd Account of his Demeanour at his Death; one while he railed, another while he begg'd for Mercy: But having brought him at laſt into a condition to hear his Sentence pronounced, he did it patiently, but excepted againſt thoſe words of *having conſpired againſt the Perſon of the King*, crying out, *That was falſe*, and perſiſted in it to his very Death. The fatal Stroke being given, his Corps was interr'd in the Church of St. *Paul*, attended with a vaſt Confluence of People from all Parts. He was a Perſon of a middle Stature, corpulent, had black Hair beginning to turn grey; his Phyſiognomy was cloudy and ominous, his Converſation rough, his Eyes ſunk in his Head, which was little: His Deſigns were extravagant, his Conduct giddy, and he had ſuch a fooliſh Inclination to Gaming, that he loſt in one Year above 500000 Crowns. But let them ſay all the Ill they can of him, he was certainly a gallant Man, and deſerved a better Fate and Uſage from a Maſter for whom he had performed ſo many ſignal Services.

Biron condemned.

Executed.

The Baron of *Fontenelles*, and *Montbarot* Governour of *Renes* were apprehended as Confederates with *Biron*: The firſt was condemned to be broke alive upon the Wheel. The Count *d' Auvergne* was not detained a Priſoner above two Months after *Biron*'s Death, but received into Favour by the powerful Interceſſion of the Marchioneſs of *Verneuil* his Siſter. The Mareſchal *de Bouillon* thought it more ſafe for him to be at large, and juſtify himſelf at a diſtance; and therefore he appeared before the *Cambre my Partie* at *Caſtres*, and offered to juſtify himſelf there to them, whom he pretended to be his natural Judges. However it were

drew from them an Act of Comparition, for which e King was very angry with them; and paſſing by *ontpelier*, he engaged the Reformed Churches to rite in his Favour to the King, from whence he re-ed to *Geneva* and *Germany*. Towards the end of e Year the Prince of *Jionville* was apprehended for gotiating ſome Contract with the *Spaniards*, and on-committed into the Cuſtody of his elder Brother the ke of *Guiſe*.

Amidſt ſo many Inquietudes and Alarms came the *piſs* and *Griſon* Ambaſſadors, to the number of 42, o *France*, to ſwear to their renewed Alliance with Crown, and obtained of the King, before their parture, a Confirmation of the Privileges that had n granted the Cantons in *France*: That the Troops the Proteſtant Cantons ſhould not be obliged to ve againſt thoſe of their own Religion; and that little Cantons ſhould continue their Alliance with *ilan* and *Savoy*, provided it were not prejudicial to t they had newly made with the King.

Some time after this came out an Edict againſt Duel-ing; and then Complaint being made that Strangers *Coin rais'd* melted down the Gold and Silver, and carried it out of the Kingdom, the King was unadviſedly per-ſwaded to raiſe his Coin from ſixty Sols the Gold Crown, to ſixty five; Francs worth 20 Sols, to 21 and four Deniers, and ſo on with the reſt in propor-tion.

I might here enter into a Detail of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Enterprize upon *Geneva*; but the ſame not falling within my Compaſs and Deſign, I ſhall proceed to another Year, the Winter part whereof was in 1603. *ance* ſpent in all ſorts of Divertiſements and Gallan-ies. In the beginning of *March* the King and Queen *King goes* went to *Metz*, ſhe having in *November* before been *to* Metz. delivered of her firſt Daughter; and the chief Motive of this Journy was to diſcover what Practices *Bouillon* might poſſibly have contrived with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, and ſecure the City of *Metz*, which being at that time in a great Combuſtion, might have ſided with ſome other Party; but the King quickly brought into a good ſtate of Settlement.

Here

Here we are to obſerve, that ever ſince the King's Abſolution at *Rome*, the Jeſuits laboured hard to be re-eſtabliſhed in *France*; but their vile Practices in *England*, *Venice*, and elſewhere, retarded it. However, as the King paſſed by *Verdun*, the Rector and Fathers of the College in that City, incouraged by *la Varenne*, petitioned the King that the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* might not extend to hinder their Children from ſtudying in the Jeſuits College. They had a favourable Anſwer, and being encouraged therewith, they ſent *Armand* their Provincial and ſome others to *Metz*, to purſue it farther, and manage the Affair ſo well, that the King at laſt gave his poſitive Word they ſhould be reſtored, commanded the Provincial to come to him at *Paris*, and bring Father *Cotton* with him; then very kindly diſmiſſed them. While he tarried in this City, he had Letters from the Elector *Palatine* in favour of *Bouillon*, and was waited upon by the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, Dukes of *Newbourg*, *Deux Ponts*, and *John George* of *Brandenburg*, who had conteſted with the Cardinal of *Lorain* about the Biſhoprick of *Strasburg* ever ſince 1592. and all that the King did was rather to ſuſpend than decide the Controverſy, by ſharing the Revenue between them. The King went from *Metz* to *Nancy*, to viſit his Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Bar*, and deſigned to have ſtaid longer in thoſe Parts to draw as many Princes of *Germany* as he could to unite, ſo as not to be oppreſt by the Grandeur of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but the Death of our Glorious *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* on the 24th of *March*, made him ſuddenly leave that Place and return to *Paris*.

Returns to Paris.

This ever-famous Queen being ſucceeded in her Dominions by *James* VI. King of *Scotland*, the *French* King thought fit to ſend *Rhoſny*, who was a Proteſtant, his Ambaſſador into *England*, to require of that Prince the Continuation of his Friendſhip, and to ſound his Mind in reſpect to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and other Alliances. In ſhort, he brought back a Treaty made the 25th of *June*, whereby K. *James* in his own, and *Rhoſny* in that of the *French* King's Name, promiſed to renew and ſtrengthen the antient and never-interrupted Alliances between *France* and *Scotland*, and thoſe betwe

late Queen and *Henry* IV. That a League ſhould concluded between the two Kings, for the defence their reſpective Dominions, Perſons and Subjects, d of their Allies, eſpecially of the United Provinces, om they ſhould forthwith powerfully aſſiſt with rces, which ſhould be raiſed in *England*, but paid by *ance*, the one half by way of Deduction for what oney was owing to the *Engliſh*: That if either the e or the other were attacked by the *Spaniard*, his y ſhould aſſiſt him with a Land Army, or a Fleet Ships, at the choice of him who ſhould be ſo aſlted, which ſhould conſiſt at leaſt of 6000 men: at if both at the ſame time ſhould be aſſaulted, or ome Aſſailants, each upon his part ſhould make War n the common Enemy. *League between England and France.*

Before this Treaty the King had been troubled with toppage of Urin; but being cured of that, he apd himſelf to his Buildings; and to make Money culate better, he thought Trade was the beſt means, therefore he erected Chambers for that purpoſe. knew he was not potent enough at Sea, and ſo he up divers ſorts of Manufactures, as Tapeſtries by means of ſome *Flemiſh* Artiſts, gilt Leather Hangs, Mills to work and cleave Iron, Gauſes and thin ens, Earthen-wares, Glaſs-houſes for Chryſtalline, th and Serges, Stuffs and Silks, in divers parts of Kingdom; but above all he was intent upon the en Manufactury, and therefore he treated with tain Undertakers, who built ſeveral Places for the eding of Silk-worms, ſent every Year into *Spain* the Eggs, gave order for the planting a great many lberry-trees, whoſe Leaves ſerve them for Food. *K. Henry ſets up diverſ Manufacturies.*

In *June* the Conſtable of *Caſtile* concluded a Peace ween the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, at which *Henry* was not a little diſturbed, as he was alſo with Jealouſies of his Queen, the Malice of his Miſſes, and the Heats of the Count of *Soiſſons*, who ng much offended that *Rhoſny* had refuſed to allow a certain Impoſt upon Linen, which he had beg- of the King; this, with the falſe Reports made to by the Marchioneſs of *Verneuil*, caus'd him to talk nothing but the killing of *Rhoſny*, and the King could ver allay his Paſſion, till he obliged *Rhoſny* to diſown *K. Henry's Trials.*

what he was accuſed of to have ſaid of the Count, under his hand, and offer to fight any man that durſt maintain the contrary. But theſe and the like Broilleries were not all this King's Trials, he had much to do with his own Miniſters, who being animated with a Zeal against the *Hugonots*, and too much perſwaded of the *Spaniſh* Grandeur, endeavoured to divide him from the Proteſtants, to reduce him to an entire Submiſſion to the Pope, to bring in the Jeſuits, and to unite him with *Spain* and *Rome*, thereby to extirpate *Calviniſm* from all his Territories. *Taxil* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador offered him all the Forces of *Spain*, and many Arguments to induce him to it; but he could by no means be brought to it.

A Synod of the Reformed held.

About the beginning of *October* the Reformed held a Synod at *Gap* in *Dauphine*, where they made ſeveral Reglements, more particularly, that the Word of God ſhould be the ſole Foundation of their Theology and Sermons: That thoſe Scholaſtick Diſputes wont to be uſed in their Synods, ſhould be ſent back to the Schools: That they ſhould have no Effigies upon the Tombs, nor Coats of Arms nor Eſcutcheons in the Temples. They likewiſe enacted divers other things for the Maintenance and good Order of their Colleges and Academies, and the inſtituting of Seminaries and Libraries in each Province. One of their main Deſigns was to reconcile the *Lutherans* with the *Zuinglians* and *Calviniſts*; but failing in that, they agreed that the Pope was the Antichriſt, and in that quality ſhould be inſerted in their Confeſſion (tho oppos'd by the Great *Scaliger*, chiefly from a regard to the Moderation of *Clement* VIII. then in the Papal Chair) at which the King, and more particularly the Clergy of *France*, were not a little diſturbed.

Jeſuits reſtored.

After the King's Return from *Metz*, the Jeſuits and their Friends, but more particularly *la Varenne*, Comptroller General of the Poſt-Office, never left him alone, till he granted them an Edict to recal them whereby they were confirmed in thoſe Houſes from whence they had been expelled, reſtored to thoſe of *Lyons* and *Dijon*, and to all that belonged to them and the ſame with ſome difficulty was verified by the Parliament: So that now that pernicious Body of Men

increaſed and flouriſhed mightily; nay, they were now allowed to have always one of their Society, a *French*-man, attending upon the King, and ſufficiently authorized by them to ſerve him as a Preacher or Chaplain, and to be reſponſible for the Actions of the Company; which was ſo far from being a Detriment to them, that they gained the greateſt Honour, and were impowered to give Confeſſors to the King. Father *Cotton* was the firſt that held the Place; and their Credit grew ſo ſtrangely faſt at Court, that they got the following Year the Pyramid demoliſhed, upon which was engraven the Sentence of *Chaſtel*'s Condemnation above-mentioned, and their own Baniſhment; and in the place of it they made a Conduit or Fountain, all whoſe Streams of Water, tho clear and plentiful, ſhall never be able to waſh away the Remembrance of ſo horrid a Crime. 1604.

About the beginning of this Year the Death of *Catherine* Dutcheſs of *Bar*, and the King's Siſter, interrupted the Diverſions of the Court; and all the Arguments that were uſed to her could never bring her to forſake the true Reformed Religion, in which ſhe perſever'd and died. But to proceed, the King was mightily concerned that the moſt ſecret Reſolutions of his Council were known in *Spain*, by the means, as at laſt appear'd, of *l' Hoſte*, a young Clerk under *Villeroy*: He had been with *Rochepot* (when Ambaſſador) in *Spain*, and was there corrupted by *Raſis*, a Native of *Bourdeaux*, and a violent Leaguer, to accept a Penſion of 1200 Crowns to betray his Maſter's Secrets; but *Raſis* at length finding himſelf neglected, diſcovered the Intrigue to the *French* Ambaſſador *Barraut*, and being aſſured both of a good Reward and a Pardon, ſet out for *France* forthwith; at which the *Spaniards* taking the Alarm, diſpatched notice of it to their Ambaſſador in *France*, who immediately ſent after *l' Hoſte* (for he was not yet ſecured, *Villeroy* deſigning to have ſpoke firſt to the King about it) for the *Low Countries*; but he was purſued ſo cloſe, that he venturing to wade croſs the *Marne*, he was there drowned. *Villeroy*'s Enemies failed not to take advantage of this Eſcape to his detriment, and the King himſelf for ſome days was a little reſerved towards him,

Henry's Councils betray'd.

him, but came quickly to use him with the same Freedom and Kindness as before.

K. Henry's politick Arts.

The *Spaniards* undoubtedly were much concerned at this Discovery, tho it were but imperfect, as they were also much nettled at the Support both of Men and Money, that the King gave to the *Hollanders*; and therefore they laid 30 *per Cent.* upon all Goods imported to, or exported from *France*, which made *Henry* prohibit all Commerce with them; but both the one and the other were taken off by the Pope's Mediation. However, the *Spaniards* were still uneasy, and fell in with the *Italians* at Court, and the King's Mistress, the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, to imbroil him with his own Wife; so that by their Malignity the Queen's Discontents increased daily, and the Contest between him and her was the continual Business of the Court; and the Marchioness fearing at last to be discarded, fell upon the Female Artifice of Remorse of Conscience for her Crimes, and begged leave to retire, and seek a Sanctuary out of the Kingdom for her self and hers. This did not take at first; for the King took her at her word, upon the approach of Easter, and gave her, tho not her Children, leave to retire into *England*, but first forced her to surrender up the Promise of Marriage he had made her, and gave her 20000 Crowns consideration, and the hopes of a Mareschal Staff for her Father. This done, the Queen being satisfied, and the Marchioness appearing no more, the Tempest seemed to be allayed, when her Father, and the Count of *Auvergne* had contrived a dangerous Design with K. *Philip*'s Ambassador of carrying her and her Children into *Spain*, with some Intimations of a secret Treaty to set her Son upon the *French* Throne. The Count was now retired to *Auvergne*, and they proposed to treat him in the same manner as they had done *Biron*; but by the means of great Friends he obtained a Pardon, and having prevailed with the King to let him continue his Correspondence with the *Spaniards*, under pretence of discovering their Designs to him, he juggled with both; so that the King at length, upon his refusal to come to Court, resolved to seize him at *Auvergne*, at what time *Entragues* the Marchioness's Father, and his Wife, were

seized

ized at their own House, and the Marchioness in her *Hostel* at *Paris*; the Count was brought to the *Bastile*, nd both he and *Entragues* were ordered to be proceed- l against as Criminals, of which more by and by.

King's Buildings, &c.

The King was at no very good terms neither at this me with the Heads of the *Hugonots*, such as the Ma- schal *de Bovillon*, Duke of *Trimoville*, and *du Plessis Mornay*; however to divert himself amidst all his exations, he took to Building and the like Occupati- ns: *Henry* III. had begun the *Pont Neuf*, but this ng finished it; he also carried on the Works of the ouvre Galleries, Castle of *St. Germains en Laye*, *Fon- inbleau*, and *Monceaux*. The Great Ones follow- the King's Example; *Paris* was mightily adorned d enlarged: The Hospital of *St. Lewis* erected, e Royal Square undertaken: There were likewise ojects of making Rivers navigable, of joining e *Siene* and the *Loire*, which *Rhosny* undertook, till e change of Government made the Design miscarry; e *Loire* to the *Soane*, and the *Garonne* with the *Aude*: But these coming to nothing, we will now have recourse to other Matters.

The Superintendant by too eager an endeavour to increase the King's Revenue, brought great Disorder into the State: Formerly the Offices of Judicature and Treasury were to be resigned, and the Resignee was to live 40 Days after, otherwise the King was to provide one; now *Rhosny*, to increase their Store, got a Declaration made, that the Office should be secured to the Wife and Heirs of those that were in possession, provided they would yearly pay the sixtieth Denier of that Finance or Revenue, those Offices had been valued at; in default whereof they should upon their Death revert to the King's Profit: They could not but foresee that this must perpetuate the Sale of Offices, be very detrimental to the King and Subjects, and on- ly prove an Advantage to some particular Men; and therefore the Chancellor *Bellievre* kept the said Declaration in his Hands for some Months, and did not then pass it till he was in Danger of losing the Seals for it.

But to proceed to another Year, and with the Pro- 1605.
ss of the Count of *Auvergne*, he was examined

C. of Auvergne, *&c. condemned.*

three times, the King having given Notice to the Pa liament, that they ought to have no regard to his Pa don, nor that Brevet he had granted him; the March oneſs, her Father, and *Morgan* an *Engliſhman* of th Intereſt were likewiſe interrogated. The Count la all upon the Marchioneſs, as thinking to eſcape th way, her Father on the contrary wholly acquitted he and took all upon himſelf; and the Buſineſs was car ed on with ſo much Heat, that the Count, *Entr gues* and *Morgan* were condemned to be beheaded the *Greve*, and the Marchioneſs to be confined to t Nunnery of *Beaumont*, till more ample Informatio concerning her; but the King's Affections quickly re ved, and he gave her Liberty to retire from thence her Houſe at *Vernueil*; he alſo converted the Punis ments of the Count and *Entragues* to a perpetual I priſonment, then reſtored them to all their Hono and Eſtates, tho not to their Offices and Command *Morgan* was only baniſhed the Kingdom for ev and as for the Marchioneſs, ſhe was in *Decemb.* by Inſtrument declared perfectly innocent. The p Count fared the worſt, for he endured an Impriſ ment of twelve Years, without any other Conſolati than what he received from good and ingenious Boo the faithful Companions of all Ages, Fortunes and P ces.

But for the Marchioneſs, notwithſtanding ſome fection the King ſhewed to *Bueil*, whom he m Counteſs of *Moret*, ſhe was now recalled, her char ing Humour and Converſation with the Picqu Reflections ſhe made upon the other Court Lad being very agreeable to him. In the mean time Qu *Margaret* having been ſerviceable in diſcovering Contrivances of *Auvergne*, had leave to come to *Pa* where ſhe lived in the Suburbs of *St. Germain*, w her little Court the reſt of her Days, odly interm ing Voluptuouſneſs with Devotion, the Love of Lea ing with that of Vanity, Chriſtian Charity and juſtice; for as ſhe had the Ambition to be often at *Churin*, to converſe with Learned Men, and to ſtow the Tithe of her Revenue upon Friers Monks, ſhe alſo took Pride in freſh Gallantries, in ting new Divertiſements, and never paying her Debts.

*

But to ſay no more of this unhappy, and truly uncountable Woman; the King continued at prodigi- Expences, in Gaming, Building and Miſtreſſes; which Example, whether intended ſo or no, the eat Ones came to be amuſed, ſoftned and impove- ed, ſo as to be incapable of making any conſidera- Diſturbance: But the King at the ſame time by De- es reducing the Companies *d' Ordonnance*, and the Regiments to a narrow condition, yet allowing ſions to above 1200 Perſons, moſt of great Merit, e were great Diſcontents aroſe from it, which were ſaged by Cardinal *d' Oſſat* to become Univerſal, one Day to break to ſome horrible Diſorders: Some ks there were to be ſeen in *Quercy*, *Perigord* and *oſin*, where *Biron*'s Servants endeavoured to ren- the King odious; nay there were divers Aſſem- s of the Nobility held, and ſome earneſt Money n for the levying of Soldiers, where the Name of Mareſchal *de Bovillon* was made uſe of, tho 'tis like had no Orders for it. The King at the ſame time ing juſt Cauſe to apprehend the *Spaniards* had a Deſign upon ſome Frontier Places, and that the *Hugonots*, under the Mareſchal's Conduct and Directions ght be inclined to form a ſeparate Republick in the Kingdom, he ſent *Rhoſny* to preſide in their Aſſembly at *Chaſtelleraut*, where all things were managed in good Order; and he preſented them with a Brevet from the King, which prolonged their holding the Pla- of Security for three Years. This done, the King went with ſome Troops into the Provinces, where the Fire was kindling, where *Bouillon*'s Friends were much ſtartled to find them attack his Caſtles; but when the Duke heard of it, he ordered them to ſurrender upon the King's firſt Demand. Several of thoſe that were criminal, withdrew betimes to Places of Safety; there was nothing in the World of any Credit could be pro- duced againſt the Duke, but ſome few were proceeded againſt and executed at *Limoges*.

K. puniſhes Criminals.

The King before his Return, took the Seals from *Belli-evre*, and gave them to *Sillery*; however he left the firſt ſtill the Honour of being chief of the Council, which gave him occaſion to ſay, *That a Chancellor without the Seals is a Body without a Soul.* Being returned to *Pa-*

ris, he reſolved to ſuppreſs thoſe Rents or Revenues for the Creation whereof no Money had been given and to redeem ſuch as had been purchaſed at a mea Rate; and therefore he named Commiſſioners for th purpoſe, who were the Preſidents *de Thou*, *Nichola* and *Calignon*, with a Maſter of Accompts, and a Tre ſurer of *France* for this purpoſe: But others being a terwards named, and it appearing the Council had Deſign to deſtroy or much leſſen that Fond, whic was the cleareſt Subſiſtance of many Families in P *ris*; the Perſons concerned had recourſe to the Pre voſt of Merchants, *Francis Miron*, who ſtood up ſtou ly in their Defence, wrote to the King at *Fontainbla* about it; and his Enemies inſiſting to have him appr hended, for mentioning the word *Nero* in ſome D courſe of his, the Citizens, had it not been for hi ſelf, would in all probability have armed in his D fence; but the King's Prudence, and the Provoſt hu ble Reſpect and Moderation, brought things to co and all farther Proceedings touching their Rents w ſtopped.

Demand of the Clergy. By this time the Aſſembly of the Clergy having covered much Force and Vigor, the Complaints a Demands they made to the King were very great; Archbiſhop of *Vienne* was the Mouth of them, a made a long Diſcourſe upon thoſe Vexations the Chu had ſuffered on all Hands, the infamous Trade of nefices, Simoniacal Bargains, Penſions paid to Laym and frequent Appeals as groſs Abuſes: He ſaid, *Cauſe of all was, the Refuſal of publiſhing the Counc* Trent. But as to the Reception of this Council, King would not be poſitive, ſaying, *That it could quadrate with Reaſons of State, and the Liberties of* Gallican *Church:* On the other ſide he declared, *deſired it as much as they, and was very ſorry it met ſuch great Difficulties; That he would ſpare neither Life nor Crown for the Honour and Exaltation of Church: And as for* Simonies, &c. *they muſt lay Blame upon thoſe that practiſed it, and not upon for he made no Trade of Biſhopricks, like the Favour of his Predeceſſors, but beſtowed them* gratis *upon ſons of Merit.* He replied to all their Papers at ſure, and granted them an Edict for redeeming

The King's Anſwer.

ngs as formerly belonged to them, and had been d for little or nothing; nay, they would have Pow- to redeem them in what manner ſoever they d been ſold; but the Parliament put in a Proviſo, t it ſhould not extend to the Prejudice of any who d been in poſſeſſion forty Years upon a Legal Ti-

Before the end of this Year, was diſcovered the onſpiracy of *Merargues* to betray *Marſeilles*, where had a great Intereſt, and was to have been Viguier following year, to the *Spaniards*: A Slave of one of Gallies, to whom he had communicated the De- n, diſcovered it to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who gave no- e of it to Court; and *Merargues* ſoon after going thi- r about ſome Affairs of the Province, was ſeized th the *Spaniſh* Secretary *Brumeau*, and under the arter of the laſt they found a Writing, which un- ded the whole Myſtery; hereupon they were both mmitted to Priſon: The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſeemed reſent the Confinement of his Secretary very much, d proceeded farther to complain, that the King aſ- ted the *Hollanders* with Men and Money, and at- mpted to ſtir up the *Moriſco's* in *Spain*. At length af- r divers Replications on either part, the King aſſu- ed the Ambaſſador his Secretary ſhould have no rong done him, and that he would ſend him the hole Reſult of the Proceſs, to ſee whether he would wn it or not: In effect, he was diſcharged ſoon after, t *Merargues* was condemned and executed.

At the beginning of this Year, the King honoured 1606.
hoſny with the Title of Duke and Peer of *France* by e Name of Duke of *Sully*, which Lands that Lord ad purchaſed ſince his Favour; and all the Buſineſs as now to bring the Mareſchal *de Bouillon* to com- ly entirely with the King's Will, by putting *Sedan* to his Hands. *Sully* was abſolutely for it, but *Ville- oy* as ſtifly oppoſed the King's going thither in Per- on; but tho he failed herein, yet he had the Honour o conclude the Treaty with the Mareſchal, who a- reed to ſurrender the Place, and that the King ſhould eep a Governor and Gariſon there for four Years, while the King on his part fully pardoned him, and re- ceived him immediately as much into favour, as he had

Bouillon's *Agreement with the King.*

been

been before he abſented himſelf from Court.

The King, Queen and other Perſons of Quality, being in *June* about to paſs the *Seine* in the Ferry Boat at *Port Neuf*, in order to go for *Paris*, one of the Coach-Horſes ſtraggled, and drew the Coach after him into the Water, where had it not been for immediate Help they had been all drowned; hereupon the Marchioneſs of *Verneuil*, as ſhe was wont, maliciouſly drolled upon this Adventure, and told the King, if ſhe had been there, ſhe would have cried out, *The Queen's Drunk*, which reinflamed the Queen's Reſentments, and occaſioned new Picqueerings. But to paſs theſe matters over, and but juſt to mention the Ceremonial Baptiſm of the Dauphin and the King's two Daughters; for the Eſſential Baptiſm was immediately adminiſtred after their Birth: On the Day which preceded the Ceremony, a Light appeared towards the Weſtern Parts of the Heavens, which expanding by little and little, caſt forth as it were long Flaſhes towards the South and the Eaſt with moſt admirable Swiftneſs; after which appeared divers fiery Chariots, which ſeemed to ſhock one another, and wherein they fancied to diſcern ſome Appearances of Lances, Pikes and Arms which darted them: It ended about Midnight, by an admirable clear Light, which ſeemed to make the whole Hemiſphere ſparkle. Two Days after about the ſame Hour, ſuddenly appeared a great Light in the Air towards the Weſt, as it were to light the Scene, and give the Spectators the Pleaſure of a Combat, where with the Demons of the Air, if we may ſo ſay, would entertain the Court, and outvie their Divertiſements; for they formed as it were Regiments of Horſe and Foot furiouſly charging one another; ſome tumbled off their Horſes, and others were trampled under Foot; many Muskets and Piſtols were diſcharged, the Fire and Smoke were viſible, and nothing was wanting but the Report: This airy Battel laſted about an Hour, and then all vaniſhed in a Moment.

Apparitions in the Air.

I might here mention, before the Concluſion of this Year, the Marriage of *Eleonora* Siſter to the young Prince of *Conde* with *Philip* eldeſt Son of *William* Prince of *Orange*, who recovered his Liberty from the *Spaniards* by renouncing of the Proteſtant Religion;

and

and the King now compelled *Placons* a *Hugonot* Gentleman, to reſtore the Principality of *Orange* to him. But to proceed to the next, wherein we meet with but very little remarkable, we may ſay indeed the King purſued his wonted Pleaſures of Love, Gaming and Hunting, that he had ſometimes Fits of the Gout, and obſerved to diet himſelf as he was wont to do every Year; That he had a ſecond Son born *April* 16*th*, who bore the Title of Duke of *Orleans*, and died four Years after; That in *July* he reunited all his particular Demeaſns to the Crown; That a Comet appeared in *Septemb.* and many other things leſs remarkable. But to wave them, we are now to ſhew, that there having in the mean time been a Negotiation on foot to make a Truce between the *Spaniards* and the United Provinces, and the King having notice from the States that they were willing to accept of a Truce; he ſent the Preſident *Janin* his Ambaſſador thither, that he might ſhare in the Negotiation, and make himſelf as Arbitrator: But the Negotiation ſpinning out to a great length within the ſucceeding Year, we ſhall ſay ſomewhat of other matters before we come to the concluſion of it; and here we muſt according to the *French* Term name it, the Great Winter Year, for the Cold which began to be very ſevere on St. *Thomas*'s Day, laſted above two Months, without relenting in the leaſt Degree, except for a Day or two, but petrified, as we may ſay, all the Rivers, froze moſt of the young Vine Roots, and other tender Plants, ſtarved above half the wild Fowl and ſmall Birds in the Fields, great Numbers of Travellers on the Road, and near a 4th of the Cattle that were houſed: And it was obſerved, that the Heats of the following Summer did almoſt equal the Severities of the Winter, and yet the Year might be reckoned among the moſt plentiful. The Thaw cauſed no leſs Damage than the Froſt, and what hapned at *Lyons* is ſtrangely remarkable: There was a Mountain of Ice Cakes accumulated on the Soane before the Church *de l'Obſervance*. The whole City trembled for fear it ſhould carry away the Bridg upon its breaking; but a ſimple Artiſan having for a certain Sum of Money engaged to make it break by degrees, and without doing any Damage, he lighted

1607.

1608.

Extreme Cold.

two

two or three ſmall Fires on the Shoar over againſt it, and having muttered a few Words, this huge Icy Body immediately burſt, with a noiſe like a Cannon, into an Infinite Number of Pieces, the greateſt of which did not exceed four or five Foot; but the poor Fellow inſtead of being rewarded, was like to be ſeverely puniſhed, and his *Recipe* or Charm was burnt publickly in the Town-hall.

As I ſhall but juſt mention in this Place, the Death of the Duke of *Montpeſier*, whoſe only Daughter was afterwards married to the King's third Son *Gaſton* Duke of *Orleans*; I come again to the Treaty, to hasten which, the States entred into an Alliance with *France* towards the beginning of this Year, as they did ſome Months after with the *Engliſh*; ſo that the *Spaniards* and Archduke ſaw now it was their beſt way to agree to it; and therefore a Truce was concluded
1609. at *Antwerp*, and proclaimed there on the 14*th* of *April*; importing that the Archduke treated the States as free Provinces, upon which he had no manner of pretence in Right of the Archdutcheſs *Iſabel*; That there ſhould be a Ceſſation from all Hoſtilities; That Traffick ſhould be free, which however the *Spaniard* limited to *Europe*, without expreſs Licence from the King: That they ſhould hold ſuch Places as they were in Poſſeſſion of: That confiſcated Eſtates ſhould be reſtored: That the States Subjects ſhould in the King and Archdukes Countries have the ſame Liberty in Religion as had been granted to the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain* by the laſt Treaty of Peace. That the States ſhould promiſe to make no Alteration in Religion in the Villages of *Brabant* depending on them: And that the Truce ſhould continue for twelve Years.

Twelve Years Truce.

The King's Domeſtick Inquietudes

But to leave this matter as ſomewhat too Foreign for us, and the Power of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to be ſtill more ſhocked by the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, we are to note that King *Henry* this Year publiſhed two memorable Edicts, one in *May* to puniſh Bankrupts with Death as Robbers and Publick Cheats, and the other in *June* to prevent Duels: But there is no real Content to be met with in this World, and ſo this great Prince had the Tranquillity of his Mind frequent-

ruffled with the Diſcords of his Family; and more ticularly the Diſdain of the Marchioneſs of *Verneu-* having increaſed his Paſſion, this redoubled the een's Jealouſy, and made the Marchioneſs ſtand re off, while *Sully* and ſome other Confidents labour- in vain to reduce both to the King's Will and Plea- . They menaced the Marchioneſs with the King's ſing another Miſtreſs; and indeed to wean himſelf, made publick Love to the Counteſs of *Moret*, and e time after to Madam *des Eſſarts*. At the ſame e means were uſed to moderate the Queen's Paſſion; ſhe was ſo abſolutely governed by her Country- *Conchino* and *Galigay*, thoſe dangerous Firebrands, no good could be done with her. In the mean the zealous Catholicks of the King's Council ng with and purſuing the Queen's Intentions, main- d dangerous Correſpondencies with *Spain*, by the rvention of the *Florentine* Ambaſſador, and made h ado about marrying the Dauphin and the eldeſt ghter of *France* with the Son and Daughter of *Philip*; but K. *Henry* was rather inclined to marry Dauphin with the eldeſt Daughter of *Lorain*, and o annex that Dutchy to *France*, and to beſtow his ghter upon the Duke of *Savoy*'s eldeſt Son. You know indeed that that Duke began to be diſſatiſ- upon divers Accounts with the *Spaniards*, and in- d to join in with the *French*; ſo that at laſt *Bouil-* having brought *Leſdeguieres* to diſcourſe with him, ague was concluded, both Offenſive and Defenſive, een him and the King, whereof the ſaid Mar- was to be as it were the Seal and Guarantee.

All this while the King's Deſign was to reduce the ſe of *Auſtria* within the Limits of *Spain* and its ditary Countries. The *Hugonots* were much for ut ſome *Romaniſts*, ſtill levened with the Remains e League, were againſt it. However, the King this end did all he could to ſettle the Tranquillity s own Kingdom, and to lay up all things neceſſary War. He made himſelf pretty ſure of the two thern Crowns, the United Provinces, Duke of *Sa-* the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, *Venetians*, *Swiſs*; the Pope himſelf, upon the promiſe of re-uniting Kingdom of *Naples* to the See of *Rome*, was drawn

drawn in; and when he had ſettled the Limits an Pretenſions of the Chriſtian Princes, his Deſign wa to unite all for the Expulſion of the *Mahometan* Ty ranny, which, tho perhaps not above his Courage, y undoubtedly was above his Power.

However things were, here comes a freſh Inte ruption to his foreign Projects. *Henrietta Charlott* Daughter to the Conſtable *Montmerancy*, no ſoone appeared at Court, but the King was captivated wi her Charms. To advance her in Honour he thoug was the way to win her; wherefore he marries h to the Prince of *Conde*, who was young, poor, an depended wholly upon him for his Support. The Bra Prince quickly underſtood the Jig, and diſdained t give way; upon which his Penſions were taken awa and the Money promiſed upon Marriage not paid hi But this was ſo far from bringing him, or indeed t Lady, to acquieſce, that he made his Eſcape with h to *Bruſſels*. The King was mightily concerned here and upon the certain News of the Place of his Retre he ſent to the Arch-Duke to give him up; but he w anſwered, that the Eſteem he had for that Nob Blood having obliged him to allow him a Retreat, t Laws of Hoſpitality and Honour would not ſuffer hi to deliver him up, and that there was no ground fear he would attempt any thing contrary to that R ſpect and Service he owed his Prince. This not ſat fying him, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Bruſſels*, who talk louder, but to as little purpoſe; ſo that now his Co fidents would put him upon ſtealing the Princeſs away nay, ſome contrived to do the ſame by the Princ So that *Fuentes* aſſigned him a good Guard for his S curity, and ſo at preſent we leave him, and ſhall ſa nothing about the Conteſt for the Succeſſion of *Cle* and *Juliers*, chiefly between the Houſes of *Brande burg* and *Newburg*, nor of the Leagues and Negoti tions of other Princes thereupon; but draw now to wards the laſt Scene of this King's Life, which bring us to another Year.

Conde eſcapes.

1610. *Preparations of War.* The King had by this time 30000 Foot and 600 Horſe, all choice Troops, marching towards *Com peigne*. *Leſdeguieres*, now a Mareſchal of *France* had 12000 Foot and 2000 Horſe. The Duke of *S*

and the *Venetians* were to join him with 30000 more. The Princes of *Germany* had but few less, and the United Provinces upwards of 16000, to say nothing of their Naval Power. It was reckoned the War, one way or other, would cost the King 1250000 Crowns per Month, the which he was prepared to continue for five Years; for he had above 41 Millions ready Money, besides his Revenue, which, all Charges paid, amounted yearly to six Millions; besides which, his Superintendant, in case of necessity, promised 175 more upon Parties extraordinary. The House of *Austria* took no great care to provide against so rude a Shock, the reason whereof cannot with any real Certainty be assigned. However it were, one *Ann Cosmes* gave information of a horrible Conspiracy against the King; but they pretended she was mad, and shut her up: But indeed there were so many formented against him, that it was almost impossible he should escape; and his Death was looked upon as a thing so certain, that it was reported in divers foreign Countries before the fatal Blow was given.

Here I will not interrupt the bloody Scene with the Ceremonies of the Queen's Coronation at this time; but come to observe, that the King in the mean time being overwhelmed with cruel Anxiety and Melancholy, of which he could not possibly divine the Cause, felt in himself the Symptoms of that Unhappiness which threatned him. He was often heard to send forth doleful Sighs and Words of ill Presage; and there were some sad Omens that preceded his Destiny. It was observed, that some days before, the May that had been planted in the Court-yard of the *Louvre*, was fallen down of it self. A Star appeared visibly at Noonday in 1609. and the preceding Year a great Comet. The *Loire* overflowed most furiously, as it had done before the violent Deaths of *Henry* II. and *Henry* III. The Inhabitants of *Angoulmois* saw a fantastick Army, seeming to consist of 8 or 10000 men, with a Commander of great Appearance at the head of them, who having marched upon the Earth above a League together, lost himself in a Wood. Two years before, a Priest at *Montargis* found a Note upon the Altar, intimating, the King should be assassinated; and about the

Presages of the King's Death.

the ſame time two Gentlemen of *Gaſcogny* of differe
Religions and Places, went on purpoſe to Court t
advertiſe him of the doleful and preſſing Viſions th
affirmed to have had on the ſame Subject. There w
one ſo bold to tell the Queen, that Feſtival would te
minate in Mourning and Tears; and that Prince
ſtarting one night out of her Sleep, weeping, told t
King ſhe dreamt they were ſtabbing him with a Kni
He himſelf was not ignorant that the number of t
Years of his Reign, as a Magician had computed the
to *Catharine de Medicis*, were almoſt accompliſhe
and he had ſome confuſed knowledg of divers C
ſpiracies formed againſt him: He had in his Life-tim
diſcovered above fifty, but this laſt proved fatal to hi
of which take theſe Particulars.

The Reſolution to murder him had been a long ti
formed by that execrable Monſter *Francis Ravaill*
who was a Native of *Angouleſme*, about 32 years o
and a Lawyers Son, which Occupation he at firſt fo
lowed; but afterwards he went into the Convent
the *Feueillans*, where he was a Novice; but they e
pelled him for his extravagant Whimſies. Some ti
after he was charged with, but acquitted of a Murd
Then he became a Sollicitor again, after which
turned Pedant in *Angouleſme*, and was ſo ſtrange
prejudiced againſt the *Hugonots*, that he could not h
the Name mentioned, but he fell into a Fury: He w
by very odd ways encouraged by the bigotted Po
Clergy to perpetrate the great Villany, and at
went to *Paris* for that purpoſe. The day after
Queen's Entry, the King was to have ſolemniz'd
Marriage of Mademoiſelle *de Vendoſme*, the eldeſt
his natural Daughters, and next day the Feaſt, t
the following Morning to go for the Army; but
the Evening of the Day of Entry, as he was going
the Arſenal without Guards, to confer with *Sully*,

K. Henry *aſſaſſinated.* Embaraſs of ſome Carts ſtopt his Coach in the mid
of the Street *de la Feroniere*; and his Footmen paſſi
under the Channels of *St. Innocents*, the Villain ſte
upon the Spoke of one of the Hind-wheels, and g
him two Stabs in the Breaſt with a Knife, by the l
of which his Arterial Vein above the Ventricle of t
Heart was cut, ſo that he died in a moment. It h
be

n foretold him, he ſhould die in a Coach, and there-
upon the leaſt Jolt he would cry out as if he ſaw
Grave open to receive him. Every Body was ſo a-
zed at this Tragical Accident, that if *Ravaillac* had
dropt his Knife, he might have gone off in the
wd, but he boldly owned the Fact; and 'tis remar-
le upon the ſeizing him, that there were ſeven or
t Men ſeen to come up with their drawn Swords,
crying aloud he deſerved to be cut in pieces preſent-
and immediately ſheltered themſelves in the Crowd,
that the Villain inſtead of being preſently put in-
oal, ſhould be committed only to the Cuſtody of
tigny, who kept him two Days in the *Hoſtel de*
with ſo little care that any body might ſpeak
him, and amongſt others a Friar that was much
ed to the King, called him *my Friend*, and ſaid,
ould have a care of accuſing honeſt Men.

ſpernon, *Monthaſon*, *Lavardin*, *Roquelaure*, *de la*
e and *Mirebeau*, who were in the Coach with the
, drove back to the *Louvre*, ſent for a Chirurgion
ſome Wine, that it might be believed he was not
Dead; and afterwards his Bleeding Corps was for
Hours expoſed with Negligence enough to any
would ſee him. The Queen in this ſorrowful Ex-
y, left the management of all to *Eſpernon* and
rdin, who with the Magiſtrates of *Paris* took
Care to amuſe the People and keep the City from
ults. This King died in the midſt of the fifty ſe- *His Iſſue.*
n Year of his Age, three Months before the end of
2*d* of his Reign, leaving three Sons and as many
hters by *Mary de Medicis* his Wife; the eldeſt
d *Lewis* ſucceeded him; the ſecond died before
as four Years old; the third whoſe Name was
Baptiſta Gaſton was Duke of *Orleans*: The Daugh-
were, *Elizabeth* married to *Philip* IV. of *Spain*,
ſtien to *Victor Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, and *Hen-*
a Maria to *Charles* I. King of *England*. As for
Natuaal Children, beſides thoſe whom he could not
ould not well own, he had eleven; ſix by *Gabri-*
de Eſtree, viz. *Caſar*, Duke of *Vendoſme*, *Lewis*,
cis and *Iſabella*, theſe three died young; *Alexan-*
Grand Prior of *France*, and *Catherine* married to
Duke of *Elbeuf*; two by *Henrietta de Balſac de*

Entragues, to wit, *Henry* Duke of *Verneuil* and Bish of *Metz*, and *Gabriella* Wife first to the Duke *de la V lette*, and then to the Duke of *Espernon*; one only *Jacqueline de Bueil*, who was *Anthony* Count of *M ret*, and two Daughters by *Charlotte de Essars*, wh were *Jane* and *Mary Henrietta*; the first was Abbe of *Fonteurault*, and the latter of *Chelles*.

They gave this King the Title of *Great, and Ar trator of Christendom*; but certainly this last did n at least belong to him as long as *Elizabeth* Queen *England* lived: He has been reproached by some as he loved Money too well, and to acquire it expos his Kingdom to the Avidity of *Partisans*, who mo particularly made him establish the Paulete or Annu Right; that the Inquisition he made after such Cat pillars served more to confirm their Robberies, than punish them; that he gave freer Access to Flatter than prudent Counsellors, and often suffered Impor nity to wrest those Favours from him, which he refused to bestow on Merit; that he was not grat enough to Swordsmen; that he gave too much way his Lawyers and Judges in their Encroachments, was content only that they opposed not his abso Will, and the Verification of his Edicts; that Officers of his Treasury were grown vastly rich, sharing the Lands and Estates of the Kingdom, wh had been maintained by the Soldiery, and who sho have reaped some Benefit by them. Now if Hist might make Apologies, she might indeed vindicate from the greatest part of these Reproaches, tho not fr the Fondness or rather Frenzy he had to Gaming, wh does not become a Great Prince by no means, and wh begot a great many Gaming Houses in *Paris*, most p nicious Schools for Youth, and the fatal Rocks on wh many noble Families have split; and much less can he excused for abandoning himself to Women, which so Publick and Universal from his Youth even to last Periods of his Life, that it will not admit as m as the Name of Love, or be allowed but Gallan But if it be possible, let us dispel these Defects, well as his Renunciation of the Reformed Religi wherein he was bred by that excellent and religi Princess Queen *Margaret* his Mother, by the Lu

His Character.

his Great and Glorious Actions, his continual Victories and high Enterprizes, by his great Goodneſs to s People, and above all his Valour tried in ſo many ombats, and his never-failing Clemency ſalutary to many People; tho when I ſay this, I muſt be obliged to draw a Veil over the Proſecution and Puniſhent of the Great *Biron*: However take him altogeer, theſe two moſt Royal Virtues which marched in Van of all his Undertakings, were ever contend- which ſhould overcome his Enemies in the nobleſt nner; ſo that ſtill it remains in doubt to which of two he was moſt obliged for his good Succeſs, and ether it muſt be ſaid he recovered and conquered Kingdom by the Power of Fighting, or the Virtue Pardoning.

CHAP. III.

The Reign of LEWIS XIII.

HE Oppoſition that ſeem'd to be made to the Regency of *Mary de Medicis* being removed, ſhe that very Afternoon of the Day whereon the King ſlain, declared by the Parliament, and the ſame firmed the next by the young King himſelf in the urt of Juſtice; which being done, the firſt propoſhe Security of the Kingdom, next the Puniſhment of Aſſaſſine, and laſtly the Obſequies of the deceas'd g. In purſuance of which, the firſt Act of State the reviving of the Edict of *Nantes* to content the teſtants. Then *Ravaillac* had firſt his Hand pierced h the Knife wherewith he had perpetrated the Hor- Parricide, and then burnt with Fire of Sulphur upthe Stage: In the next place he had Buskins full of ing Oil applied to him, and boiling Lead poured the Holes made in his Breaſt, Thighs, and Legs; laſtly, his Body was torn to pieces by Horſes. s diſmal Execution was on the 27*th* of *May*, and additional Puniſhment to his Family, his Father Mother, within fifteen Days after the Publication the Sentence, were ordered to depart the Kingdom,

1610.

Ravaillac *executed.*

and never to return, and the reſt of his Relations for
bid to bear the Name of *Ravaillac*, upon pain of Death.

Mariana's *Book condemned.*

A little after *Ravaillac* was executed, *Mariana*, a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, his Book *de Rege & Regis Inſtitutione*, was burnt. Indeed the Proceedings of the Parliament here upon ſeemed to be an evident proof that the Execrable Aſſaſſine had ſeen the Writings and Sermons of ſome of the Doctors of the *Sorbon* (engaged in the League) and poiſoned by the Books which the *Jeſuits* publiſhed to revive that pernicious Doctrine, which the Faculty of *Paris* had cenſured in 1413. and was confirmed by the Council of *Conſtance*: The Decree, I ſay, made the ſame day *Ravaillac* ſuffered, convinced the World that they thought thoſe Books and Pulpit Diſcourſes had plunged the Knife into the Heart of *Henry*, as well as of his Predeceſſor; wherefore the Parliament ordered the Faculty of *Paris* to meet and confirm anew their antient Cenſure againſt thoſe who taught, that a Vaſſal or Subject might, and ought in conſcience to kill any Tyrant whatſoever, and aſſault him all ſorts of Ways, and that that Action was not contrary to the Oath of Fidelity which Vaſſals and Subjects took to their Sovereigns. The *Sorboniſts* not only obeyed the Order; but divers Perſons with much Zeal and Ardency preached in their Pulpits againſt the Jeſuits, who were ready to defend themſelves; and more particularly Father *Cotton*, the late King's Confeſſor, being not able to bear the general Exclamation againſt his Brethren, did, contrary to the Advice of his Friends, addreſs a long Letter to the Queen, to perſwade the World *Mariana* was a private Perſon diſowned by their Body, who had true Notions of the Authority of Princes, and the Obedience due to them. He was forthwith encountred with a thouſand Pamphlets, and inſulted in reſpect to his pretending to diſclaim the Doctrine which he was plainly forced to comply with in reſpect to preſent Neceſſity only; while others ſaid, it came too late to the good Fathers, but perhaps would *not be uſeleſs to the Children of him who was now in his Grave.*

But not to expatiate upon this Matter, and but juſt to mention the Funeral Obſequies of *Henry* the Great, which were performed with the uſual Pomp; ſometimes

before

ore his Body was entombed, there was a ſecret De-
e in Council concerning the Armies he had raiſed,
d which were very chargeable to maintain. Some
re of opinion it was not time now to give any Um-
ge to the Houſe of *Auſtria*: A potent and crafty
emy would find way to imbroil the State. The *Spa-*
h King had propoſed to the late King the double
rriage of the Infanta to the Dauphin, and of the
nce of *Spain* with the eldeſt Daughter of *France*.
e ought (continued they) to disband the Troops
ich gave Jealouſy to *Spain*, and reſume the Nego-
ion of the two Marriages, in order to make a
Alliance. The Regent, by the Interpoſition of
Pope, was very forward to promote this Alliance;
the Chancellor being one of the number of thoſe
approved of it, but having reaſon enough to op-
them who propoſed to have all the Troops diſ-
ded, he ſaid, *Shall we make the World believe we all*
d in awe of Spain? *Shall we bid Defiance to our*
Allies? They will think we intend to abandon them,
will hereafter ſeek the Alliance of this Crown. I
it adviſable to keep up the Army in Champagne,
ſend one to Juliers *to drive out Arch-duke* Leopold.
Army in Dauphine *gives more Jealouſy to* Spain:
is commanded by a Proteſtant Mareſchal of France.
ink theſe two Reaſons ſhould move us to disband it;
common Prudence will not ſuffer us to diſarm our
es entirely before the Return of the Prince of Conde,
re we have certain Information of the Diſpoſition of
Court of Spain, *before the Power of the King and*
en Regent be well eſtabliſhed.

his Advice was approved of as beſt. In the mean Conde
e the Prince of *Conde*, after having been much ſol- *returns.*
ted by *Fuentes* to ſet up for King, tho in vain, re-
ned from *Milan* to *Bruſſels*, and from thence went
France, where a ſtrong Party appeared for him,
the Duke of *Bouillon* would for the further ſtreng-
ning of it, have perſwaded him to embrace the Pro-
ant Religion; but finding his Efforts would not do,
propoſed to reconcile the Differences to the Mar-
ſs of *Cœuvres*, the Duke being willing to manage
Prince, if the other would treat with *Soiſſons*, who
laſt conſenting, the Queen to whom he had com-

municated the Accommodation propoſed, ſeemed to be well ſatisfied with it, tho ſhe travers'd it under-hand: For the Miniſters made her ſenſible, if the two Princes of the Blood, the Conſtable of *Montmorency*, the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Eſpernon*, the Mareſchal *de Bouillon*, and the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*, were once agreed, her Authority would be much diminiſhed by it. Hereupon *Bouillon* reſolved to retire to *Sedan*, his Religion not giving him leave to aſſiſt at the King's Coronation now approaching. In the mean time he reſolved to make a powerful Friend near the Regent, and to that end he pitched upon *Conchini* the Husband of *Leonora Galigai*, a Confident of the Queen's; he had lately bought the Marquiſate of *Ancre*: However, tho he daily advanced in Favour, he ſtrove to gain the Good-will of *Conde*, and was the Perſon imployed by the Queen to divert the Prince and *Guiſe* from hearkening to the Accommodation propoſed by *Bouillon*. But the Mareſchal was too diſcerning a Man not to ſee that the Friendſhip of *d' Ancre* might be of great Service to him, and therefore he offered to lay down his Place of firſt Gentleman of the Chamber, if *Conchini* would buy it, and the Bargain was ſoon concluded.

In the mean while *d' Ancre* began to be inſupportable to the Princes and chief Lords of the Court. In the King's Journey to *Rheims*, in order to be crowned, the Servants of the Marchioneſs had ſome Conteſt with thoſe of the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe* about Lodgings: *Conchini* being now firſt Gentleman of the Chamber, had likewiſe a Diſpute about Precedency with *Bellegarde* Grand Eſquire, at the King's Publick Entry into *Paris*, on his Return from his Inauguration. Hereupon, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, a Kinſman of *Bellegarde*, declared againſt *Conchini*; and the Count of *Saiſſons* being enraged at him for aſſiſting *Guiſe* to marry the Dowager of *Montpeſier*, would have no more to do with the Marqueſs, who endeavoured to be reconciled to them. *Soiſſons* did not ſhew himſelf averſe to it; but inſiſted, that the Marqueſs and his Wife ſhould procure the Princeſs, Heireſs to *Montpeſier*, to be married to his Son the Count of *Enghien*, as alſo to ruin the Duke of *Sully*. As to the firſt, the Marqueſs delivered himſelf in general Terms, but

ſpake

ke more positively as to the latter, if the Ministers uld side with him. Nevertheless *Soissons* did not e to conclude this Reconciliation, till *Espernon* was isfied; but having once brought that dexterously out, the Ministers were easily brought over to ruin ly: He had a Misunderstanding with *Villeroy*, the y Man who had taken pains to keep him in; upon ich *Villeroy*, who thought himself to be the more ne-sary, and to have the better Interest, left the Court; ich was a sort of Menace, that he would not re-n as long as *Sully* had a share in the Government. *ide* also, tempted by the Confiscation of the Estate a Superintendant, and a Protestant, declined inter-ling for *Sully*, whose Plunder would enrich him; *powerful Spur to make a Prince act*, said the great ke of *Roan*, the wisest and best Man of his Time.

All this while the Quarrel between *Conchini* and 1611.
legarde continued; and *Soissons*, notwithstanding his Engagements with the former, revived his Friend-p towards, and would espouse the Cause of the latter; Matters being made up again by the means of the rquess of *Cœuvres*, *Conchini* thereupon promised to all that *Soissons* had before desired; but when *Es-non* and *Joyeuse* understood the Queen was brought consent to dispose of their Niece *Montpesier* to *En-en* without their Consent, they stormed mightily at But to pass over these Court-Quarrels, and others t happened between *Soissons* and his elder Brother *nti*, as also between the Count and the Duke of *lse*; *Sully*'s Disgrace was now at hand, and *Bouillon*, Protestant like himself, was so far from supporting n, that he rather contributed to his Ruin, saying, deserved the worst that could befal him, however, ar he ought not to appear among those who declared ainst him: That it concerned him very much, that ose of his Religion should not reproach him with re-oving a Man, who was so necessary to them in the st he was in. *Sully* therefore being laid aside, retir-to his Castle upon the *Loire*; and the next thing at came upon the Stage, after having punished *la Es-nan* for having falsly accused the Marchioness of *erhueil* and *Esperuon* of being accessary to *Henry* IV's eath, was an Endeavour to put a stop to the Com-

motions in *Savoy*, and to prevent the Deſign of th
Duke againſt *Geneva*; but what touched yet cloſe
An Aſſembly of the Reformed. was, how to manage the General Aſſembly of the Pro
teſtants, who were allowed to meet on the 25*th* of *Ma*
Bouillon and *Leſdeguieres* ſhewed much Zeal for the In
tereſt of their Religion, and they engaged *du Pleſſis*
Mornay to draw up Memorials to be ſent into the Pro
vinces, that all might agree what to ask of the Regen
at that Juncture; but *Bouillon* quickly ſuffered himſe
to be won by the Court, and he had the Queen's Pro
miſe of the Government of *Poictou*, which ſhe de
ſigned to take from *Sully*, while *Villeroy* and *Ancr*
drew his Inſtructions, and put Money into his hands
to diſtribute it as he found convenient. At the ſame
time it was thought neceſſary to adjourn the Aſſembly
to *Saumur*, where *Bouillon* propoſed to preſide. Th
Dukes of *Sully*, *Rhoan*, *la Trimoville*, *Soubize*, *Ch*
tillon, *la Force*, and divers other Proteſtants of Qu
lity, came to *Saumur*, moſt of whom had a diſtruſt
the Mareſchal, and therefore they agreed to ſtand b
the firſt Motion made by himſelf, not to elect a
great Lord for their Preſident, but pitched upon th
moſt excellent *du Pleſſis Mornay*; after which th
thought fit to renew the Oath of Union they ha
formerly taken on divers occaſions. *Boiſſiſe* and *Bull*
Counſellors of State, and the King's Commiſſioners
the Aſſembly, brought hopes with them of the Favo
of the Court; but whilſt this was managing by Pe
ſons appointed for that purpoſe, there aroſe a Deba
about the Duke of *Sully*'s Concerns: He refuſed to la
down his Place of Great Maſter of the Artillery, an
his Government of *Poictou*; and to ſecure himſe
therein, he uſed all his Endeavours to engage all th
Hugonot Party to concern themſelves in his Preſerva
tion. *Bouillon* would have perſwaded the Brave Duk
of *Roan* to abandon his Father-in-law; but he being
Perſon of rare Probity, was ſteddy to *Sully*; and th
Aſſembly, according to his Example, declared for hi
alſo, alledging, that his particular Intereſt, and tha
of the whole Proteſtant Party, were inſeparable upo
that occaſion. The Court taking this Language ill, re
ſolved to break up the Aſſembly, in order to whic
Bouillon preſented the Regent's Letter to them, and

quired the King's Orders to be executed, which the
eſident wiſely obeyed, tho moſt of the Members
ghly reſented this way of Procedure. We'll paſs o-
r the unjuſt Cenſure paſs'd upon the Book of *du Pleſſis*
lornay, entitul'd, *The Myſtery of Iniquity, or the Hi-*
ry of the Papacy; and we ſhall but juſt mention the
ath of the Duke of *Mayn*, the famous Head of the
oly League, which happened the beginning of *Octo-*
r this Year: Neither ſhall we enter upon a Detail of
e Diſcontents of the Count of *Soiſſons*, which made
n contract new Ties of Friendſhip with the Prince
Conde; nor upon the Diſturbance at *Troyes* in *Cham-*
ne, occaſioned by the Jeſuits Settlement in that City;
proceed now to another Year, wherein the double 1612.
rriage is concluded between *France* and *Spain*, which
an to cauſe Intrigues in both Courts: After which
next thing that came upon the Stage was, the
pe's Nuncio complaining of the Edict of the Parlia-
nt of *Paris* given in favour of the Univerſity againſt
Jeſuits: He did all he could to get the Sentence
igated, and to that end *Conchini* was ordered to
k to the Preſident of Parliament from the Queen,
inform'd them that ſhe wiſhed their Edict were li-
ed. Other Miniſters were imployed to the ſame
poſe; but *Verdun* the chief Preſident both wiſely
courageouſly anſwered, Her Majeſty would do bet-
to diſſolve the Parliament, than oblige it to alter its
s for the pleaſure of a foreign Miniſter; and he
uld make but very ſmall Conceſſions in their favour.

There was alſo a great ſtir at this time about a Richer's
ok written by *Richer*, Syndic of the Doctors of Book con-
ris, that ſeemed to intrench upon the Power of the demned.
urch of *Rome*: Cardinal *Peronne*, and the Biſhops
the Province of *Sens* condemned it in an Aſſembly
d by them, and not only ſo, but they found a way,
by unjuſt Methods, to diveſt the Author of his
adſhip of the Doctors of the *Pariſian* Faculty; and
Cardinal of *Bouzi* declared one day to him from
Chancellor *Silleri*, that he ſhould be taken up, if he
wered any of the Libels his Adverſaries publiſhed a-
inſt him.

Amidſt theſe Traverſes, the Queen Regent diverted
ſelf more than Religion or Decency, in the ſecond
Year

Double Match concluded.

Year of her Mourning, would allow of; and the double Marriage being ſolemnly declared on the 25*th* of *March*, ſhe appointed a magnificent Tournament in the Royal Square, where the three Champions were the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Nevers* and *Baſſompierre*: The Conſtable and four Mareſchals of *France* were to be Judges. In the mean while the Prince of *Conde* and *Soiſſons* were not preſent at the Declaration of the Marriage, but retired from Court in Diſcontent; but being brought back again, the Duke of *Mayn* was appointed Ambaſſador to *Spain*. In the mean time the Duke of *Paſtrada*, and *Don Inniго de Cardenas* King *Philip*'s Ambaſſador in Ordinary in *France*, ſigned the Marriage between the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and the Prince of *Spain* on the 25*th* of *Auguſt*. The Lady's Dowry was 500000 Crowns in Gold, which was to be paid down the night before the Conſummation of the Marriage. She renounced all her Right to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *France*. On the other hand, *Mayn* was received with great Honours in *Spain*, made a moſt ſplendid publick Entry, and on the 22*d* of *Auguſt* ſigned the Articles at *Madrid*: He harangued the *Infanta* in Quality of Queen of *France*, and at his Departure deſired her to give him ſome Orders to the King her Maſter. To which ſhe anſwering, *Aſſure him that I am very impatient to ſee him*; her Governeſs the Counteſs of *Altamira* reply'd, *Ah, Madam, what will the King of* France *think, when the Duke ſhall report to him, you have ſo great a Paſſion for Marriage? You have taught me*, anſwered the *Infanta* with a great deal of Liveline's, *That one muſt always ſpeak Truth.*

The Regent having concluded theſe Matches, was alſo very deſirous to have her ſecond Daughter *Chriſtina* married to the Brave *Henry* Prince of *Wales*; and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador after the way *Villeroy* had ſpoke to him, gave K. *James* to underſtand, that it would be his Fault, if that Affair were not concluded. The King thereupon ordered the Lord *Rocheſter*, his Favourite, to write to the Prince then at *Richmond* about it, and to pray him to ſpeak his mind freely. The Prince had notice that the Lady was not yet nine years of Age, and that her eldeſt Siſter's Portion was but 500000 Crowns of Gold; whereſo

Rocheſter

eſter inſinuated the Regent would give more with in caſe the Augmentation of her Fortune were ed on. The Prince hereupon with a Prudence much aſſing his Years, anſwered the King his Father upon he Articles of the Letter from his Ambaſſador in ce, which he ſent him at the ſame time; the Prince's er is ſo remarkable, as not to be omitted upon divers unts, but more particularly ſince it ſeems to have the laſt this noble Prince ever wrote, for it bore *October* 14, 1612. and he died the 16*th* of *No-*er. I ſhall therefore inſert it in this place.

Prince Henry's Letter to his Father.

for the time they will bring the Princeſs into Eng- *I believe the ſooner the better, and that your ſty ought not to demur hereupon. As long as the eſs ſhall be in* France, *the Queen her Mother will iſtreſs, either to forward the Marriage, or to ſtave ; and to oblige her Daughter either to give her Con- or hinder her from it: The younger ſhe is, the time we ſhall have, and eaſineſs, to inſtruct her in Religion and convert her. Since they ask of your ſty to explain your ſelf, as to the Liberty the Prin- ſhall have in the Exerciſe of her Religion; I deſire Sir, to anſwer your Ambaſſador poſitively, that you not agree to any other Conditions with* France, *than the Duke of* Savoy *demanded when he offered his Daughter; that is to ſay, That the Princeſs have Liberty to follow her Religion in private, and e moſt retired Chamber of her Apartment. I con- that theſe are too ſtrait and narrow Conditions; f* France *ſpeaks ſincerely, I do not queſtion but that ill be contented with them.*

Henry very well knew the covetous Humour of his her, for which Reaſon he had a touch upon the cle of her Fortune, in a ſomewhat more nice man- *If your Majeſty,* continued he, *regards the great of a Dowry, I think you will prefer the Princeſs* Savoy, *ſhe brings with her two hundred thouſand ons more than the Lady of* France; *for at leaſt I ſcarce perſwade my ſelf, that the Regent will give to the ſecond Daughter than to the eldeſt. But your Majeſty lays aſide Intereſt, to do what ſhall be to the Mind of the general Body of Proteſtants abroad,*

abroad, it ſeems to me you will rather incline to France *than* Savoy. *Laſtly I fear leſt your Majeſty ſhould not be content with the Indifference I ſhew for all the Propoſitions of Marriage which are made me, I moſt humbly beg your Pardon for it: 'Tis you, Sir, who are to take the moſt advantageous Reſolution that may be for the good of the State; I have but little Experience in Political Affairs, and cannot ſpeak like a Man ſmitten in Love upon this occaſion.*

1613. Being like to hear no more of this Match, we proceed to another Year, which we find uſhered in with the Chevalier *De Guiſe* his killing the Baron *De Luz*, which much provoked the Queen againſt the *Guiſes*. Whereupon the Duke of *Guiſe* would join himſelf with the Prince of *Conde*'s Party; *Baſſompierre* endeavoured to divert him from it, and in ſhort, managed the matter ſo well, that both he and *Eſpernon* were brought to Court again. In the *Interim Francis* Duke of *Mantua* the Queen Regent's Nephew dying about the latter end of the preceding Year, and leaving by his Wife *Margaret* Daughter to *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, but one Daughter about four Years old, his Brother *Ferdinand* the Cardinal ſucceeded him without any Conteſt in the Dutchy of *Mantua*: But *Montferat* not being a Fief Male, it was to deſcend to the young Princeſs. This embroil'd the Cardinal with the Duke of *Savoy*, who had an Eye upon *Montferat*, and at laſt actually invaded it, which occaſioned great Commotions in *Italy*, and brought *France* and *Spain* to concern themſelves about it: There was indeed an Agreement hudled up between them, but the *Spaniards* carrying things on that ſide with a high Hand, and the Duke of *Savoy* being very inclinable to break it again, the *French* began to ſpeak in earneſt of ſending ſome Troops into *Italy*: Upon which King *Philip*, who in reality had no mind to a War, coldly deſired the Prince of *Piedmont*, then in *Spain*, to write to *Turin* that his Majeſty would not fall out with *France*, and that he would give no occaſion to others to break with *Spain*. Further, he ſent Orders to his Ambaſſador in *France*, to declare he would withdraw his Troops from *Montferat*, provided the Cardinal Duke would grant

The Affairs of Montferat.

nt an Amneſty to his Subjects, who had ſided
th the Duke of *Savoy*, and deſiſted from demanding
paration of Damages; ſo that at length another
gotiation was ſet on foot, to terminate all Diffe-
ces in an amicable manner.

At the ſame time the Joy which the Regent con- 1614.
ved to find her ſelf freed from a Rupture with
in, was but of a ſhort Continuance; for the
treat of the Prince of *Conde* and ſeveral other great
rds from Court, much alarmed her. *Bouillon* had
y cunningly formed this new Party to ſerve his own
tereſt; and therefore he brought the Dukes of *Ne-*
vers, *Mayenne*, *Vendoſme*, *Longueville*, *De Piney Lux-*
emburg, and divers others into new Engagements with
the Prince, in order to demand conjointly a Redreſs
of the Diſorders of the Government: On the other
hand it was ſo much for the Duke of *Savoy*'s Intereſt to
carry out work for *Mary de Medicis*, that he muſt by
all means correſpond with the Prince of *Conde*, and *Civil*
endeavour to raiſe a Civil War in *France*, tho he pre- *Troubles*
tended quite the contrary, and would give his Aſſiſt- *in* France.
ance againſt all thoſe that offered to diſturb the pub-
lick Tranquillity. There were a great many Expedi-
ents propoſed by the Council in this difficult Con-
juncture; and the Regent at length wrote a circular
Letter to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, and
other Civil Officers, to exhort them to be faithful to the
King, and not ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized by the
Prince of *Conde* and his Party. In the mean time the
Duke of *Nevers* ſeized on the Citadel of *Mezieres* in
Champagn, where *Conde* and the reſt of the Party
meeting, the Prince wrote a Letter to the Queen in
form of a Manifeſto, complaining of many Grievances,
and demanding the aſſembling of the States of the
Kingdom within three Months at fartheſt, the ſuſpend-
ing the Marriage of the King and his Siſter till after
the ſitting of the States, and the placing near her Ma-
jeſty Perſons of known Honeſty and Integrity. At
the ſame time he wrote to his Uncle the Prince of *Conti*,
to the Dukes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown,
to the Parliaments and Cardinals, and ſent them a Copy
of his Letter to the Queen. None of the Parliaments
had Courage to anſwer the Prince; however the

Queen

Queen returned him a large one in form of a M
nifeſto, to clear her ſelf of his Imputations; and t
a Negotiation was reſolved on in Council, ſhe was
far from relying upon it, that ſhe concerted Meaſu
for the raiſing of ſix thouſand *Swiſs*; but not dar
to truſt the great *Roan*, who was their Colonel Ge
ral, and who was deſirous to become the Head a
Defender of the Reformed, he quitted his Poſt fo
Sum of Money, and the ſame was given to *Baſſ*
pierre.

Now the better to engage the Prince of *Conde* a
his Adherents to riſe againſt the Government, *Boui*
flattered him with Hopes the Reformed would decl
for them, and he had taken care to diſcover this Proj
to the moſt intimate Friends of *Roan*; and *Co*
ſeemed ſo well perſwaded of the favourable Inclinati
of the *Hugonots*, that he wrote to the Deputies Ge
ral of the Reformed Churches, to let them know
Obligations he laid upon them, in not forgetting th
Intereſt in the Manifeſto: But the wiſe *Du Pleſſis M*
nay had the Precaution to prevent the Deputies fr
intereſting themſelves in this Affair. On the ot
Hand when *Bouillon* had joined the Prince in *Cha*
pagne, he adviſed him to ſend ſome of his Domeſti
to the Heads of the Reformed, to exhort them to t
up Arms; they did not doubt if *Roan* and *Du Pl*
Mornay could have been wrought upon, but they co
eaſily bring in the reſt; but nothing would work up
the former, yet the great *Roan* did not ſeem ve
backward to join the Party, tho at the ſame time m
courted by the other ſide. Great Endeavours we
uſed to accommodate things before they came to ex
mity, and at laſt by the good Offices of Friends a Tr
ty was concluded at *St. Menehoud* in *Champagne* M
15*th*, whereby the Caſtle of *Amboiſe* was to be
into the Prince of *Conde*'s Hands till the meeting
the States; *Nevers* had *St. Menehoud*, as ſome ha
related, beſides Money: *Blavet* and other Places fo
tified in *Bretagne* by the Duke of *Vendoſme* were d
mantled, and his Government reſtored to him.

We ſhall not trouble our ſelves with the Dec
made by the Parliament of *Paris* againſt *Suarez*, a
the buſtle the Pope made about it; but proceed
Ano

w that the Duke of *Vendoſme* refuſed to conſent
he Treaty of *St. Menehoud*: But *Roan* himſelf
not Intereſt enough in the *Hugonot* Party to make
m riſe, as *Vendoſme* imagined. *Roan* made an
y to call a general Convocation of thoſe of the
ormed at *Tonneis*; 'tis not certainly known what
real Intentions were, in reſpect to the Prince of
de and his diſcontented Party; but the wiſe *Du*
ſſis Mornay prevented it. In the mean time the
gent reſolving to avoid War as much as might be,
Chœureux to *Vendoſme* into *Bretagne*, in order to
ng him to an Accommodation, which he could not
mpliſh till the third Journey he made thither;
then the *Swiſs* were received into *Blavet*, and the
e was re-eſtabliſhed in his Government by Letters
ents from the Queen. All this while *Conde* was un-
, he would have engaged *Du Pleſſis* and the Re-
med in his Intereſt, but failing of that, he deſired
to prepare a Memorial of thoſe things that were
eſſary to be done in the Aſſembly of the States:
er which he went to the Duke of *Roan*, to whom
made heavy Complaints of the Mareſchal *De Bo-*
on; but *Roan* remonſtrated to the Prince, that he
ht not to depend ſo much on the States of the King-
, and added, that the Queen would have more
hority there than he. The Prince far from being
ſed, writ to the Preſident *Jeannin*, to acquaint him
his Diſcourſe with *Roan* only tended to hinder
from joining with *Vendoſme*, a pitiful Artifice to
uſe himſelf, and to expoſe one of the greateſt and
eſteſt Men of his time. Enraged at the many
appointments he met, he formed a Deſign to make
ſelf Maſter of *Poictiers*; but failing of that, he retired
much Confuſion to *Chateauroux* in *Berry*, and en-
voured all he could to inſinuate into the Re-
med, that the King and the Queen's Journey to
ſtou and *Bretagne* foreboded no good to their Re-
on: But *Du Pleſſis* was ſtill in the Gap, and
ting upon the Queen her ſelf at *Tours*, remonſtrated
ny excellent things to her, for the good of the
gdom, and the Intereſt of the Reformed Religion
particular. After which the Court proceeding to
ſtiers, and *Villeroy* having admoniſhed *Roan* that
the

the Queen was ſurprized he did not appear at Court ſince ſhe was ſo near to *St. Jean d' Angeli*; he immediately went to pay his Reſpects to their Majeſties and was received very kindly. From hence the Court went to the Meeting of the States of *Bretagne* at *Nantes*, where all things terminating to the Regent's Satisfaction, and quite contrary to *Vendoſme*'s Intentions ſhe returned triumphantly to *Paris*, and was concerned about the Affairs of *Cleve* and *Juliers*, but more in the new Differences that did ariſe between *Spain* and *Savoy*, which the *French* endeavoured to accommodate.

K. Lewis *at Majority.*

In the time that *Rambovillet* began his Negotiation in *Italy*, *Lewis* XIII. entred into the 14*th* Year of his Age, which was that of his Majority, conformable to the Edict of *Charles* V. And the firſt thing he did appeared to be an Act of Religion and Juſtice, and that was the Confirmation of the Edict of *Nantes* in all its Articles, which they would, as they ſaid, inviolably keep and obſerve. He alſo confirmed his Father's Edicts againſt Duels, and others againſt Swearing and Blaſphemy. Next Morning being the ſecond of *October*, the King went to take his Seat of Juſtice in the Parliament of *Paris*, with great Pomp and Splendor.

States meet.

We proceed now to the Meeting of the States General of *France*, wherein were made the laſt Efforts of dying Liberty; it was at firſt agreed they ſhould meet on the 25*th* of *Aug.* at *Sens*, while the King was ſtill in his Minority. But the Queen not pleaſed therewith, they were tranſlated from thence to *Paris*, and there to ſit on the 10*th* of *Octob.* The Spiritual Houſe or Chamber conſiſted of 140 Members, whereof there were five Cardinals, ſeven Archbiſhops, and forty ſeven Biſhops: The Chamber of the Nobility conſiſted of 132 Perſons; and that of the third State of 182 Deputies, all Officers of Juſtice, or concerned in the Revenue. The Cardinal of *Joyeuſe* was at the Head of the Clergy, the Baron of *Senecey* was Preſident of the Chamber of the Nobility, and *Miron* Provoſt of the Merchants of *Paris*, of that of the Third Eſtate. They were no ſooner met, but ſeveral Pamphlets came out againſt the Queen, Houſe

Gui

ise, Miniſters of State, Officers of the Revenue, d thoſe that were entruſted with the King's Educati- as alſo againſt the Governors of ſeveral Cities and ovinces, againſt the intolerable Oppreſſions of ſome the Sovereign Courts, and laſtly againſt the dou- Marriage with *Spain*. The Jeſuits were not ſpa- in them, but charged with divers Enormities; which means the People being much heated, and Prince of *Conde* promiſing to ſtand by them, and their Grievances redreſt, theſe Difficulties much araſſed the Queen's Cabinet Council, who at laſt ld find no better Expedient than to ſow Diviſions ween the three Houſes: To compaſs which Deſign reſolved the Clergy and Nobility ſhould prepare Articles of Reformation, and draw up ſome Re- tions, which they were ſure the People would not their Conſent to: They began with the Nobility, engaged them to deſire the Suppreſſion of the Du- alled *Paulette*, which made all Offices in Courts uſtice, and of the Finances and Revenues, heredi- upon paying a certain Sum yearly to the King. was a very good Plot, for the Third Eſtate con- g of ſuch Officers, ſuch a Propoſal could not be acceptable to them; however finding themſelves a ſort of Neceſſity to comply, they did ſo with- any more ado, but deſired the Clergy and Nobili- concur with them in demanding two other things, ch were the leſſning of the Taxes, and ſuppreſſing innumerable Penſions, which the King paid with- any Neceſſity. Now this Reformation, tho tend- much to the Diſintereſt of the Nobility, yet being lauſible as the ſuppreſſing of the *Paulette*, they t not openly reject it; but endeavoured to put it Things being at this Paſs, and the Third Eſtate perſiſting in their Reſolution, not to concur with other two Houſes about the taking off the Annual y, unleſs they would likewiſe concur with them in anding the Abatement of the Taillies, and taking y the Penſions; the Clergy and Nobility petitio- the King, that he ſhould ſuperſede the ſaid Annu- Duty, till the States General had more ſtrictly en- ed into that Affair, and to revoke certain Taxes re- g to Salt, from which they themſelves pretended to

be free. The King gave them fair Words, and at the ſame time it was intimated to them, that he wiſhed the three Houſes would draw up the General Account of their Grievances and Demands: On the other hand, the Third State purſuing the Steps of the Nobility and Clergy, petitioned the King to ſuperſede the levying of the Taillies, and paying of Penſions; and the Deputies that ſpoke on this occaſion, reflecting on the Nobility, as having a great ſhare in the Profuſions of the Publick Treaſure, it was highly reſented, with which Diviſions the Courtiers were not a little pleaſed.

It would be endleſs to enter upon every particular Project, invented by them for the perplexing of one another; neither ſhall I but juſt mention the ſingularity of the Clergy upon this occaſion, whom nothing leſs would ſerve than addreſſing the King to have the Council of *Trent* publiſhed; and to make it go down the better, they propoſed it with this Reſtriction, *Without any Prejudice to the Rights of his Majeſty, the Liberties of the* Gallican *Church, and the Privileges of Chapters, Monaſteries and Commonalties.* But this and all their other Artifices would not take with the Third State; but they had better Succeſs in the Houſe of the Nobility, tho they ſhewed at firſt great averſeneſs to conſent to what was deſired of them. On the other hand, the Court ſeemed very much pleaſed with the compliance of the Clergy and Nobility; for beſides what they had openly done to defeat the Deſigns of the Third State, they drew upon the 12th of *Decemb.* an Article, to deſire the King to conclude his Marriage with the *Infanta*, and that of his Siſter with the Prince of *Spain:* But the three States concurring to deſire the King to erect a Court of Juſtice conſiſting of Perſons of their Number, to enquire into the ill Adminiſtration of the Publick Revenue, was no ſmall Mortification to the Queen Mother, who was afraid of being called to an account now for the Monies diſburſed during her Regency, as well as the Farmers and other Managers of the Revenue. There was a pretty favourable Anſwer given firſt by the King, which was farther explained by his Mother, to the Propoſal; and then the Chancellor *Silleri* acquainted

them

hem, that notwithſtanding the King was not obliged let his Subjects know the Particulars of the Administration of his Finances, yet he was pleaſed to lay before them the State of the Receipts and Expences; but his being looked upon as an Evaſion of the Court, e Nobility preſſed the other Houſes to re-iterate eir Demands, and receiving the ſame Anſwer as before, the Nobility propoſed to attend the King the ird time; but the Clergy refuſing to concur therein, ey were brought to be content with the bare reading in their Houſes of I know not what Account of Receipts and Expences, which the Court thought fit to d them. The third State would have proceeded ther, but no great good being to be expected on s Head, the Third Eſtate having *Decemb.* 15. beto prepare their Cahier, the Deputies of the City *Paris*, and of the Government of the Iſle of *France*, poſed to inſert a very material Article therein for Sovereign Power of the King, and the Security his Royal Perſon, which was to this effect: That preventing the conſequence of a pernicious Doctrine, which had been broached ſome Years ſince againſt Kings and Sovereign Powers eſtabliſhed by God, his Majeſty ſhould be deſired to cauſe to be publiſhed in the Aſſembly of the States General, as an inviolable and fundamental Law of the Kingdom, That the King being recognized Supreme in *France*, and holding his Authority from God alone, there was no Power on Earth either Spiritual or Temporal, that hath right to deprive him of his Kingdom, nor to diſpenſe with, nor to abſolve his Subjects from their Allegiance and Fidelity, they owed him for any Cauſe whatſoever; that all the Subjects of the Realm ſhould acknowledg this Law for Sacred, true and conformable the Word of God, without any Diſtinction, Evocation or Limitation: That all the Deputies of States General, all the Magiſtrates and Clergymen ing Benefices, ſhould be obliged to take the Oath, re they were admitted to the Poſſeſſion of their efices and Dignities: That all Tutors, Regents, tors and Preachers, ſhould be obliged to defend the e, and that the contrary Opinion, as well as that trine, which held it lawful to murder and depoſe

Articles of the 3d Eſtate for the Sovereign Power of the King.

Sovereign Princes, and to rebel againſt them upon any account whatſoever, ſhould be declared falſe, impious, deteſtable, and contrary to the Conſtitution of the *French* Monarchy, which depended immediately upon God alone: That all Books teaching ſuch Wicked Doctrine, ſhould be looked upon as ſeditious and damnable: That all Foreigners who ſhould preſume to defend it, ſhould be adjudged Enemies to the Crown: That all the King's Subjects of whatever Condition or Quality, who ſhould embrace that Doctrine, ſhould be puniſhed as Rebels, Infringers of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Guilty of High Treaſon: That if any Foreign Divine, either Regular or Secular, ſhould publiſh any Book containing Propoſitions directly or indirectly, contrary to this received Law as aforeſaid; ſuch Eccleſiaſticks or Religious that were of the ſame Order in this Kingdom, ſhould be obliged to confute the Book of ſuch their Brethren, without any regard at all to the Perſon, but with all the Sincerity and juſt Arguments they were able, upon pain of being puniſhed as Favourers of the Enemies of the State.

The Generality of the Members of the Third State, were for embracing this Article; but the next Day after the paſſing of it, the Clergy made a great deal of noiſe, crying out, *All is undone, all is undone, there are Raskals and Hereticks in the Aſſembly that have conſpired the Ruin of our Religion.* And they beſtirring themſelves very much, they by aſſuring the Nobility, that they ſhould inſert nothing in their Cahier relating to the Nobility or the Third State, without firſt acquainting them with it, the Expedient took with them; but the Third State ſtoutly inſiſting upon the Article, the Parliament of *Paris* at laſt interpoſed and *Servin* the King's Advocate General remonſtrated on the 31*ſt* of *Decemb.* to the Parliament; That the King's Council, the Attorney and Solicitor, having certain Advice that certain Perſons had taken the Liberty to call into queſtion, and held for Problematical the following Maxims, which had been all along received in *France*, and were even born with the Crown, *viz.* That the King acknowledged no Superior in Temporal Things within his Kingdom, but God alone, and that no Power upon Earth had any Right to abſolve his Majeſty

1615. *Decree of the Parliament of* Paris, *upon the Difference in the Aſſembly of the States General*

Majeſty's Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and the Obedience they owed him, nor to ſuſpend him, or deprive him, or depoſe him from his Throne, and much leſs ſtill to attempt, or cauſe any attempt to be made by any Authority whatſoever, either publick or private, on the Sacred Perſons of Sovereign Princes; The Advocate at laſt concluded with this Requeſt, That the Court would be pleaſed to put a ſtop to all further Proceedings, and command that the Decrees given formerly in that behalf, might be revived and publiſhed anew in all Places within their Juriſdiction; that ſo the King's Subjects of all Ranks and Qualities might be confirmed and ſtrengthened in the ſaid Maxims and Rules, for the Security of his Royal Life, and the Publick Peace and Tranquillity, with ſtrict Prohibitions to depart from them under the ſame Penalties, as were preſcribed in the precedent Decrees. In conformity to this, two Days after they drew up and preſented their Declaration, which the Clergy impugned with all their Might, as they did alſo the Third State, againſt whom Cardinal *Peronne* appeared very active. In ſhort, they ſeemed wholly to gain their Point, but at the ſame time to give no manner of Umbrage as if they were diſloyal to their Prince, they politickly drew up an Article againſt thoſe who ſhould maintain that it was lawful upon certain Caſes to conſpire againſt the Lives of Princes; and the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, whereby that pernicious Doctrine was condemned, was tack'd by them to the Article. They deſired the Concurrence of the Nobility and Third State hereunto; but on the 5*th* of *Jan.* the King called before him the Diſpute about the Article of the Third State above mentioned, and ſuſpended the Execution of the Arreſt of the Parliament of *Paris*, in relation to the Allegiance due to their Prince; but how advantageous ſoever that Arreſt was to the Clergy, yet they were not ſatisfied with it, which redoubled the Indignation of all good Men againſt him; neither would they reſt till ſuch time as having brought the Nobility to join with them, they made a new Remonſtrance to the King for obtaining the Article of the Third State to be ſuppreſt, as alſo the *Paulette*: Nay, they puſhed this Affair at length ſo far, that they

got the King to order the ſaid Article to be ſtruck out of the Cahier General, which was obeyed by moſt of the Deputies with great Regret.

Pope *Paul* V. looking upon this Advantage gained by the Clergy and Nobility as the greateſt Victory that ever the Holy See obtained over its Enemies; he was ſo well pleaſed therewith, that he ſent a Brief of Thanks to each of the two Orders. In the mean time the Clergy having prepared a Remonſtrance, and an Article againſt Duelling, both the Nobility and the Third State concurred with them therein, which ſeemed to produce a good Harmony between them, but this was of no long Duration; for *Bonneval*, one of the Deputies of the Nobility, having caned *Chavaille* a Deputy in the Third State for the lower *Limoſin*, Complaint was made of it to the King, who referring the ſame to the Cognizance of the Parliament, it bred ill Blood between the Houſes: The Court hereupon thought it a favourable Juncture to break up the Aſſembly, which was the laſt they have had in *France*, and after all very little or nothing done to purpoſe by them.

States General broke up.

The Court being now rid of an Aſſembly they did not care for, they were involved in a new Perplexity by the new Differences ariſen in *Italy*, between the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, which were come even to an open Rupture; but recovering a better Temper in time, and the *French* King being informed King *Philip* was well enough enclined towards a Peace, and that the Duke of *Lerma* had made ſome Propoſals purſuant thereunto, Orders were given to *Gueffier* immediately to go for *Piedmont*, and to tell *de Rambovillet*, that he ſhould preſs the Duke of *Savoy* to accept of the Conditions the King of *Spain* would be pleaſed to comply with. The Duke at firſt ſhewed himſelf very averſe to any Agreement; but at length recollecting a better Temper, he gave a Promiſe in Writing under his Hand, whereby he engaged himſelf at the earneſt Deſire of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to accept the Conditions that *Silleri* had brought from *Madrid*; but at the ſame time he demanded four Things of the *French*, viz. That he would pardon all the *Frenchmen* that had ſerved in the Troops of *Savoy*, notwith-

notwithſtanding the Prohibitions that had been made; That he would procure the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Trade between the *Milaneſe*, and the Dominions of his Highneſs; That he would command all the Governors of his Provinces in the Neighbourhood of *Savoy*, to ſend him Succour without expecting any farther Orders, in caſe the *Spaniards* ſhould not preſerve the Conditions propoſed in the Treaty; and laſtly, That the Duke ſhould be allowed to keep up five thouſand Men for the Security of his Frontiers, *viz.* Two Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Three Thouſand of his own Subjects. The *French* Court having readily agreed hereunto, and the Duke of *Savoy* having demanded the Guaranty of his *Britannick* Majeſty, the Peace was at laſt ſigned *June* 21*ſt*, and the *French* Ambaſſador engaged in his Maſter's Name, that he would take into his Protection the Perſon and Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, in caſe the *Spaniards* ſhould attack them either directly or indirectly; that he would give him ſuch Relief, as ſhould be ſufficient for his Defence; and that he would forthwith command the Mareſchal *Leſdeguieres*, and all the Governors of the Provinces adjoining to his Dominions, to ſend him ſome Troops, without ſending any farther Orders, if the *Spaniards* ſhould violate their Words: After the Duke had performed *Bona Fide* the Conditions of the Treaty, that Trade ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed between the *Swiſs*, the *Griſons*, the Duke's Subjects and the *Milaneſe*, on the ſame Foot as it was before; and laſtly, That the *French* King ſhould pardon all his Subjects, that had been in the Duke's Service, contrary to his Majeſty's Prohibition; and that he ſhould reſtore to them his Favour, and their Eſtates and Dignities. *Treaty of Aſt.*

But to ſay no more of this Treaty, nor of the Diverſions of the *French* Court; we ſhall here obſerve by the way, that about this time it was that *Luines* began to make his Fortune in *France*, and to inſinuate himſelf into the King's Favour by his Skill in Falconry, wherein that Prince much delighted; he found alſo the Secret of making *d' Ancre* his Friend, and at laſt ruining him. On the other hand, the Princes were ſtill diſcontented, while the Mareſchal *de Boullon* endeavoured to ſet the Parliament againſt the Court,

and then to gain over the Reformed Party, among whom he had a pretty large Intereſt: The Parliament at laſt came to this Reſolution, That ſeeing the Princes, the Dukes, Peers, and the other Officers of the Crown were Members of that Parliament, they might well invite them themſelves to come and take their Places upon ſuch important Occaſion as that was; that thoſe great Perſons did not want particular leave from the King for that purpoſe: Did not their Birth or their Dignity give them a Right to ſit in Parliament whenever they pleaſed? And a Decree being iſſued out accordingly on the 28*th* of *March*, that they ſhould appear and take their Places, the Court was much alarmed, and therefore the King forbad the Prince of *Conde*, and the other Lords of the Party to go thither; and next Day the King's Officers in Parliament were commanded to Court, and ſeverely reprimanded. *Servin* the Advocate General wiſely and generouſly defended the Proceedings of the Parliament, but with all juſt Deference to the Court, who for all that forbad the Parliament to proceed any farther to put their Decree in Execution, and that his Will and Pleaſure was, that the King's Council at Law ſhould wait on him to inform his Majeſty how the Parliament had received his Orders. The Parliament weakly complied herewith tho *Bovillon* did not trouble himſelf much with it; but on the contrary, their Mortifications were conducing to the End he had propoſed to himſelf, of engaging them at laſt to break out; and in order to prepare the Minds of the People the better to receive the Complaints and Manifeſto's the Prince of *Conde*, and thoſe of his Party were contriving for raiſing the People againſt the Queen and her *Conchini*, on the 9*th* of *April* a Motion was made, whether it would not be proper to beſeech the King to give an Anſwer to the Parliament, and to acquaint them with his Will according to his Promiſe: This cauſing ſome new Alarm at Court, there was a great deal of Buſtle about the matter, and at length the Reſult of the whole was the King's forbidding the Parliament to make any Remonſtrance concerning the Government of the Kingdom.

Now

Now in so great a Commotion of Minds at the Court a little before, in the Assembly of the States General, in the Parliament, and among the People, the Queen Mother endeavoured to make herself sure of the Reformed of *France*; and therefore on the 12*th* of *March*, the King put out his Declaration, wherein he protested that his Intention had always been to maintain all his Subjects in a good Correspondence, and inviolably to maintain what the late King and himself had granted to those of the Reformed Religion; and commanded, that the Edicts, Declarations and private Articles made, should be religiously kept and maintained. In the mean time the Parliament, besides some pretty sharp Remonstrances concerning the ill Administration of the Government, concluded them with intreating the King, according to their Decree made the 28*th* of *March*, that he would be pleased to permit them to invite the Princes, Peers of *France*, and Officers of the Crown, to their Assembly; that so being acquainted with the Abuses of the Government, they might give a larger Information thereof to his Majesty. The main of the Answer was returned by the Queen Mother, full of Heat and Passion, and not much better continued by the Chancellor *Silleri*; and the Conclusion was, that the King on the 23*d* of *May* gave in his Council a Decree for repealing that of the Parliament, enjoining them not to meddle any more for the future with State-Affairs, unless when they should receive Orders from him to do so: And to the end that the Remembrance (as they would have it) of such Disobedience should be quite lost, his Majesty commanded that the Ordinance and the Remonstrances should be quite razed and torn out of the Records; nay, the Court began now to stand up so much for Absolute Will and Pleasure, that all the Arguments the Attorny and Advocates General who had their Seats in Parliament did use, could not exempt them from being the Bearers of the said Decree; and so at present we leave this perplext matter.

Edict in favour of the Reformed.

During the Contest with the Magistrates, there had been often mention made in the King's Council, of a Progress he was shortly to take into *Guyenne*, to meet the Infanta, who was to be brought to the Frontiers

tiers of the Kingdom, and to conduct thither the Lady *Elizabeth* of *France* affianced to the Prince of *Spain*. *Conde* and thoſe of his Party did whatever they could to oppoſe it; but the other Intereſt prevailing, the Prince and his Followers withdrew from Court, after which abundance of Pamphlets flew about in favour of them. This made the Court look about them, and the Queen Mother perceiving by this time that her high Carriage towards the Parliament had brought her into the Snares her Enemies had laid for her, ſhe began to labour now to find out ſome Expedients to content them: And indeed the Difference with the Parliament was adjuſted, when they publiſh'd an Anſwer to the Mareſchal *Bouillon*'s Letter to Preſident *Jeannin*, upon occaſion of *Conde*'s withdrawing from Court, as aforementioned; for they ſaid therein with much Confidence, That their Majeſties believed, that the Magiſtrates of the Parliament were too wiſe to defer any longer reconciling themſelves to their King, who deſired to own them as his faithful Subjects and good Servants: Thoſe that flattered themſelves they ſhould make uſe of the Diſguſt and Succour of the Parliament as a ſpecious Pretence to juſtify the Troubles they would fain ſtir up in the Kingdom, were willing with their Eyes open to deceive themſelves: The King would be always equally ſupported both by his Magiſtrates and Military Officers, whenever they ſhould have occaſion to repulſe the Efforts of Rebels, and preſerve the Authority which God had put into his hands.

The Court was not ſo wholly taken up with quieting the Parliament, but that they were at the ſame time contriving how they might gain over the Prince of *Conde*, and get him to accompany the King in his Progreſs to *Guyenne*. *Villeroy* Secretary of State was ſent to negotiate the matter with him, firſt at *Creil* upon the *Oyſe*; then at *Clermont*, from whence the Prince removing to *Coucy*, the Dukes of *Longueville* and *Mayn*, the Mareſchal *de Bouillon*, and Count of *St. Paul* went thither to him, as did alſo *Villeroy* and *Jeannin*, to ſee if they could come to any Accommodation: But Secretary *Ponchartrain* coming thither the ſecond Day of the Conference, and carrying a Letter from the King

the Prince, dated *July* 26*th*, wherein his Majeſty plainly declared, that being reſolved on his Progreſs to *Guyenne* the 1*ſt* of *Auguſt*, he had ſent *Ponchartrain* to have their poſitive Anſwer whether the Prince would accompany him or not; *Villeroy*, as well as the Prince and his Party, were much ſurprized at this Letter; to which the Prince anſwered, That he thought they had too much precipitated the King's Progreſs to *Guyenne*, before they had ſettled the Affairs of the State, and redreſſed the Abuſes of the Government, according to the Remonſtrances of the States General and the Parliament. Then he alledged, that this proceeded from the evil Counſel of ſome diſaffected Men, and that he had too long poſtponed the riſing openly againſt them, leſt he ſhould offend the Queen, who protected them; and concluded, that the ſame Perſons continually abuſing the Name and Authority of the King, to the ſubverſion of the State, and weakening of the Kingdom, he thought himſelf obliged to declare openly to the King, that the Contrivers of thoſe Diſorders repreſented by the Parliament, were the Mareſchal *d' Ancre*, Chancellor *Silleri*, his Brother, *Bullion* and *Dole*: Wherefore he humbly intreated the King to make an Enquiry againſt them. The King hereupon, on the 20*th* of *July*, put out his Declaration againſt the Prince, while *Bouillon* on his part endeavoured to engage the Reformed on that ſide; but the wiſe *Du Pleſſis Mornay* ſtood ſtill in the Gap, to prevent thoſe People from imbroiling themſelves with the Court, tho ſome Sermons of the Popiſh Clergy at this time might have been a motive to incite them to it.

King's Letter to Conde, *and the Prince's Anſwer.*

Some few Days after the publiſhing of the King's Declaration, the Prince diſpatched a Perſon with Letters to their Majeſties, wherein he intreated them to give him leave to ſend to all the Parliaments, all the conſiderable Corporations in the Kingdom, and in a word, to all the Princes and States in Alliance with *France*, a Manifeſto dated at *Coucy*, *Auguſt* 9. wherein he complained, that the Queen being too credulous, and poſſeſt with evil Counſels, would not be prevailed upon by the ſeveral Remonſtrances he made her. He form'd a very ſtrange Repreſentation of the Management of Things in the Aſſembly of the States General, exclaimed much

P. of Conde's *Manifeſto.*

much againſt the Clergy and the Mareſchal *d' Ancre* and laid open the great Oppreſſions of the People: He highly extolled the Parliament, and to gain over the Reformed to his Intereſt, he declared, that the Edicts of Pacification ought to be kept as the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and made a very lively Repreſentation of the juſt Grounds of Suſpicion which had been given to the Reformed. Laſtly, he declared in his own, and the Names of all his Party, that they were not conſenting, and had no hand in all the pernicious Counſels made uſe of for the Adminiſtration of the Government, and that they thought themſelves under an Obligation to expoſe their Lives and Fortunes, to bring off the King from Oppreſſion, to preſerve him from the Dangers wherewith he was threatned, to cauſe the Edicts of Pacification to be maintained, to procure the Relief of the People, and to make Juſtice reign throughout his Dominions.

The Prince preſently diſperſed his Manifeſto into all Parts of the Kingdom, while the Court were buſy in their Preparations to oppoſe him. The Mareſchal *d' Ancre* was propoſed by ſome ſecret Enemies as a proper Perſon to command the Army; but upon better Thought *Eſpernon* and *Silleri* carried it for the Mareſchal *Bois Dauphin*, which *d' Ancre* perceiving, he uſed all the Artifice he could to ruin both of them. In the mean while the King ſets out on his Progreſs to *Guyenne*; but they firſt ſeized and impriſoned the Preſident *au Mortier le Jay*, as ſuſpected of being in the Intereſt of *Conde*.

Aſſembly of the Reformed.

On the other hand, there was permiſſion given that an Aſſembly of the Reformed Churches ſhould not be held at *Grenoble*, at which time *Bouillon* adviſ'd the Prince to write to the *Rochellers*, to deſire them if poſſible to prevail with the reſt of the Reformed, and to perſwade them to follow their Example, and join with him for the proſecuting his pious Intentions for the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Security of the Reformed Religion; but the Duke of *Roan* having a much better Intereſt at *Rochel* than the Mareſchal, it was not very difficult for him to elude the other's Sollicitations. The Prince ſent alſo his Manifeſto and Letters to the Aſſembly at *Grenoble* for the ſame end, and with as little Appearance of Succeſs: For *Frere* the King's

Com-

mmiſſioner aſſiſted by *Leſdeguieres*, croſſed all his rigues, and brought the Aſſembly to ſend Deputies the King, who made ſeveral Demands to him at *urs*, where *du Pleſſis Mornay* alſo attended. The urt was indeed much puzled, when their Article conning the better Government of the Kingdom was d: However, the Queen and the Miniſters not thinkit fit to diſcover their Reſentments, they promiſed m an Anſwer at *Poictiers*, where they arrived on 4*th* of *September*; and the Lady *Elizabeth* falling here of the Small Pox, they were obliged to conne in that City, till ſhe was perfectly recovered. *nde* did not or could not make uſe of that Opportuity for his Advantage; but the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe* ing at this time, and the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Eſnon* each of them demanding the Collation of the nefices vacant by his Death for one of their Sons, s wrought ſome Inquietude at Court, and made the ghty *Eſpernon* very uneaſy; tho he was yet more ſibly touched with another Mortification, which s, that his eldeſt Son the Count of *Candale* ſhould w from ſome particular Diſguſts declare himſelf aainſt his Father, in favour of the Prince of *Conde*'s rty, and publickly, tho not over-ſincerely, embrace Reformed Religion. The Aſſembly of the Reformat *Grenoble* were likewiſe about this time induced to our the Prince and his Intereſt, which *du Pleſſis Mor*y endeavoured all he could to reſiſt, as foreſeeing the d Conſequences of it to thoſe of his Religion; but atever Motives the Queen now had, ſhe ſeemed ſo tle to regard the Demands of the Aſſembly, or the tereſt of *Conde*, that ſhe procured an Act to be drawn on the 10*th* of *September* at *Poictiers*, whereby the ince and all his Adherents were declared Rebels, and ilty of High Treaſon. There was ſome Oppoſition ade in the Parliament of *Paris* againſt the verifying of but the Court Slaves carried it. *Du Pleſſis* was all is while labouring at Court with no leſs Application d Diligence than he did at *Grenoble*: But all his Reonſtrances not being able to bring the ill-adviſ'd ueen to give ſome Satisfaction to the Reformed, and nſwer their Memorials; and the Great *Roan* being at is time diſobliged by the Queen's refuſing him the

Rever-

Reverſion of the Government of *Poictou*, which th
Duke of *Sully* his Father-in-law was poſſeſs'd of, hi
Brother the Duke of *Soubize* and *Bordes Mercier* bein
ſecretly gained over by *Bouillon*, took the opportunit
to promote their Deſigns; inſomuch that *Roan* alread
upon the turn, thro the Sollicitations of his Brother
hearkened to the Propoſals of the Count of *St. Pa*
of joining in with them to oppoſe the Concluſion of th
Double Match: And hereupon he and *Bouillon*, th
with different Proſpects, ſo managed things in reſpect
Aſſembly remove to Niſmes. to the Aſſembly at *Grenoble*, that all the Intereſt whic
Leſdeguieres did make could not hinder them fro
removing to *Niſmes*; to which the Court politickl
gave way, for want of a better opportunity to prevent
it. For the Prince of *Conde*, who was already power-
ful on the other ſide of the *Marn*, was making Pre-
parations to paſs the *Loire* alſo, and to advance to-
wards *Poictou* and *Guyenne*, where *Roan* and *Soubize* de
ſigned to join him with their Troops; the Prince imme-
diately marched towards *Paris* with about 5000 Foot and
2500 Horſe, and rendevouz'd at *Noyon* in *Picardy*. It wa
believed *Bois-Dauphin*, who was much ſuperior in number,
might eaſily have diſperſed the Prince's Army; but he
Prince of Conde's March and Declaration. continued encamped at *Dammartin*, while the *Pariſian*
upon the Prince's March, were frighted out of their
Senſes, for fear he would come up and attack their
City. At *Meri* upon the *Seine*, the Prince and his
Followers being flush'd with the happy Beginning of
their March, put forth a Declaration contrary to that
given by the King at *Poictiers*, and againſt the Decree if-
ſued out by the Parliament of *Paris* purſuant there-
unto: It wholly tended to juſtify himſelf and his Par-
ty, and laid all the Blame of his taking up Arms upon
his Enemies.

As ſoon as the Prince's Army had paſſed the *Seine*,
they advanced towards *Sens*, which the Prince deſigned
to have ſurprized; yet *Bois-Dauphin* not only broke all
his Meaſures, but the Duke of *Piney-Luxemburg* hav-
ing joined the Prince a little before with 300 Horſe,
yet refuſing to accept of the Quarters aſſigned him by
Bouillon, who was Commander in Chief next to the
Prince, *Bois-Dauphin* had the opportunity to take him
and all his Men Priſoners. The two Armies were ſo

near

r one another, that every body expected a Battel; *Bois-Dauphin* was ſo faint-hearted or unskilful, that loſt the beſt Opportunity he could have wiſhed for, having better Troops, and much ſuperior in number the Enemy: So that *Bouillon* being delivered from ſo at a Danger, paſſed the *Loire* with great Diligence; Conde *paſſes the* Loire.
r which being joined by 600 *Germans*, the Prince rched with all poſſible Dilligence till he arrived on Frontiers of *Touraine* and *Poictou*.

On the other hand the Brave *Roan* was nothing near fortunate as *Bouillon*; for at his Arrival in *Guyenne* underſtood that the Count of *St. Paul*, and the *nan* Catholick Nobility of his Party had made their eaty with the Court; which unexpected Turn, tho iſappointed *Roan* and his Friends, yet they did not their Courage: However, all that the Marqueſs *la Force* and other conſiderable Proteſtants could do, ld not get above 2000 Men together. In the mean e the Court being happily arrived at *Bourdeaux*, re ſtill very uneaſy upon the account of *Roan*'s be- thus in Arms; wherefore they ſent an Enſign to and his Party at *Tours*, to know the reaſon why y had taken up Arms; to whom at length they re- ned this Anſwer in Writing: They have denied Sa- faction to our General Aſſembly: The Remonſtrances he Prince of *Conde* and the Parliament of *Paris* have n rejected with Scorn: They give out every where, n in their Sermons, that the double Match with *Spain* been concluded with a deſign to deſtroy the Prote- nts. This done, *Roan* advanced, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of *itoure* the chief Town in the County of *Armagnac*, d ſome other Places in *Guyenne*, while the Courts of *ance* and *Spain* agreed upon the Celebration of the o Marriages on one and the ſame day, which was *Octo-* 18*th*, one at *Bourdeaux* in *Guyenne*, and the other *Burgos* in *Caſtile*. On the other hand, notwith- nding the Army of the Prince of *Conde* was in a y poor condition when he marched into *Poictou*, yet e Neighbourhood and various Motions of his High- s did not a little diſturb the Joy which the Con- mmation of the Marriage gave to the Queen-Mother; d the Uneaſineſs of the Court, ſtill more increaſed by e Advice they received that the Duke *de la Trimoville*,

but

Protestants declare for Conde.

but especially *Soubize*, the Great *Roan*'s Brother, ha declared for the Prince, who was now received int *St. John d' Angeli*: *Rochel* embraced his Interest, an the Duke of *Sully* did the same after a long Nego tiation. The Count of *Candale* seemed to act very in cerely in favour of the Prince at *Nismes*; and notwith standing all the Opposition made by *Chatillon*, *Les guieres* and *du Plessis Mornay*'s Friends, he brought th Reformed over, and had the Subtilty to get himse chosen their General in the *Cevennes*. Then the Re formed proceeded to a Treaty of Union between them selves and the Prince; which being much sollicited b the Duke of *Roan*, that he might not be left at th Discretion of the Marescha *de Bouillon*, it wa at last concluded at the Camp at *Sanzai* in *Poitou November* 27. and the principal Articles of it wer to endeavour jointly the Safety of the King's Perso and the Preservation of his Authority, according t the Project contained in the famous Article of the thir Estate; to oppose the publishing of the Council o *Trent*; to prevent the mischievous Consequences of th double Marriage with *Spain*; to insist upon the Esta blishment of a good Council; to advise his Majest to procure an exact Observance of the Edict of *Nante* and that the Reformed might be maintained in the po session of all the Rights and Privileges that had bee granted them by the late King. Both Parties likewis obliged themselves to stand inseparately united, not t quit their Arms, till the Conditions agreed on wer performed; and lastly not to make any Treaty of Peac without mutual Consent. However, this Treaty wit the Prince caused a great Scandal in the Protestan Churches, and elsewhere, and so much the more, be cause the King had but a few days before issued out Declaration to assure his Protestant Subjects of the firm Resolutions he had to maintain the Edicts of Pacifica tion, and to take away all manner of Jealousies from them, upon account of the double Match with *Spain* and lastly, to invite those that had sided with th Prince to return to their Duty. But this would no now do.

It was not long after these Transactions that *Cesa* Duke of *Vendosme* declared publickly for the Prince

d gave out, that he had taken up Arms in conjunction th him, for revenging the Death of the late King Father; and for that Cauſe he would venture his e, Eſtate and Friends. The Court on their ſide ving removed *Bois-Dauphin* from the Command of Army, and the Duke of *Guiſe* being made Lieute- nt General in his ſtead; the Queen-Mother ſets her gines now on work, to ſee if ſhe could divide the nce and his Party, and began with the Duke of *ayn*, and the Mareſchal *de Bouillon*, who had the ateſt Intereſt amongſt the Male-contents. In the an time *James* I. King of *England*, by his Ambaſſa- *Edmunds*, made a ſeaſonable Offer of his Media- n for adjuſting thoſe Differences, which he was a- d would at laſt break out into a Civil War. Both ties were diſpoſed to it; and the firſt Day of this r K. *Lewis* anſwered the Prince of *Conde*'s Letter, declared that both himſelf and the Queen his Mo- r were always inclined to reform the Council, that their Majeſties would have had a regard to Remonſtrances of the Parliament, and the Memo- ls of the States General, had they not been pre- ted by the over-haſty Retirement of the Prince. n he concluded his Letter with ſome Teſtimonies of good Intentions for giving Content to his Subjects, withal agreed to have a Conference with the Prince ſome Perſons his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to ap- nt for that purpoſe. The Prince did not fail to ac- int the Aſſembly at *Niſmes* of theſe Paces, who reupon agreed upon ſome Articles that were pre- ted to the King in the Name of the Prince and of Aſſembly, and unanimouſly demanded that the liminaries of the Conference might be agreed up- Herein the King was moſt humbly intreated to nt Peace to his Subjects, and to give leave to the nce and Deputies of the Aſſembly to enter jointly a Conference with ſuch Perſons as the King ſhould oint; to deliver his Brief for transferring the Aſ- bly to ſome other Place nearer the Court, and con- that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador ſhould be preſent *as a Witneſs* on both ſides, of the Tranſactions of this Ne- tiation. The Prince alſo would have the Counteſs *Soiſſons* and Dutcheſs of *Longueville* preſent, deſired

An Accommodation propos'd.

to be informed of the Place and Perſons the King ſhould appoint, and laſtly intreated him to declare what ſhould become of the two Armies till the Negotiation was concluded. The ſecond Article of the Demands met with great Difficulties; for the King not owning the Aſſembly at *Niſmes* to be legal, would not receive their Letter, nor hearken to their Deputies: But *Bullion* the Prince's Envoy inſiſting ſtifly upon it, the Court was obliged to find out this Expedient; That the King ſhould deal with thoſe of *Niſmes* as with Perſons that were come to Court of their own accord by themſelves, and that he ſhould not own them for a General Aſſembly of the Reformed Churches of *France*. This done, it was agreed the Conference ſhould be opened on the 10th of *February* at *Loudun*, and that the Deputies of *Niſmes* ſhould be admitted to it; and in order to the better managing of Affairs the King then publiſhed a Suſpenſion of Arms till the firſt Day of *March*. In the mean time, the King arrived at *Tours* towards the End of *January*, with a Deſign to continue there to ſee the event of the Conference. Here it was that the Queen Mother was in great danger of loſing her Life, by an extraordinary Accident, of the Floor of the Room wherein ſhe was ſinking on a ſudden; but her Elbow-Chair ſtanding by chance upon a Beam that ſtood faſt, ſhe paſſed over the Bed, and ſo got away with Safety: The young Count of *Soiſſons*, Duke of *Eſpernon*, *Baſſompierre* and ſeveral other Eminent Perſons, fell down and were much hurt. The Queen ſent to them all to condole their Misfortunes, except *Eſpernon*, tho he were more hurt than any of the reſt, which made him conclude his Diſgrace was reſolved on; and indeed *Conchini* and *Galigai* had prevailed with the Queen to ſacrifice him to the Reſentment of the Prince of *Conde*, who was not able to bear with him any longer; he was ſoon diſcharged accordingly, which together with his Son the Count of *Candale*, appearing as a Lord of the Reformed Party at *Loudun*, muſt needs be great Mortifications to a proud and haughty Spirit, as the Duke was well known to be of.

Upon the opening of the famous Conference, *Con* promiſed to let *France* know, he had no other Deſ

n the Good and Tranquillity of his Country; and ving ſaid as much to the Duke of *Roan*, that Great n tells us himſelf, *That the Prince and his moſt uſty Friends concerned themſelves more with their private Intereſt, than the Publick Good.* The Coun- of *Soiſſons*, Duke of *Nevers*, Monſieur *Villeroy*, *Pontchartrain*, both Secretaries of State, the ſident *de Thou* and *de Vic* Counſellor of State, were mmiſſioners for the King; when on the other ſide *de* appeared in Perſon, accompanied with his Mo- , the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Longueville*, the Dukes *Mayenne*, *Vendoſme*, *Longueville*, *Roan*, *Luxem- , *Tremoville*, *Sully*, the Mareſchal *de Bouillon*, nt of *Candale*, and the Deputies of the Aſſembly he Reformed Churches, which the King had tran- d from *Niſmes* to *Rochel*, which was the Expedi- found out for making it a lawful Aſſembly; the *liſh* Ambaſſador alſo appeared here as Mediator. *roy* ſtrenuouſly applied himſelf at firſt to divide Lords of the Prince's Party, and to gain over *Conde* himſelf by promiſing him great Advantages the Queen, which met with but too much Succeſs upon him, *Mayenne* and *Bovillon*, but *Longue- ville* was not ſo eaſily to be brought over: On the o- hand, *Vendoſme*, *Roan* and *Sully* joined to the ormed, were not for Peace, but upon Conditions ntageous to the Proteſtant Party, and to curb that dleſs Authority which the Kings of *France* had ſt unjuſtly uſurped over their Subjects. *Roan* laid eat many cogent Arguments before the Prince to ent his ſo ready a Compliance; ſo that what with and another Accident and Intereſt, the Treaty out near three Months, and the Suſpenſion of s was renewed ſeveral times. In the mean time, Prince preſented 30 Articles to the King's Commiſ- rs, ſome of which were granted, ſome put off, others with ſome Alterations and Amendments a- d to by the Court. The Prince had digeſted theſe cles with much Dexterity, as if all were deſigned he Publick Good; and the firſt of his Demands That an exact and ſpeedy Enquiry ſhould be made thoſe that had been any ways concerned in the th of the late King, and that the Biſhops ſhould

The Confe- rence of Loudun.

Prince of Conde's Articles.

be ordered forthwith to publiſh the Canon of th
Counſel of *Conſtance*, and the Decree of the Faculty
of *Paris*, againſt all who ſhould preſume to attemp
any thing againſt the King's Perſon; and it was fur
ther declared, that ſuch had all along been the Inten
tion of his Majeſty.

It was not ſo with the two following Articles, which
required that the Article of the Third State, concer
ning the Security of the King's Perſon and the Inde
pendency of the Crown, might be granted; and that
all neceſſary Things in order to its Obſervation might
be diſpatched; that his Majeſty would order the Su
perſedings of the Decrees, which the Parliament of
Paris had made relating to the ſame, to be taken off.
In ſhort, that thoſe Decrees might be ſolemnly renewed,
and all the Declarations made and ſent out of the King
dom to the prejudice of the King's Perſon, and again
maintaining of his Sovereign Authority, might be de
clared null and void, and contrary to the Fundamen
tal Laws of the Kingdom. Now as to the firſt of
theſe two Articles, it was anſwered in general Terms,
the King would provide for it, with the Advice of the
Princes of the Blood, *&c.* But for ſuperſeding the
Parliaments Decrees, they ſaid, That after mature
Deliberation in the King's Council, they had been
ordered, to the end a good Correſpondence might be
kept with the Pope, and that the King had never
made any Declaration contrary or prejudicial to his
Sovereign Authority, or to the Independency of the
Crown. The Court made not much Oppoſition
gainſt ſome other Articles, whereby the Prince de
manded the Preſervation of the Liberties of the Gal
can Church, the annulling of what the Clergy had
undertaken for the Publication of the Council of *Trent*,
the exact keeping of the Edicts of Pacification, and
of all that had been ſince granted to the Reformed,
the preſerving the Authority and Juriſdiction of the
Sovereign Courts, the Regulation of the whole Body
of the *Gendarms* according to the antient Statutes,
and the abatement of real and perſonal Taxes called
Tailles. All theſe Articles were granted in general
Terms, while ſome others were cunningly enough eva
luded; but the Queen Mother was after all put to
ve

y great Perplexity, concerning two private Claims
Conde and *Longueville*; nothing leſs would ſerve
firſt, than to make himſelf Head of the King's
ncils, to ſign all the Decrees that ſhould be diſ-
ched, the Account of the King's Treaſury, whatever
ld be weekly reſolved on in the Finances; and in a
d, he demanded the whole Miniſtry; while *Lon-*
ville demanded Satisfaction to be given him concer-
the Citadel of *Amiens*, whoſe Government had
given to his Enemy the Mareſchal *d' Ancre*. *Vil-*
gave the Prince hopes, he might obtain his End,
ch was made uſe of by his Enemies at Court to
race him; however it were, the Queen reſolved
onclude the Treaty with *Conde*: And when the
e of *Mayenne*, and the Mareſchal *de Bouillon* had
near obtained all that they demanded, they then
ured hard to prevail with the other Lords, and the
mbly of the Reformed at *Rochel*, to accept of
Conditions of the Treaty; but this would have
a more difficult Work, than either the Dukes of
Roan and *Sully*, *Soubize* and *Candale* would have i-
magined, had not this Princeſs's Illneſs, and ſome other
intervening Accidents wrought them into a compliance;
the Prince himſelf, as weak as he was, precipita-
ted the ſigning of the Treaty, without hearkning to
any Remonſtrance, or waiting for the Anſwer which
the Aſſembly of *Rochel* ſhould have made him: Divers
of the Party as well as the Reformed, murmured
much againſt the Prince, for being ſo haſty in this
Work; but it was done, and then came out an Edict
given at *Blois*, for the Pacification of the Troubles,
whereby the King confirmed all the Articles agreed
upon by his Commiſſioners at the Conference of *Lou-*
dun, and granted a Pardon for all that had paſt, ſince
the Prince of *Conde*, and the Lords of his Party had
taken up Arms.

Treaty ſigned.

The Edict being thus paſt, *Conde* went to take poſ-
ſeſſion of his new Government of *Berry*, *Longueville*
returned home, *Roan* and *Sully* went to *Rochel*, *May-*
enne and *Bouillon* went to Court, while the Mareſchal
d' Ancre began now to be generally hated by every
body, and received daily Mortifications and Inſults
that were certain Preſages of his approaching Ruin.

All this time the Duke of *Roan*, obſerving the Motions of all others, and finding every body intent upon his own Intereſt, a Perſon of ſo great and diſcerning a Genius, as he could not be wanting to himſelf upon ſuch a Conjuncture, and therefore having prevailed with the Duke of *Sully* his Father-in-law to reſign his Government of *Poictou*, upon condition the Queen ſhould confer it upon himſelf; this he ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, and nothing now remained more to do, than to obtain the King's Letters Patents, which the Court promiſed to grant him, upon condition he would go thither himſelf to receive them; and upon his Arrival there, he delivered himſelf to the Queen at a private Conference, after ſo free and excellent a manner, as became one of the Greateſt Men then living.

D. of Roan *makes his Peace with the Queen.*

All this while *Bovillon* and others were very reſtleſs, and their main Deſign was to ruin the Mareſchal *d' Ancre*; which the Queen perceiving, ſhe concerted forthwith to break off their Meaſures, by labouring to gain the Prince of *Conde* over to her Intereſt: She ſent *Richlieu* Biſhop of *Luſſon* twice to him for that purpoſe, with whom the firſt Trial of his Skill proved very ſucceſsful; however the Prince made his own Conditions, and the Queen and *Conchini* promiſed he ſhould have the ſole ſhare in the Government excluſive to all the Lords of his Party, and that he ſhould likewiſe be the Head of the Council of the Treaſury. In ſhort this did the Work effectually, and the Prince accordingly on the 20*th* of *June* arriving at *Paris*, was received very graciouſly by the King and Queen, and with the loud Acclamations and Rejoicings of the *Pariſians*, and all the great Men of the Party flocked to his Houſe to wait upon him. Neither was *Conchini* himſelf backward to go and pay his Devoirs to his Highneſs, tho he durſt not do it without a good Guard. However the Prince had not been long at Court, before the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Mayenne*, with the Mareſchal *de Bouillon*, at leaſtwiſe in Appearance, drew him in to contrive and agree with them upon ways how they might ruin *Conchini*. *Conde* met them ſometimes in the Night, but they were always divided in their Opinions, ſome propoſing one way and ſome another; but in ſhort the Prince himſelf having once ſtarted that the beſt

Conde *goes to Court.*

beſt Expedient for it would be to turn the Queen her ſelf out from being at the Head of Affairs, all the Company were for it but the Duke of *Guiſe*, perhaps for no other Reaſon than the antient Emulation between his Houſe and that of *Bourbon*. About the ſame time, the Lord *Hay*, being come Ambaſſador Extraordinary from *England* to *France*, where he appeared with great Magnificence, and was moſt ſplendidly entertained, the Prince among others reſolved alſo to treat his Lordſhip. It's not known how it came into *Conchini*'s Head to make a Viſit to his Highneſs upon the Day of that Feaſt, but ſo it was, and when his Enemies heard it, they immediately propoſed to murder him; but the Prince being unwilling to violate the Sacred Rights of Hoſpitality, would by no means allow of it; and ſoon after he ſent a Perſon to acquaint the Mareſchal with the ill Deſigns contrived againſt him, and to adviſe him to retire from Court, which he did next Morning accordingly, and went to *Caen* in *Normandy*; tho the revengeful *Italian* had before his Departure taken ſuch meaſures, as to make moſt of his powerful Enemies, and even the Prince himſelf ſenſible, that he was ſtill in a Capacity, not only to withſtand them, but alſo to overthrow all their Projects.

Barbin the Queen's Steward, whom ſhe had made Comptroller-General of the Finances, adviſed her to ſecure the Prince, and thoſe of his Cabal, in order to ſupport her Authority, which ſhe perceived now manifeſtly to ſink, and that of the Prince to increaſe daily, ſince *Conchini* had withdrawn from Court. The Pope's Nuncio did indeed now endeavour to reconcile the Prince and ſome of the Lords to the Queen, but to no purpoſe; and the Queen ſeemed ſtill to be more averſe thereto, by the Diſcourſe made to her by the Duke of *Sully* at this time, That her Authority muſt unavoidably ſink, and that of the Prince be eſtabliſhed, unleſs ſhe took good Care to prevent it. 'Tis hard to penetrate into the ſecret Intentions of this old and able Courtier by this Pace; all that could be gueſſed at was, that he made it in concert with the Duke of *Roan*, perhaps with a Deſign to advance their own Intereſts in effecting a Reconciliation between *Conde* and

Queen adviſed to ſeize the Prince of Conde.

the Queen Mother; 'tis certain that *Roan* and *Sully* did not design the Ruin of the Prince, but they might be afraid, if he became too powerful, he might then sacrifice them to the Resentment of *Bouillon*. But whatever the real Intentions of these two Great Men were, the Queen was now fully bent upon securing the Prince, who going attended by the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Vendosme*, with the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, to wait upon her on the 30*th* of *Aug.* they continued about an Hour and a half in her Chamber, when *Galigai* and *Barbin* were of Opinion, so fair an Opportunity was not to be slipt for securing them all four; but all things being not yet ready to the Queen's Mind, the Execution of her Design was deferred till the first of *Septemb.* Now whether the often Comings and Goings, which were taken notice of when these Great Persons were in the Queen's Chamber, had given any Jealousy to the Duke of *Mayenne* and *Bouillon*, or whether they had received any secret Notice, they began to be upon their Guard; but *Conde* being no ways apprehensive of any Danger, went in great Pomp next Day to the Council about ten in the Morning; and the Queen looking upon him with great Scorn, said to *Bassompierre*, *Here is now the King of* France, *but his Royalty shall be like that of the Bean, it will not continue long.* The Duke of *Mayenne* was all on the Scout, and finding the Danger, sent *Thianges* to warn the Prince not to go to the *Louvre*; for when the Prince was going out of the Council to the Queen's Chamber, he found two of the Guard *de Corps* set as two extraordinary Centinels at the Door; however he went in, but the Queen being retired into her Closet, *Themines* the Officer appointed for that purpose, coming up to the Prince with his two Sons, arrested him in the King's Name, saying to him besides many other Civil Terms, *That the King had ordered him to secure his Person, lest he should fall into some worse Hands:* The Prince desired he might have the Liberty to speak to their Majesties to justify himself, but that not being allowed him, it was said, he turned himself to the Persons there present, and asked, *If no Body had Courage enough to declare in his Behalf*; and perceiving *du Vair* the Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir, said *Conde* to him,

P. of Conde arrested.

him, *I know you are a Man of Honour, have you adviſed them thus to break the ſolemn Promiſes they have ſo often made me?* *Du Vair* generouſly anſwered, *That they had not conſulted him in that matter, and that he ſhould be for their ſpeedy repairing the wrong meaſures they had taken*; for in ſhort, ſaid he, *The ſhorteſt Follies are beſt.* It's not to be ſuppoſed, that ſo Brave and Good a Man as the Duke of *Roan*, would have inſulted the Prince under his Misfortune, as one Hiſtorian of thoſe times would have it; it's apparent that he and *Sully* had quite different Sentiments of the matter. In the mean time the Lords of the Prince's Party, having in this Conjuncture made ſome fruitleſs Efforts to cauſe an Inſurrection in *Paris*, moſt of them took the Road for *Soiſſons*, where *Guiſe* and his Brother *Chevreuſe* arrived before *Mayenne* and *Bouillon*; *Vendoſme* was already in *Picardy*, where being juſt like to be taken, he fled to *la Fere*, a Place of which he was Governor. On the other hand, *Themines* for his Brave Exploit was made a Mareſchal of *France*, and *Montigni* an antient and brave Officer, hapning to come that very Day to *Paris*, and loudly exclaiming, he deſerved a Mareſchal's Staff better than the other, he had the ſame Dignity conferred upon him.

It was expected, That the Impriſonment of the Prince would have cauſed great Commotions at *Paris*, and in the Provinces, againſt which the Queen took all manner of Precaution, while the diſcontented Lords on their part were taking Meaſures for raiſing a powerful Army; and when *Mayenne* and *Bouillon* had joined *Guiſe*, *Chevreuſe*, and their Brother the Cardinal, they diſpatched Letters to *Vendoſme* and *Longueville*, to deſire them to come and meet them at *Couci*, where they were no ſooner met, as was alſo the Marquiſs of *Coeuvre*, lately brought over to the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s Party, his near Relation, but Notice was given that *Guiſe* lay under ſome Cloud of Anxiety and Trouble; wherefore they laboured all they could to keep him ſtedfaſt to their Party, more particularly uſed the utmoſt Terms of their Eloquence to fix his Irreſolution; and his Opinion was, that they ſhould ſpeedily march with what Force they had to the very Gates of *Paris*: But his good Advice being rejected, they agreed to make

Aſſembly of the Lords of Couci.

make new Levies, and to rendevouz at *Noyon*. On the other hand, the King's Council did not think it fit, for the Majeſty of a Sovereign, to anſwer any otherwiſe than by a Publick and Solemn Declaration, thoſe who ſhould ask him why he had cauſed the firſt Prince of the Blood to be arreſted; and the Council alſo then reſolved to have three Armies, the Duke of *Angouleſme* to command the firſt againſt the Lords in *Picardy*, *Montigni* the Second in order to reduce the Province of *Berry* that had delared for *Conde* their Governor, and *de Souvre* the Third in the Province of *Tourain*. The King went into the Parliament on the 6*th* of *Sept.* in order to have the ſaid Declaration confirmed, as alſo a Pecuniary Edict: It ſeemed to have been drawn up with a great deal of Skill and Cunning; but Men of Senſe could not hear without Grief and Indignation the wicked and hainous Crimes laid to the Prince's Charge, without bringing any reaſonable Proof for making good the Allegations againſt him. Soon after the Ratification of this Declaration by the Parliament, they had News at Court, that the Duke of *Nevers* had joined the diſcontented Lords; but for all this the Inſtability of *Guiſe* and *Longueville* made them all uneaſy; nay, they entertained ſuch a violent Suſpicion of the former, that *Bouillon* without any more ado moved the reſt of the Lords to ſeize him, but *Mayenne* prevailed to lay this Advice aſide. The Cardinal of *Guiſe* ſpoke openly againſt his Brother's Conduct, and promiſed *Mayenne* and the reſt, that he would not forſake the Party; but it was at that time reported, that *Charvallon* and *Boiſſiſe* the King's Commiſſioners were arrived at *Villiers Coterets* in order to treat with them, and in effect they ſent to the Lords, to deſire them to agree about a neutral Place in the Country to hold their Conferences in, becauſe the King's Orders did not allow them to go as far as *Soiſſons*: Wherefore the firſt Interview was agreed to be at *Cravancon*; the *Spaniſh* Secretary was come thither with the Commiſſioners, and had Orders to acquaint *Guiſe*, that the Ambaſſador would be the Queen Mother's Security for what ſhe ſhould promiſe to his Houſe; hereupon the Duke forgetting his Propoſals and Promiſes to the other Lords, publickly declared his Readineſs for a ſpeedy

A Conference between the King's Commiſſioners and the diſcontented Lords.

ſpeedy Agreement. At the ſame time the Duke of *Angouleſme* advancing with the King's Army as far as *Villiers Coterets*, and the Lords knowing how unprovided they were to reſiſt him, they were much alarmed at it, and therefore contented themſelves to manage the matter ſo dexterouſly, that they ſhould not be obliged to go to Court during the whole following Winter, and that the Gariſons of the Places under their Government ſhould be well maintained. They preſented indeed thirteen Articles of their Demands; but that was only to make a Shew, they knew well enough the poſture of their Affairs, as not to permit them to hope the Court would take them into Conſideration.

After this firſt Conference, *Guiſe* repreſented to the Lords of his Party, that if he ſhould take a Turn to Court, his Preſence and Sollicitations might perhaps render the Queen ſomewhat more tractable; however tho they were ſenſible, he concerned himſelf more about his own private Intereſt, than for any thing elſe, yet they outwardly ſeemed to approve of his Propoſals. Wherefore the Duke and his two Brothers arriving at *Paris* on the 25*th* of *Septemb.* they were very kindly received; but to ſhew that neither they nor their Party ſhould be able to obtain any thing in favour of the Prince of *Conde*, he was the Night following removed to the *Baſtile*. *Guiſe* was ſurprized at it, but being convinced there was no Danger, he and his Brothers continued ſtill at Court, while *Boiſſiſe* was ſent back to *Soiſſons*, to acquaint the Lords with the King's Pleaſure, and the Reſolutions that had been taken in Council upon their thirteen Articles; but the Lords being diſſatisfied with the Anſwers made to their Demands, only ſet down at the bottom of the Paper, 'Tis by the expreſs Command of the King and to obey his Orders, that we have received the Articles and Anſwers brought unto us by *M. Boiſſiſe*, done at *Soiſſons* the 6*th* of *Octob.* 1616. The Court ſeemed as if they were extremely pleaſed with the Lords; wherefore a Declaration of the King, which was already drawn in their favour, was at the deſire of the Court approved of in Parliament, beſides another in favour of the Duke of *Longueville* for his having ſeized *Peronne*.

If

If I ſhould enter upon the Particulars of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Attempt upon *Rochel*, under pretence of its belonging to his Government, there would be no great pleaſure in peruſing them; tho that proud and haughty Man made himſelf ſufficiently ridiculous by it. Neither ſhall we concern our ſelves at preſent with the renewed Broils between the *Spaniards* and Duke of *Savoy*, where the *French* were ſtill Mediators, and the Conſtable *Leſdeguieres* concerned himſelf more in that Affair than the Court deſired. But we are now to take notice that K. *Lewis* fell dangerouſly ill, his Sickneſs proceeding from an extraordinary Swoon, which ſeized him on the firſt of *November*; and his Fits grew ſo ſtrong upon him, that his Phyſicians almoſt deſpaired of his Life. As ſoon as this News reached *Soiſſons*, the Lords there ſeemed much afflicted at it; and the Cardinal of *Guiſe* who had lately joined himſelf with *Luines*, with a deſign to ruin *d' Ancre*, cauſed it to be inſinuated to the King, that the Lords who were retired from Court were extremely concerned for the Illneſs that had ſo ſuddenly fallen upon him. *Lewis* took this very kindly of them, and began now to be weary of being under the Guardianſhip of his Mother; ſo that things began now to work powerfully at Court, and great Efforts were made for the ruining of *d' Ancre*, while he on his part endeavoured to make his Power higher than ever; and the firſt thing he got effected was to take away the Seals from *Du Vair*, who was intimate with *Luines*, and to beſtow them upon *Mangot*, and much about the ſame time *Richlieu* Biſhop of *Lucon* was made Secretary of State. We have already mentioned *Barbin*'s being made Comptroller General of the Finances; to this Perſon belonged one *Deageant* as firſt Commiſſioner, and the great Inſtrument *Luines* made uſe of to remove *d' Ancre*, and by an unavoidable Conſequence to ruin *Barbin*, their Intereſts being inſeparable. Now *Deageant* coming one Night to the King with an extraordinary Earneſtneſs, had in his Hand a Packet of three Letters, whereof one was directed to the Queen Mother, the other to the diſaffected Lords, and the third to himſelf. The Letters were writ without either Date or Superſcription, and the Stile was well enough; and the whole Deſign was to bring

Fr. *King ſick.*

Counterfeit Letters.

Lewis

Lewis and his Mother to believe that they were writ by ſome good religious Man, favoured with the moſt intimate Revelations of the Almighty. The two Letters to the Queen and the diſcontented Lords contained ſeveral very ſound and cogent Arguments, enforced with ſeveral Texts of Scripture, and ſome Examples taken from profane Hiſtory. As for the Letter wrote to *Deageant*, it enjoined him, upon pain of drawing down upon his Head all the Divine Vengeance wherewith he was threatned by the pretended Prophet, to cauſe the Letter directed to the Lords to be ſent to them by the ſafeſt ways he could, and to deliver the other to the Queen-Mother's own Hand, moſt humbly to beſeech her to read it in private, to take it into her moſt ſerious Conſideration, not to communicate it to any body, but eſpecially not to acquaint the Perſon that was moſt particularly concerned in it, *viz.* the Mareſchal *d' Ancre*; and laſtly to deliver it again to *Deageant*, after ſhe had peruſed it. As for the Letter to the Lords at *Soiſſons*, the Man of God did endeavour to convince them by many weighty Reaſons, that they had unjuſtly taken up Arms; that the Strength of the Kingdom would be weakened by their Civil War, which would give an Opportunity to the Enemies of *France* to make ſome Attempts againſt the Intereſt of the Crown; that their Revolt would afford Pretences and Means to the Reformed for the advancing their own Affairs, to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion. *Luines* preſently inſinuated to his credulous Maſter, that it was not convenient to ſend the Letter to *Soiſſons*. The Purport of the Letter to the Queen wholly tending to make her remove *d' Ancre* and his Wife, *Deageant* agreed with the King and *Luines* to go with all Privacy to inform the Queen that he had a Paper of great moment to deliver her, which he begged ſhe would keep very ſecret; but ſhe communicating the ſame to her Father Confeſſor and *Galigay* her Confident, they preſently ſuſpected the Cheat, and did but laugh at it, tho in truth it proved the Source of their Sorrows, which we ſhall come to by and by.

In the mean time Things and Peoples Minds grew more and more exaſperated at Court, and amongſt the diſcontented Lords in that Juncture, when the Mareſ- 1617.

chal

chal *de Leſdeguieres*, coutrary to the Inclination of the Court, was ſetting out for *Piedmont* with ſome Forces for the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Savoy* againſt the *Spaniards*, with whom he was in a manner continually imbroiled. *Nevers* was raiſing Soldiers, and maſtered the Towns of *Champagne*: *Bouillon* carried on his Intrigues in *Germany*, *Holland* and *Liege*; but the Queen-Mother being well informed of his Deſigns, did not content her ſelf with ſending Troops to *Champagne*, but wrote to the *French* Reſident at *Bruſſels* to obtain from the Arch-Dukes, that they would not allow him to carry Arms and Ammunition, and march Soldiers through their Territories to *Sedan*. The Mareſchal did all he could to palliate his Deſigns, and would by his Letters to the King and otherwiſe make the World believe he was under a neceſſity of doing what he did for fear of a Surprize from the Arch-Dukes, and many other Conſiderations. The Duke of *Mayn* thinking himſelf alſo aggrieved, wrote to the King to demand one *Vaugre* might be brought to his Trial for having made an Attempt upon his Life. His Letter was anſwered artificially enough by *Richlieu*; but at the ſame time the Queen was making the King her Son to write in this manner, *Luines* was labouring all he could to perſwade him to give the diſcontented Lords all poſſible Satisfaction, by removing *d' Ancre*, againſt whom every body began to exclaim, and taking the Government upon himſelf; while the Queen on her part was exerting her Authority with the greateſt Rigour, and it was thought very hard Uſage, that a Declaration ſhould be put forth againſt the Duke of *Nevers*, making him to be a Rebel, and guilty of High Treaſon, when he had not broke out yet into Rebellion. *De Berville* General of the Fathers of the Oratory, beſtirred himſelf much at Court in favour of the Duke, while he himſelf wrote very ſubmiſſively to the King by way of Manifeſto, which was ſeconded by ſeveral Remonſtrances from the Dukes of *Vendoſme* and *Mayn*, with the Mareſchal *de Bouillon*, all full of ſharp Complaints againſt *d' Ancre* and his Wife; and having excuſed as well as they could ſome things *Nevers* had done in *Champagne*, they humbly deſired the King to redreſs the Abuſes of the Government, to cauſe the

Nevers *proclaimed a Rebel.*

the Treaty of *Loudun* to be put in execution, and to call again into his Council the Princes of the Blood, Dukes and Peers, the antient Officers of the Crown, and the Miniſters of the late King. Now before the Court went about to anſwer theſe Remonſtrances of the Lords, the violent Queen prevailed with the Council to get them declared Rebels; while the Lords juſtified themſelves in a very long Manifeſto againſt the Tyranny of the Mareſchal *d'Ancre* and his Adherents, alledging, he made himſelf as great and powerful as the antient Mayors of the Palace: So that things grew more and more deſperate every day; neither was the Court a little diſturbed that the Reformed ſhould now call a General Aſſembly together at *Rochel* without the King's Leave. After much Conſultation hereupon, they thought it beſt to conſult the wiſe *du Pleſſis Mornay* hereupon; and *Richlieu* having writ to him for this purpoſe, he delivered his Opinion according to his uſual way, with great Prudence and Integrity; for after ſome preliminary Complaints, that they had not hearkened to his former wholeſom Counſels, which would have prevented the great Perplexity, he repreſented to him, That an abſolute forbidding them to hold the Aſſembly would very unhappily expoſe the King's Authority, and for ought he knew might cauſe a general Inſurrection of all the Reformed, who being already but too much exaſperated by the Attempts of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the little care that had been taken to ſatisfy them, would perhaps aſſemble themſelves, notwithſtanding all Orders to the contrary; neither did he approve of the Aſſembly's being put off any farther than the 15*th* of *April*; for, ſaid he, our People will readily perceive that the Deſign is only to amuſe them, and to gain time on purpoſe to hinder them to provide for their own Security: And he concluded at laſt, that in the preſent Juncture they ought to diſſemble a little, and patiently ſuffer the Aſſembly to be held, and moreover to endeavour that all things might be there tranſacted in the moſt peaceable and advantageous manner for the King's Service.

Aſſembly of the Reformed.

This Expedient being adjudged the beſt, the ſame was embraced. In the mean while *d'Ancre* was overjoyed to hear of the Progreſs the King's Armies had made over

over the discontented Lords at *Soissons*, in *Champagn*, and elsewhere; but he was not a little disquieted with an Apprehension of the Contrivances made to ruin him. *Luines* would not be satisfied that the Mareschal and his Wife should pack up their Awls, and return into *Italy*, had they themselves been really so disposed; he wanted their Spoils, and many were the Intrigues on foot to compass it. 'Twould be very tedious to enter upon the various Particulars of the Contrivance; 'tis sufficient for me to observe, that a Resolution was at last taken, even with the King's Consent, to assassinate the Mareschal, and the same was effected in this manner: *D' Ancre* being come in the Morning, on Monday *April* 24. to the *Louvre*, he was attended both by his own Train of Gentlemen, and some others, that always follow Favour and Fortune: The great Gate was opened to him; but they took care to shut it again immediately after his Entry: A Man that stood over that Gate gave three Flourishes with his Hat in the Air, which was the Signal that *Vitri* had ordered to acquaint him that the Mareschal was entred; whereupon the Captain of the Guard went coldly out of the *Swissers* Hall with his Cloak upon his Shoulders, and his Staff in his Hand, while his Brother *du Hallier*, *Persan*, and some others, dispersed themselves in several Places, and joined *Vitri*, as if it had been by accident, with whom they went to meet the Mareschal, without shewing the least Affectation, or any premeditated Design. Now there being among those that waited on the Mareschal some Gentlemen of *Vitri*'s Acquaintance, they complimented, saluted, and took him by the Hand. In the mean while *Conchini* going beyond the Captain of the Guard, who was stopt behind by some Civilities which he desired not, *Vitri*, who had lost the sight of the Mareschal, asked the other where he was? and he answering, *There he is*, pointing at him, *reading a Letter*; the Captain of the Guard made up to him, and laying his Hand upon the Mareschal's right Arm, he said with a haughty and resolute Voice, *I arrest you, Sir, by the King's Order. Who, me!* answered the Mareschal in a very great surprize: *Yes, you your self*, replied *Vitri*, holding him by the Arm with all his Strength, and at the same time beckning to *du Hallier*, *Persan*,

D' Ancre *assassinated.*

Parſan, and others, that were appointed to be his Murderers, who thereupon diſcharging their Piſtols cloſe at him, the unfortunate *Conchini* fell to the Ground dead upon his Knees, half thrown back on the Parapet of the Bridg which was then at the *Louvre*, where they baſely ran him thro with their Swords after he was dead, *Vitri* kicked him with his Feet, and laid him at full length on the Ground; after which, proud of their Exploits, the Captain of the Guard, and the reſt of the Murderers cried aloud, God ſave the King.

This was the tragical End of *Conchino Conchini*, born of a noble and conſiderable Family in *Florence*, having been one of the Retinue of *Mary de Medicis*, when ſhe came into *France* to be married to *Henry* IV. where he inſinuated himſelf ſo dexterouſly into the Affections of *Leonora Galigai* the Queen's Confident, that notwithſtanding his Debaucheries, exceſſive Love of Gaming, and fooliſh and extravagant Expences, ſhe married him. *Lewis* XIII's Flatterers, and *Luines* then high Conſtable of *France*, publiſhed a thouſand falſe and impertinent Reports to blaſt the Memory of a Man that was barbarouſly murder'd, and a Woman unjuſtly condemned by the Parliament of *Paris* to die upon a Scaffold; but ſincere and judicious Hiſtorians will always do Juſtice to thoſe two unfortunate Perſons. The Mareſchal was indeed a very vicious Man; his Pride, Arrogance, and boundleſs Ambition raiſed up powerful Enemies againſt him: The Paſſions which he was not able to conquer, nor ſo much as conceal, were the Cauſe, or rather Pretence of his Ruin: His Riches and extraordinary Elevation were envied by the Courtiers; but he never was ſo wicked a Man as his Enemies have repreſented him to be. D' Ancre's Character.

As ſoon as the Mareſchal was ſlain, there were ſuch Commotions in the *Louvre* and *Paris*, that put young *Lewis* into a bodily Fright; but being glad to ſee himſelf delivered of a Man who was become ſo dreadful to him, thro the Inſinuations of his Favourite *Luines*, he ſaid to *Vitri*, *I thank you, now I am a King.* On the other hand, the Queen-Mother being ſurprized at the hearing of the Piſtols diſcharged, and bidding one of the Maids of Honour look out of the Window to ſee what the matter was, as ſoon as ſhe opened the Caſe-

ment, ſhe ſaw a Captain of the Guards walking in the Court, and ſeemed as if he was giving out his Orders; whereupon asking him the Occaſion of that Diſorder, *Vitri* anſwered, without being any whit concerned, *The Mareſchal* d' Ancre *is killed.* Who was his Murderer, ſaid ſhe? My ſelf, anſwered *Vitri* as ſeriouſly as before, the King commanded me to do it. The Lady preſently acquainting the Queen with the ſad News, it was reported ſhe ſhould ſay, *I have reigned ſeven Years, I muſt now think of no other Crown but Heaven.* Whether this were true or falſe, I know not; but 'tis affirmed of her, that upon hearing the News ſhe ſhould pull off all her Head-cloths, and with her Hair diſheveled run about the Room wringing her Hands in a moſt deſperate manner; but being in ſome time come to her ſelf, after ſhe had a little reflected upon things, ſhe ſent to the King to deſire leave to come and ſee him. He anſwered, *I am very buſy now, it muſt be ſome other time. Tell the Queen my Mother from me, that I ſhall always honour her, and have for her all the Sentiments of a good Son; but God has been pleaſed to make me a King by Birth, and I will govern hence forward. 'Tis fitting that the Queen my Mother ſhould have no other Guards but my own: Do but make her apprehend my Intentions aright.* Now this laſt Order not having been executed ſoon enough, according to the King's, or rather his Favourite's Deſire, *Vitri* went and diſarmed her Guards. On the other hand, the Queen made divers Attempts to be reconciled to her Son, who treated her ſtill with much Haughtineſs and Severity, and at the ſame time received the Compliments of every body upon his happy Deliverance, occaſioned by the Death of the Mareſchal, that dreadful Enemy and wicked Man (as they termed him) who had reſolved to deſtroy all the Royal Blood of *France.* The Parliament of *Paris* flattered the King on this occaſion more than any; and when the Deputies went to wait upon him, they met with a new Council in the Cabinet, whither the King had ſent them; for immediately after the Mareſchal's Death, he ſent for the old Miniſters in the time of his Father, and ſome other Counſellors of State, whom *Conchini* had removed. *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* came preſently to Court, and were with a thouſand Careſſes from

K. Lewis *treats his Mother hardly.*

from the King reſtored to their Imployments. The Seals were taken from *Mangot*, who with *Richlieu* and *Barbin* went for the preſent to hide themſelves. *Richlieu* alſo loſt his Secretary's Place; but for *Barbin*, his Perſon was ſeized, and an Inventory taken of his Papers and Moveables, and himſelf being for ſome time confin'd to his own Houſe, was at laſt removed to the Priſon called *Font l' Eveque*. Upon ſuch a diſorderly Occaſion as this, things could not be managed with that Juſtice and Decency as became thoſe in Power: The Mareſchal *d' Ancre*'s Wife was ſeized, young *Conchini* his Son very illy treated; nay, *Luines* and the reſt did not uſe any juſt Decorum towards the Queen-Mother her ſelf. *D' Ancre*'s Imployments were ſoon diſpoſed of; *Vitri* was made Mareſchal of *France*, and *du Hallier* his Brother Captain of the Guards in his room; the Seals were reſtored to *du Vair*, while *Silleri* expected they ſhould have fallen again to his Lot.

It's an ungrateful part to make mention of the Barbarities committed upon the dead Body of *d' Ancre*, which they hanged on a Gallows, plucked out his Eyes, cut off his Noſe, Ears, Privities, Arms and Head. Then the Mob divided themſelves into ſeveral Bands, and every one dragged in the Streets ſome part of his Corps: One of them ript his Belly open, and having thruſt his Hand into it, drew it out again all beſmeared with Blood, and licked it afterwards; but this was not all, for another took his Heart, broiled it upon burning Coals, and eat it, dipping every bit thereof in Vinegar. The Trunk of the Body was dragged to the *Greve*, the *Baſtile*, the Houſe of the Prince of *Conde*, and even before the Houſe of the Mareſchal himſelf. The great Fury of the Rabble being over, they burnt at laſt one part of the Body at the *Greve*, and the other upon *Pontneuf*; nay, ſome Wretches gathered the Aſhes, and ſold them by the Ounce. In ſhort, to conclude this diſmal and horrid Relation, we may ſay of this unfortunate Man as an antient Author ſaid of *Sejanus*, That there was not the leaſt part of his Body left for Burial. *D' Ancre's Corps ill uſed.*

The News of the Mareſchal's Death was received in the Provinces with extraordinary Acclamations, where they made Bonfires, and hung up his Effigies; nay, the

King ſent Letters to all his Governours to acquaint them with it, but with as good a turn as he could to palliate the horrid Murder. Among others, *du Pleſſis Mornay* was preſently made acquainted with it, and his Anſwer thereupon to the King was taken ſo well (tho in truth he ſaid never a word concerning the Queen-Mother or *d' Ancre*) that the ſame was ordered to be made publick. Amongſt others his Counſels to the King, he adviſ'd him to aſſiſt and protect the Allies of the Crown, and conſult with his moſt faithful Servants about the Diſorders and Grievances of the Kingdom, and what was the beſt means to redreſs them. He alſo would have him forthwith recal the diſcontented Lords, which indeed had been reſolved on before *du Pleſſis* made this Overture; and therefore an Expreſs was diſpatched to *Soiſſons*, with Orders to acquaint the Duke of *Mayn* with the Death of *Conchini*, but to ſay nothing of it to *Angouleſme*, who was beſieging the Town. Whereupon *Mayn* immediately ſent a Perſon with a Letter to the King, whereby he delivered *Soiſſons*, and all the Places in his Government into his Majeſty's hands. Upon this all Acts of Hoſtility forthwith ceaſed on the part of the Beſieged, and they ſuffered thoſe of the King's Army to draw near the Walls without firing on them; only ſome Officers of *Mayn* cried out to them ſmilingly, Your Maſter is dead, and ours has cauſed him to be murdered. *Mayn* and *Angouleſme* hereupon had ſome Interviews, and ſent ſeveral Preſents of Proviſion to one another. Much after the ſame manner it was with the two Armies in *Champagne*: The Dutcheſs of *Nevers* defended her ſelf as well as ſhe could in the *Nivernois* againſt *Montigni*; but as ſoon as ſhe was informed of *Conchini*'s Death, ſhe ſent to the Mareſchal to let him know that ſhe was ready to receive him with all the King's Troops into the City of *Nevers* and all the Places belonging to her Husband: And *Tianges* ſoon after went to make his Submiſſion to the King from the Dutcheſs. The Lords who ſerved in the King's Army repaired forthwith to Court, and every body now endeavoured to gain the Favour of *Luines*; all of them almoſt abandoned the deſolate *Mary de Medicis*. *There are few of thoſe generous Souls to be met with* (ſaid the Great Duke

Civil War ceaſes.

Duke of *Roan*) who will follow in Adverſity, thoſe whom they have honoured in time of Proſperity; but he was one of thoſe generous Souls, for he deſired leave openly to wait on her, ſince it appeared to him, ſhe had ſome Conſtancy in her Misfortune, at which *Luines* was much diſſatisfied; but *Roan* reſolved to quit the Court, rather than act unbecoming his great Courage.

In the mean time the unfortunate Queen, weary of her Confinement (as I may term it) obtained leave to go and reſide at *Blois*, while the diſcontented Lords ſent to Court, to deſire leave to come and wait upon the King, without making any previous Conditions for themſelves. *Villeroy* ſeemed to oppoſe it, but *Luines* being deſirous to marry the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s Siſter, and the natural Daughter of the late King; he obtained a Paſs that *Cæſar* might return to Court, without making any publick Submiſſion to the King, or waiting till *Lewis* ſhould put forth his Declaration in favour of the diſcontented Lords and their Party; and this very much facilitated the Return of the other Lords, which hapned ſoon after.

Diſcontented Lords return to Court.

I do not care to ſay any more concerning the Mareſchal *d' Ancre*, for the impeaching of whoſe Memory there was now a Commiſſion ſent to the Parliament of *Paris*, as well as to try his deplorable Widow for a Witch, and other Crimes laid to her Charge, for which ſhe was cruelly ſentenced to Death, and in the Opinion of all the Hiſtorians I have met, very unjuſtly ſuffered. I'll therefore proceed and obſerve, that the Aſſembly of the Reformed at *Rochel* thought themſelves alſo under Obligations of congratulating the King upon his happy Deliverance; not without ſome unreaſonable Touches of Flattery, tho the wiſe *Du Pleſſis Mornay* adviſed them to it in another manner, he never being brought to ſo much meanneſs, as to congratulate his Prince upon the Death of a Man, ſo baſely and unworthily murdered.

All this while the whole Kingdom expected the Prince of *Conde* would not be long before he ſhould be ſet at Liberty, but the poor Gentleman received no other Advantage by the Death of the Mareſchal, and the Removal of the Queen Mother, than a leſs ſevere

Conde ſtill confined.

Impriſonment, and the Permiſſion that was given his Princeſs to be ſhut up with him: Neither was this granted till a Month after the Revolution hapned; the King promiſed the Princeſs, that as he loved the Prince and his whole Family, all imaginable Care ſhould be taken of him, till he had put his Affairs in good Order; he ſaid, he was ſorry that they did not allow him as yet to grant him his Liberty, and ſhe might aſſure the Prince from him, that he would endeavour to content him as ſoon as he could: But alaſs the Intereſt of *Luines* his Favourite would not allow of this; and therefore having expected the performance of the Promiſe for the ſpace of four Months, he did at length after a whole Years Impriſonment to their great Aſtoniſhment, and as if he did him a favour, remove him from the *Baſtile* to the Tower of *Vincennes*, where at preſent we muſt leave him.

On the other hand *Luines* now governed all things, in as abſolute a manner as ever *d' Ancre* had done, and there ſeemed not to be any other Alteration in the Government, ſaving in the Favourite only; for after he had eſtabliſhed his Friends and Creatures in the Council, and about the King's Perſon, inſtead of marrying *Mademoiſelle de Vendoſme*, as he once deſigned, upon better Thoughts he laid that aſide, and made choice of the Daughter of the Duke of *Montbazon*, a younger Branch of the Family of *Roan*, and the Widow of the Duke of *Chevreuſe*. This done, the Favourite having managed all things about the King, muſt needs plant his Creatures alſo about his only Brother *Gaſton* Duke of *Orleans*; and therefore having got *Breves* his Governor removed from him, he ſubſtituted the Count of *Lude* in his place.

Luines *marries.*

I ſhall not dwell upon the baſe Deſigns of one *Gignier*, who endeavoured to make the Duke of *Vendoſme* guilty of attempting to poiſon the King, but was detected, and by a Sentence of the Parliament of *Paris* beheaded; neither will it much be worth our while, to purſue the Projects *Luines* and *Deageant* had formed, to make the King powerful in the Court of *Rome*. But it was not here only that *Luines* would ſignalize his Zeal for the *Romiſh* Church; he ſupported the Intereſt of the Clergy againſt the Reformed of *Bearn*, and protected

tected those that made Attempts upon their Religion. While the Court was at *Fontainbleau*, *Arnoux* the Jesuit the King's new Confessor, and the Favourite's Creature, in a Sermon of his before the King, boldly insisted that the Passages of Holy Scripture, cited in the Confession of Faith made by the Reformed Churches of *France*, in respect to their Controversial Questions with the Church of *Rome*, were all false: Hereupon the four Ministers of the Protestant Church at *Charenton* forthwith published a Defence of the Confession of the Reformed in *France*, against the Accusations of *Arnoux* the Jesuit; and the same being excellently well performed, they dedicated it to the King himself, and painted the Jesuits, but with a becoming Decency to their Prince, in their true Colours. In the mean time the King's Council were very busy at *Fontainbleau*, about the request of the Clergy, to have the *Roman* Religion, and the Ecclesiastical Estates restored to them in the Principality of *Bearn*. The Bishop of *Mascon* had in the Name of the Clergy before the King left *Paris*, made some Complaints to him of I know not what Disorders committed by the Reformed at *Montpelier*; but the chief Designs of the Prelate were, to get the *Popish* Religion re-established, from whence the same had been outed by *Jane d' Albret*, *Henry* IV's Mother. The Bishop of *Aire* seconded this Motion with a better Grace, and returned Thanks to the King in very emphatical Terms for the Arrest given at *Fontainbleau*, *June* 25. about the entire restoring of the *Romish* Religion in *Bearn*, and the Estates of the Clergy in that Province, which had been seized by Queen *Jane*: Before the Decree was made, the Deputies General of the Reformed Churches of *France* presented a Petition, desiring that they would put off the Decision of the Affair of *Bearn*, till the return of *Lescun* the particular Deputy of the Reformed for *Bearn*, but that would not do; yet for fear lest all the Reformed of *France* should too much exclaim against the said Decree, the King writ to those of *Bearn* that they should depute some of their Number, to see that what of the Ecclesiastick Revenues was made in favour of them should be justly distributed. The Reformed immediately held an Assembly at *Orthes*, where they came to

a generous Reſolve, and ſuch as was worthy of a free People, to die rather than to give their Conſent to the Infractions of their antient Laws, and the aboliſhing of the Religion eſtabliſhed amongſt them; but beſides that they were not potent enough to cope with the King's Forces, they had ſome ſelf-intereſted Men amongſt them, who minded nothing but themſelves, in neglect both of their Religion and Country: The Marqueſs *de la Force* Governor of *Bearn*, was then at Court, where he vigorouſly oppoſed the Decree, ſhewed the Difficulty of putting it in Execution, and the dangerous Conſequences of it; but at laſt flagging in his Reſiſtance, and allured with the hopes of being made a Mareſchal of *France*, he promiſed to take upon him to put the Decree in Execution. On the other hand *Leſcun*, who was ſent to Court by the Aſſembly of *Orthes*, delivered himſelf to the King with much Reſolution for the defence of the Liberty of his Country; but all his Remonſtrances ſignified nothing, for the Arreſt was publiſhed and confirmed by another in *Septemb.* and the better to appeaſe the Spirits of the Proteſtants, who muſt be alarmed upon this Occaſion, the King would pretend to ſhew the *Bearnois* this Favour to indempnify them for their Loſs, by aſſigning them the like Sum upon the Domain of *Bearn*, and ſome other Neighbouring Lordſhips. The Eſtates of the Province appeared with one accord againſt this manifeſt Infraction of their Laws and Privileges: They reſolved to renew their Oppoſition, to the Execution of theſe unjuſt Decrees. They alſo confirmed the Reſolution, which they had already taken on the ſecond of *Feb.* which was to oppoſe the Reunion of their Principality to the Crown of *France*, at leaſt that it ſhould not be done with the conſent of the ſeveral Orders of the County. It was a noble Reſolution in the *Bearnois*, had they been but able to have maintained it, for this Enterprize upon *Bearn* (as the Duke of *Roan* very well obſerves) was the Spring of all the Evils ſuffered by the Reformed of *France* in this King's Reign: But alaſs it would not do, and therefore the King towards the end of this Year put forth an Edict fot this Reunion.

Bearn *reunited to* France.

I might here make an Excurſion into *Italy*, and obſerve how the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, Governor of *Milan*, and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Venice*, formed a kind of a Triumvirate at this time; and the *Spaniards* being reſolved in good earneſt to be revenged of the Duke of *Savoy*, at length laid Siege to *Verceil* and took it, at which the Court of *Fraнee* was not a little concerned. The Negotiations of the Peace of *Italy* had been ſome time before transferred from thence to *Madrid*, and the ſame being now agreed upon to be treated at *Paris*, it was here at laſt happily concluded. In the mean while the Duke of *Roan* being returned from *Italy*, after the Mareſchal *de Leſdeguieres* had received Orders to bring the Forces back into *France*, which the King had ſent to the Succour of the Duke of *Savoy*, found the Authority of *Luines* ſo well eſtabliſhed, that he thought like the reſt to make his Court to the Favourite: The Duke found him to be his Ally by Marriage, which gave him eaſy Acceſs; and having no Kindneſs for the Prince of *Conde*, more eſpecially ſince the Conference, he inſinuated often to *Luines*, that he ſhould accommodate things with the Queen Mother, rather than with *Conde*, who did all he could to gain the Favourite, and made him very large Promiſes, provided he would procure him his Liberty. *Luines* was much perplext herewith, and which of the two he ſhould chuſe; *Roan* uſed all his Rhetorick to perſuade him to fall in with the Queen, and he began to reliſh the Reaſons he gave for it; while the Duke on the other hand found a way to make known to *Barbin* then in the *Baſtile*, what Negotiation he carried on for the Queen Mother; which *Barbin* no ſooner underſtood but he adviſed her to write to the King, *Luines*, and the Duke of *Montbazon*; to the King to juſtify herſelf in a tender and reſpectful manner, and to the other two to engage them to ſerve her Intereſt with the King: The Minutes were drawn up, and the Duke of *Roan* corrected ſome Expreſſions in them that might give any colour of Diſtaſt. A certain Biſhop in whom *Barbin* could confide, took upon him to carry the Minutes of theſe Letters to *Blois*, that the Queen might write the Letters themſelves; but the Biſhop proving treacherous, diſcovered all to *Deageant*, who was not to be recon-

Roan *negotiates for the Queen Mother.*

reconciled to the Queen; but yet ſo cunningly managed this Affair, that he procured a Token of Favour from her, which he ſhewed the King, and they made him believe thereupon, that ſeveral great Lords had conſpired to ſeize the *Louvre*, to bring the Queen Mother back without Delay: And ſtill to render the young King the more ſuſceptible of all thoſe Impreſſions they had a mind to make upon him againſt ſome Lords in his Court, the Duke of *Roan* was one of the firſt named. *Luines* took him one day into his Cloſet, and told him, 'the King was very well informed of his In-'clinations to ſerve the Queen Mother, and of the Cor-'reſpondence he held with *Barbin*, and that he ſhould 'have felt the effects of his Diſpleaſure, if the Favou-'rite had not interpoſed, in conſideration of the Alli-'ance that was between his Houſe and that of *Roan*. The Duke encountred this Diſcourſe with all the noble Reſolution and Briskneſs his Heart was capable of, and ſaid, 'My Lord, I am neither a Perſon of that Hu-'mour, nor of ſuch a Quality as to follow the Trade 'of a Spy; I am very glad if the King is made ac-'quainted with all my Conduct, 'tis wholly for his 'Service: I have a Reſpect, and am under Obligati-'ons to the Queen Mother, I will not diſſemble it, and 'all good *Frenchmen* ought to be of the ſame Opinion. At the ſame time *Deageant* was uſing all the Artifice he could to deſtroy *Barbin*, and ſome other Servants of the Queen Mother; and amongſt others *Richlieu* was one of the firſt, who felt the effect of the Hatred conceived againſt ſuch Perſons as were capable to ſerve *Mary de Medicis*, and procure her Return to Court; for notwithſtanding all the Proteſtations he had made to the King and his Favourite when he left *Paris*, that he would watch over the Actions of the Queen, and hinder her from undertaking any thing that ſhould be diſpleaſing to the King, the old Miniſters and *Luines* himſelf were ſtill diſtruſtful of his cunning and ſubtile Nature. Two or three Weeks after his Arrival at *Blois*, he had notice given him to withdraw to his Priory of *Couſſay* in *Anjou*; and being yet not ſatisfied that he was ſo near the Queen, they reſolved to baniſh him to *Avignon*, and an Order was ſent him accordingly at the beginning of the following Year: *Richlieu* here-

Richlieu *diſgraced.*

hereupon complained bitterly to the Pope of the Injuſtice done to a Biſhop, whereby he was deprived of the means to inſtruct his Flock, while *Paul* V. not caring to have a Perſon in his Dominions, that was ſo intriguing and ſuſpicious to the Court of *France*, made a Shew of vindicating ſuch juſt Complaints, that were ſo agreeable to the Character of a Biſhop, and therefore he made known his pretended Diſſatisfaction to the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, who was then Ambaſſador at *Rome*, and who thereupon wrote more than once to Court, that the Order ſent to *Richlieu*, appeared to the Holy Father to be a thing contrary to the Rules of the Church, and that there was Complaint made of the like Infractions in the Holy Canons: The Miniſters of *France* were ſurprized at the Pope's Zeal upon ſuch an occaſion.

But to ſay no more of this matter, and not at all to enter upon the Diſputes that hapned at that time between the Remonſtrants and Antiremonſtrants, by whom the wiſe *du Pleſſis Mornay* was often conſulted; we are to obſerve, that the King called now a Convention of Notables to meet at *Roan*, the Fruits of which the People waited for with Impatience; for they expected, that the King upon his Return to *Paris*, would preſently put forth ſome goood Edicts in favour of that Reformation of the Government, that was ſo much inſiſted on in the Aſſembly of the States General, and ſo ſolemnly promiſed now at *Roan*: But how ſtrangely were they ſurprized to find that all ended in theſe Arreſts of Council, whereof the one alarmed the Lawyers, and the other was a ſenſible Mortification to the Univerſity of *Paris*, viz. That the *Paulette* or Annual Right ſhould be revoked for ever, without being capable at any time or for any Cauſe whatſoever of being re-eſtabliſhed: But this was no more at the ſame time, than to aboliſh the Hereditary Part of thoſe Offices, whereas the Venality ſtill remained. The other was a Permiſſion given to the Jeſuits, who were much in favour with *Luines*, to teach publickly at *Paris* in the College of *Clermont*, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition made by the Univerſity to the contrary, and the Arreſts of Parliament made upon this Account: Wherefore the Univerſity being not capable

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Convention of Notables.

capable of preventing the Execution of the Decree made in the Jeſuits favour, had no other way to defend themſelves, than by eſtabliſhing certain Regulations to prevent thoſe who ſtudied under them from taking any Degrees in the Univerſity; of which the Jeſuits made loud Complaints, and ſaid, it was a manifeſt Illuſion of their Decree. The Favourite ſtickled hard on their ſide, and procured them a ſecond Arreſt to annul that of the Univerſity, which yet being a very potent Body, did not ſignify much to the Jeſuits.

Leaving therefore theſe Fathers to conſider of this Affair, we find now the Pope making the Duke of *Lerma* and the Biſhop of *Paris* Cardinals. The Duke of *Eſpernon* who was returned to Court ſince the Death of *d' Ancre*, had been then, as well as before, fed with hopes he ſhould have obtained a Cardinal's Cap for the Arch-biſhop of *Tholouſe* his third Son; but when he found himſelf eluded, and the Biſhop of *Paris* preferred, he began to make loud Complaints of the Favourite (who had promoted him) and *Luines* being informed of it, made it his buſineſs to quell his Fury; and as *Eſpernon* was Colonel General of the *French* Infantry, he had divers ways to mortify him. The Queen-Mother's Partizans were for laying hold of the Opportunity to embroil them more and more, as hoping it might at laſt engage *Eſpernon* in her Party; but the Favourite prevailed, and the Duke retired to his Government of *Metz*, where we will leave him, and ſhew, that the Favourite and the other Miniſters of State were much perplext about the Affairs of *Bearn*; for the *Bearnois* jealous of their Liberty, were unwilling to receive the King's Edict about the Eccleſiaſtical Goods. The Duke of *Roan* and *du Pleſſis Mornay* were well inclined to aſſiſt them in ſo juſt a Deſign; but theſe two great Politicians were for finding out ſome way of Accommodation. *Bearn* alone was not capable of withſtanding the King's Pleaſure, and to engage all the Reformed Churches of *France* to ſupport the Rights of this Principality, would be to expoſe the Kingdom to the Misfortunes of a Civil War, the Conſequences whereof might be fatal to the Reformation. *Leſdeguieres* being conſulted by the Court upon this Affair, adviſ'd the King to uſe Gentleneſs and Moderation

deration towards the *Bearnois*: He repreſented to him, as well as *Roan* and *du Pleſſis*, that this Enterpriſe would make the whole Reformed Party very jealous, and that the People would think the Court had a Deſign afterwards to revoke the Edicts of Pacification: *Leſdeguieres* did not ſeem to be ſo ſincere as the other: *La Force* was ſo embaraſs'd between his Religion and the Promiſe of a Mareſchal's Staff, that he did not know what to do. But at length the *Bearnois* themſelves being irritated that all their Remonſtrances ſignified nothing, reſolved to go to *Caſtel-jaloux* in *Guyenne*, there to confer with the Deputies of the Churches in the three neighbouring Provinces, about what they ſhould do in ſuch a Conjuncture; but the Court being aware hereof, forbad the Aſſembly: Wherefore they went privately, and met at *Orthes* in *Bearn*, from whence they writ to Court, and prayed the King to have a regard to the Remonſtrances they had made him; but the King refuſed to hearken to any thing urged on the part of the Aſſembly, whom he looked upon as unlawful and ſeditious. He ſent *Renard* the Maſter of Requeſts thither in quality of his Commiſſioner to put his Orders in execution: He was illy received at *Pau*, where he was inſulted; and the Sovereign Council of the Province were ſo far from regiſtring the King's Decree, that they declared it to have been procured by Surprize, and to be contrary to their Cuſtoms and Privileges. Theſe things made a mighty noiſe at Court; which made the King ſend to the Sovereign Council of *Pau*, his *Letters of Juſſion* (as they call them) that is, an Order to proceed forthwith to the Publication and Execution of his Edict; to puniſh according to the utmoſt Severity of Law thoſe who had inſulted his Commiſſary, and to proſecute thoſe who had aſſembled at *Pau* without his leave. But the Sovereign Council of *Bearn* did not loſe their Courage, they put forth an interlocutory Arreſt in oppoſition to the King's Letters of Juſſion; and having all due regard to their Prince's Order, they declared, That before they ſhould proceed to the Execution of them, his Majeſty ſhould firſt be entreated to ſecure the Rights and Privileges of his Reformed Subjects in *Bearn*, according to his own, and the Edicts of the Kings his Predeceſſors. At the ſame time the

Bearn *ſtands upon its Privileges.*

the Deputies of the particular Aſſembly at *Orthes* called a General one, there being no other way to put a ſtop to the violent Proceedings of the Court; and the *Bearnois* were no longer able to maintain their Privileges, but by engaging the whole Body of the Reformed on their ſide, which the King and his Miniſters were much afraid of. *Orthes* was a Place too far and inconvenient for ſuch an Aſſembly, and therefore it was transferred to *Rochel* towards the End of this Year. *Leſcun*, who was always zealous for the Preſervation of the Liberties of his Country, wrote in defence of the Rights of *Bearn* againſt the Clergy: His Book did not go unanſwered; however the Court ſeemed reſolved to go on, tho much afraid of a Civil War; but the Intrigues of the Queen-Mother to be freed from her Exile and Confinement, gave the *Bearnois* ſome Reſpite; and the Matter remained undecided, till *Luines*, won over by the Council of *Spain*, perſwaded the King rather to make War upon his own Subjects, than to ſuccour thoſe who diſputed the Crown of *Bohemia* with the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Eſpernon *engages in the Queen-Mother's Intereſt.*

It would be beyond the Compaſs of our Deſign to give a particular Account of the *Bohemian* War, as it would be tedious to enter upon every particular Traverſe made towards the Enlargement of *Mary de Medicis*. The Abbot *Rucellai* would have engaged the Mareſchal *de Bouillon* in her Party; but he being now much more intent upon the Affairs of *Germany* than thoſe of *France*, propoſed the Duke of *Eſpernon* as the fitteſt Perſon for it. They had agreed to have her conducted from *Blois* to *Loches*, of which Place the Duke was Governour, and from thence to the Caſtle of *Angouleſme*, where ſhe might ſafely expect the great Lords, who were diſcontented with *Luines*, might declare for her: But *Eſpernon* made ſome Alterations in his firſt Deſign; he had at firſt reſolved that the Arch-biſhop of *Tholouſe* his Son ſhould go and join the Queen when ſhe came from *Blois*, and that it ſhould be on the very ſame day in which the Duke paſſed the *Loire* in order to go to *Loches*; but beginning to reflect, that in ſuch a difficult and perillous Enterprize, it would be more convenient to be near the Place, that ſo he might give certain Orders, and readily apply

ply a Remedy to any unforeſeen Accidents, he reſolved to go to *Loches* himſelf, there to receive the Queen, and conduct her to *Angouleſme*.

Order and Decency required that the Duke ſhould have the King's Leave to quit *Metz*; wherefore for fear of an abſolute Refuſal, he went cunningly to work, and repreſented to the Court, that his Allowance being not well paid him, he could not live ſplendidly enough there, and ſpend ſo much as became the Governor of a great City, that lay in the Road from *France* to *Germany*; and for that reaſon he pretended to give way to his evil Fortune, and to have a deſire to repoſe himſelf now in his advanced Age upon his own Eſtate. They amuſed him at firſt with ſome hopes, but at laſt the King wrote to him in the beginning of this Year, That he thought it neceſſary for his Service, now the Troubles in *Germany* were increaſed, that he ſhould continue for ſome time longer in his Government; but at the ſame time he made him hope for his Conſent to make a Journey to *Angoulmois* and *Santonge*, as the Duke pretended, when his Affairs were in ſuch a Poſture as to allow him to be far from the Frontiers. All this while *Luines* was ſtrangely careleſs and inſenſible; for a Servant of *Rucellai* carrying Letters to the Queen, wherein ſhe was acquainted with the Time when the Duke was to part from *Metz*, and the Meaſures taken to conduct her to *Angouleſme*, and ſuſpecting there might be ſomething contained therein which the Court would be glad to know, he went directly to *Paris*, and propoſed to ſome of the Favourite's Servants to diſcover to him a great Secret, provided he was well rewarded; but *Luines* neglecting the Information, and in two or three Days time not admitting him into his Preſence, *du Buiſſon*, a Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and a Servant of the Queen-Mother, very luckily came to underſtand that *Rucellai*'s Servant was in Town, and being ſurprized he had not come to him, as he had always done before, he began to ſuſpect ſome Treachery in the matter; wherefore making ſtrict Enquiry what was become of the Servant, and being aſſured he had been ſeen at *Luines* his Gate, he was more uneaſy than before; but bethinking himſelf of the matter, he procured a Man to go to the Servant, 1619.

Servant, as from *Luines*, who gave him 500 Crowns Reward, and took the Letters from him, and ſo there was no more heard of the Abbot's Man, it being ſuppoſed he was ſlain by the ſame hands that gave him the Money, for the ſake of it.

Eſpernon leaves Metz. Before the Duke left *Metz*, he ſent the Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe* before, and wrote a Letter to the King, bearing date the 17*th* of *January*, to deſire him not to take it ill that he went to his Government of *Angoulmois* and *Santonge*, ſince things were then in ſuch a poſture, that he had nothing to fear on that ſide from his Enemies, and that he had left his ſecond Son the Marqueſs of *La Valette* to command there in his ſtead. Being arrived in *Angoulmois*, he was very uneaſy that he could hear no News from the Queen-Mother; the Treachery of the Abbot *Rucellai*'s Man was the reaſon of it: For *du Buiſſon* had not yet ſent the Letters to her, which he had happily got out of the Rogue's Hands; whereupon the Duke in this Perplexity diſpatched *du Pleſſis* a Confident of his to *Blois*, to know how it ſtood with the Queen: He had Orders to go by the way of *Loches*, to put *la Iliere* who commanded there upon preparing all things in good order for her Reception. The Queen who had communicated the Secret to ſome Lords, was much diſſwaded from putting her ſelf in the power of ſo haughty a Man as *Eſpernon*, and particularly her Kinſman the Duke *de Bellegarde* was very averſe to it; but the Matter being agreed, *du Pleſſis* diſpoſed the Count of *Brienne* her Maſter of the Horſe, to contribute towards her Eſcape: He ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe*, who was advanced as far as *Loches* with the Duke his Father, to deſire him to come to *Montrichard*, that ſo her Paſſage might be ſecured, and the Road be free and leſs dangerous. In the mean time the Queen got out at her Cloſet Window by a Ladder on the 21*ſt* of *February* in the dead of the Night, being accompanied by one Maid, the Count of *Brenne*, and three or four Perſons more: She found ſo much trouble to get down the firſt Ladder, that ſhe would not venture the ſecond, and therefore they wrapped her up in a Cloak, and gently carried her down. *Brenne* and *Pleſſis* held her under the Arms till ſhe walked beyond the Bridg

Queen-Mother makes her Eſcape.

of

of *Blois*, where her Coach waited for her, and from whence ſhe ſafely arrived at *Montricard*. Here they had Relays of Horſe, and they uſed all the haſte they could to get betimes to *Loches*. *Eſpernon* went to meet her witn 500 Horſe: She ſtaid there two days, and then went to *Angouleſme*, being very uncertain what Anſwer the King her Son would make to the Letter ſhe wrote to him from *Loches*. It's impoſſible to expreſs the Concern of the Court at this Adventure: *Luines* his beſt Friends advis'd him upon this occaſion to reconcile himſelf to the Prince of *Conde*, the better to ſupport his Intereſt; but this did not take, and all Peoples Tongues were now looſe to ſay what they pleaſed about the Government. *Luines* perſwaded the King forthwith to raiſe an Army, while the Queen, who was well advertiſed of it, wrote to all her Friends, and many of the Heads of the *Hugonot* Party, tho without much Succeſs. She alſo at the ſame time writ to the Chancellor *Silleri*, *du Vair* Keeper of the Seals, and to the Preſident *Jeannin*, requiring them to perform the Duties of their Offices in acquainting the King, that he would commit the greateſt Error in the World, if he marched at the Head of his Troops againſt an innocent and unfortunate Mother. Theſe Letters, which were made publick on purpoſe, very much animated the People againſt *Luines*: Hereupon the Council, the Parliament, and others were much divided in their Opinions about the juſt Meaſures the Court ſhould take in ſuch a Conjuncture; but at length the King, by the advice of *Deageant*, ordered the Count of *Bethune* to carry his Anſwer to the Queen's firſt Letter to him, and to aſſure her the King deſired to give her ſatisfaction; that he ſhould hearken to the good Advice of his Mother, and that ſhe ſhould have the liberty of being in ſome other City than that of *Blois*. *Bethune* had Orders to preſs the Queen to ſeparate from *Eſpernon*, and to offer her more advantageous Conditions in caſe ſhe abandoned him to the King's juſt Reſentments; but at the very firſt Conference with her, he ſaw it was in vain to propoſe it: She gave him immediately to underſtand, that her Heart was not capable of ſo horrid a piece of Ingratitude; and therefore *Bethune* wrote to the King to adviſe him againſt making the new Levies, and ſuch warlike

Preparations, which would give the Queen too much Umbrage in a time of Treaty. However the King went on; but well knowing what a deference her Majesty had for Ecclesiasticks, he resolved to send Father *Berulle*, Superior General of the Oratory, to her, as being a Person she much esteemed for the Sweetness of his Temper, Probity and Prudence: He had Orders to explain himself only to a certain Point to *Bethune*, and the Archbishop of *Sens*. In the mean time, the Queen, as great a Zealot as she was for the Church of *Rome*, would now in her Disgrace sue for the Assistance of the Protestants; and *Espernon* their declared Enemy carried on some Intrigues at *Rochel* to engage the General Assembly held there to stir in favour of the Queen, and against the great Authority of *Luines*, with whom the Reformed were much dissatisfied. The Conjuncture was indeed favourable for her Majesty, and the Assembly had very near taken a Resolution in her behalf, if *du Plessis Mornay* had not seasonably prevented it, and exhorted them to make use of that Opportunity to obtain at least of the Court part of their Demands. The main thing was the Innovations made in the Province of *Bearn*: *Roan*, *Lesdeguieres*, and *du Plessis Mornay* were very sollicitous about finding out a way of Accommodation, in such a manner as that the King's Authority might be preserved, and the Reformed of *Bearn* receive Satisfaction as to the Church-Lands, and other things taken away from them. Tho things seemed to have a fair Prospect, yet some Courtiers were for pushing it to Extremity, and represented to the King, that it was too great a Shock to his Authority to suffer the convocating and the holding of that General Assembly without his Leave, and even contrary to his Will, and so the Parliament of *Paris* in the beginning of this Year put forth an Arrest, whereby they declared them Rebels, as well as those who had deputed them. *Du Plessis Mornay* was much disturbed hereat, and was terribly afraid lest the whole Body of the Reformed should rise upon the News of the Queen's Escape; and therefore, as a very wise Man, making a good use of the Conjuncture in favour of his own Religion, he managed things so efficaciously at Court, that the said Arrest against the Assembly was revoked; the

Queen sollicites the Protestants.

the King declared they had met together with his approbation, allowed them to hold another in *September* near *Loudun*, and there were hopes left for an amicable Compoſure of the Affairs of *Bearn*.

Civil War.

At the ſame time Preparations of War went on both on the King and Queen's ſide: The Count of *Schomberg*, the King's Lieutenant General in *Limoſin* under the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who was Governour, declared againſt him, and laid ſiege to the Abby of *Uzerche*, into which the Duke had put a ſmall Gariſon. *Eſpernon* haſten'd to relieve it, but came too late: The Queen was ſomewhat mortified hereat, but being really frightned with the March of the Duke of *Mayn*, ſhe ſent to deſire *Eſpernon* ſpeedily to return to her Aſſiſtance, who managed things with that Prudence and Conduct, that he ſtopped *Mayn*'s Progreſs, tho his Troops were much inferior to the King's. On the other hand, the Inhabitants of *Bologn* in *Picardy*, of which *Eſpernon* was Governour, and who did not love him, readily opened their Gates to the King's Troops; but their Deſign to ſurprize *Metz* miſcarrying, both Parties began to reſume a peaceable Temper: *Richlieu* was privately allowed to return to the Queen, the Pope's Nuncio became Mediator, and at laſt the Cardinal of *Rochefoucault* and the Count of *Bethune* agreed upon the Articles with the Queen, whereby ſhe had the liberty allowed her for the future to go where ſhe pleaſed, and even to the King's Preſence: The Duke of *Eſpernon* and others that had ſerved her, were to be reſtored to all their Offices, and to the King's Favour: The Queen was diſcharged of the Debts ſhe had contracted ſince her Eſcape from *Blois*, and her Revenues confirmed to her. They ſquabbled very much about allowing the Queen a convenient Bridg to paſs over the *Loire*, when ſhe had a mind to it; but at laſt they agreed, that beſides the Government of *Anjou*, the City and Caſtle of *Angers*, and the Bridg of *Ce*, the King gave his Mother alſo the Caſtle of *Chinon* in *Tourain*.

Articles of Accommodation.

Things being thus concluded, the Duke of *Savoy* went to make a Viſit to the Queen-Mother at *Angouleſme*; and all the Management now was to get her to go to the King at *Tours*, who was advanced ſo far to receive her: She made many Scruples and Excuſes

upon it; yet tho *Luines* was in the mean time by a Brevet made Duke and Peer of *France*, ſhe at laſt left *Angouleſme* on the 29*th* of *Auguſt*, and being attended with ten Coaches of ſix Horſes each, and 500 Horſe, was conducted by *Eſpernon* to the Frontiers of his Government of *Angoulmois*, where at parting ſhe made him a Preſent of a rare Diamond, and deſired him always to wear it as a Teſtimony of the Acknowledgments of a Princeſs who was beholden to him for her Liberty.

Interview between the King and Queen-Mother.

She went as far as *Poictiers*, accompanied by her Ladies of Honour, Duke of *Montbazon*, Biſhop of *Lucon*, and others of Quality, where ſhe was received by the King's Coaches; and the Cardinal *de Retz* and *Arnoux* the King's Confeſſor, accompanied by a great number of Gentlemen, were ordered to go and meet her; and *Luines* ſome time after going to wait upon her, ſhe proceeded to the King at *Tours*, where they met with all the ſeeming Joy and Conſolation in the World. I ſhould have noted before, that the Prince of *Conde* was promiſed his Liberty as ſoon as Matters ſhould be accommodated with the Queen: This he expected now with Impatience, and it was the Deſign of *Luines*, ſince he thought he ſhould not be able, without the Support of the firſt Prince of the Blood, to withſtand the Queen and her Intereſt. There were indeed ſome of the great Ones diſpoſed to fall in with her againſt the Favourite; and ſome would have perſwaded her to be the Inſtrument of the Prince's Liberty; but ſhe declining that, *Luines* purſued his Deſign. Liberty was allowed the Princeſs Dowager of *Conde*, and *Rochefort*, for whom the Prince had a great Kindneſs, to go and ſee him when they pleaſed. At laſt *Luines* going to *Paris*, carried the Prince a very obliging Letter from the King, who invited him to go forthwith to *Chantilli*, where he ſhould ſee him. The King received him very kindly, and afterwards ſent a Declaration to the Parliament of *Paris* in his favour, wherein he threw all the Blame of the Prince's Impriſonment upon the Audaciouſneſs of ſome Perſons, who had abuſed the Name and Authority of the King: But the Queen-Mother, who was neither pleaſed with the Prince's Liberty, nor this Declaration, began to be very chagreen upon that matter, which *Lewis* and his Favourite were well aware of:

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They perceived *Eſpernon* and ſeveral other diſcontented Lords were concerting new Obligations with the Queen: *Luines* was alſo afraid leſt the Reformed were won by them. There was now indeed a General Aſſembly held at *Loudun* by them purſuant to the King's Leave, who thought fit to ſend Deputies to *Mary de Medicis* to felicitate her happy Arrival in the Neighbourhood, and to communicate to her the Demands the Reformed made to the King. She received them very well, and ſaid, ſhe would live neighbourly with them; but ſhe would not meddle with their Propoſals, ſeeing they, as ſhe modeſtly expreſt it, belonged to the King and his Council. The General Aſſembly conſiſted of ſeveral Perſons of Quality and Merit, and one of the firſt Reſolutions they came to was to form a kind of a preliminary Cahier, wherein all the Reformed Churches of *France* unanimouſly inſiſted upon the Revocation of the Edict about *Bearn*, the continuing to them their cautionary Places, and ſome other Articles. This was indeed a new Method, for the former Aſſemblies were wont to preſent their Demands and Complaints in a general Cahier; but now that they might avoid the Artifice of the Court, who uſually eluded their juſt Demands, they made a Trial for once of preſenting from time to time ſome ſeparate Articles, and to wait for the King's Anſwer, when he was pleaſed to give it. But they were miſtaken in their Meaſures, for the Court looking upon this to be an Innovation, rejected it with extreme Haughtineſs. The wiſe *du Pleſſis* was aware of it, and did not only repreſent to the King's Council the neceſſity of allaying the Heat like to be in the Aſſembly, but alſo exhorted the Deputies at *Loudun* ſeriouſly to reflect upon the Danger of carrying things to an Extremity, and to expoſe ſo many excellent and flouriſhing Churches almoſt to inevitable Ruin. At the ſame time the Emiſſaries of the Court of *Rome* and the Council of *Spain* uſed all their Artifice to kindle a Civil War in *France*, that ſo they might carry on their own Deſigns more ſecurely, and that the *French* might not be able to concern themſelves in the defence of *Frederick* the new King of *Bohemia* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and having in effect gained their Point, we proceed to the Affairs of another Year, which

Aſſembly of the Reformed at Loudun.

1620. was ushered in by *France* in the Creation of above five and fifty Knights of the King's Order; the first of which was the Duke of *Anjou* the King's only Brother, others of them were the Count of *Soissons* Prince of the Blood, the Dukes of *Guise*, *Mayn*, *Chevreuse*, *Vendosme*, *Angoulesme*, *Elbeuf*, *Montmorency*, *Uzes*, *Retz* and *Luines*. But to return again to the Assembly of the Reformed at *Loudun*; there were now Commissioners sent to them with positive Orders to separate by the 25*th* of *Jan.* at fartherest, upon which they resolved to send new Deputies to the King, to desire him to let them stay there, till his Majesty had returned an Answer to the Cahiers they had presented him with. *La Haie*, who was one of them, made very proper Excuses to the King, upon his presenting the Assembly's Letter to him, and intimated as if he had something more to say by way of Remonstrance, when the King by the Usher of his Closet gave them to understand, that they should withdraw, as being People he was not pleased to hearken to: The Chancellor *Silleri* was the only Person that endeavoured to prevent the ill effects which such a haughty Conduct would produce, by telling the Deputies who lay prostrate before the King, that if the Assembly would send Persons to treat with the King's Council, they would find a way to accommodate matters.

The Court was also much perplext about the Parliament of *Paris* refusing to verify a pecuniary Edict for the King, and their Vigour was a kind of Curb upon *Luines*; he was afraid lest this powerful Body should declare for the Queen Mother and the discontented Lords; and therefore that he might not have so many Persons to do with at once, he laboured to find out ways to appease the Protestant Party. The Mareschal *de Lesdeguieres*, who was now come to *Paris* to be acknowledged as Duke and Peer of *France*, and the Marques of *Chastillon* offered their Services to accommodate the Affair of the Assembly, and laboured conjointly with the Prince of *Conde* and *Luines* for this purpose; but *Lesdeguieres* and *Chastillon*'s aims being chiefly to obtain some Favours for themselves from the Court, agreed upon certain Articles with *Conde* and *Luines* to the Disadvantage of the Assembly, more particularly by

Affairs of the Assembly of Loudun.

by continuing their cautionary Towns to them for four Years, and by receiving of two Counſellors in the Parliament of *Paris*, upon which Conditions the Deputies ought to ſeparate. As for the other Demands, the King promiſed to have a regard to them in ſix Months time, and in ſeven at fartheſt to hear the Remonſtrance made by the Reformed againſt the Reſtitution of the Church-Lands in *Bearn*; and becauſe all theſe things would be conſtrued as Delays by the Aſſembly, *Conde* and *Luines* engaged to obtain a Brevet, whereby the Deputies ſhould be allowed to meet again, in caſe the King's Promiſes were not made good. *Leſdeguieres* had ſent one of his Confidents to *Loudun* to perſuade the Aſſembly to accept of theſe Terms, and *Du Pleſſis Mornay*, who was always a Lover of Peace, joined his Inſtances to thoſe of the Mareſchal for accommodating the matter; but how much was he ſurprized, when he underſtood in the very Juncture of time, that *Conde* had carried a Declaration to the Parliament of *Paris*, whereby the King ordered the Aſſembly to ſeparate in three Weeks time, and in caſe of Refuſal that they ſhould be proſecuted as Rebels, and Guilty of Treaſon. Upon this all things ſeemed to be diſpoſed for a Religious War; the Proteſtants, tho frightned with the Declaration, yet ſpoke reſolutely as if they would not ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſt without making Reſiſtance, they began to exclaim againſt *Leſdeguieres*, whom they ſuſpected more than ever; they did the ſame alſo againſt *Conde*. The Popiſh Preachers now every where let their Tongues looſe againſt the Hereticks, and *Du Pleſſis Mornay* began to penetrate into the matter, and to diſcern that there was almoſt a general Conſpiracy on foot to deſtroy the Reformed by open Force; wherefore he wrote vigorouſly to *Montbazon*, *Luines* his Father-in-law, and repreſented to him, that things were going to the ſame paſs now as in the Reign of *Henry* III. and that *France* was like to be ſet on a Flame; that the way the Duke of *Luines* had to eſtabliſh his Fortune, was to prevent all ſorts of Civil Wars.

On the other hand, *Leſdeguieres* finding that neither the King nor his Favourite ſaid any thing to him concerning the Conſtable's Sword, of which *Deageant*

had made an Offer to him from them, began to reflect that it would not be his Intereſt to have the Proteſtants entirely ruined; wherefore he and *Luines* agreed, tho from Motives of different Intereſts, to cure the Reformed of their Suſpicions, and to come to ſome Accommodation with them: A Servant of the Mareſchal was ſent to *Loudun*, to obtain the Conſent of the Aſſembly to the ſecond Project, the Terms whereof were almoſt the ſame as before; tho *Luines* had uſed all his Skill to make them appear more favourable. *Du Pleſſis* and others were for the Aſſembly's accepting of them, and *Luines* who grew more and more impatient to have them ſeparated, got the King to go as far as *Orleans*, where they received the News of their breaking up, after they had nominated ſix of their Number to reſide at Court, in quality of Deputies General of the Reformed Church, that ſo the King according to cuſtom might chuſe two of them that were moſt agreeable to him.

Aſſembly broke up.

But tho the Court gained this Point, and that the King ſeemed very well pleaſed with the compliance of the Aſſembly, yet Factions ſtill reigned; *Luines* made it his Buſineſs to keep *Conde* his Friend, and to gain the Duke of *Guiſe* to his Intereſt was his Grand Deſign: Endeavours were alſo uſed by the means of his Brother the Duke of *Luxemburg*, to get the Queen Mother to Court; but this was ſo far from taking effect, that the Queen ſeemed to be as averſe to it as ever, eſpecially now the Duke of *Mayenne* was retired from Court to his Government of *Guyenne*, without taking leave of the King. *Luines* was much embarraſſed herewith, and well knowing that *Mayenne* and *Eſpernon* were the two Lords in the Kingdom that were moſt capable to make the Queen Mother's Pretenſions good, he endeavoured to bring them over. To which end *Bellebat* was ſent to *Mayenne*, with very kind Letters from the King to invite him to Court; the Duke excuſed himſelf by ſaying, *I am more uſeful to the King in my Government, than at Court*; and at the ſame time in his Letter made a thouſand Proteſtations of his inviolable Duty and Obedience to his Majeſty: But the Court was not content with theſe General Terms that availed little, they underſtood very well

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he kept great Correſpondence with *Montmerancy* and *Eſpernon*, and that the Parliament of *Bourdeaux* was at his Devotion, that the Duke went to *Blaie* to gain over *Aubertre* the Governor. As for *Eſpernon*, *Luines* ſent *Toiras* a Perſon of good Parts and penetrating Judgment to him; who at laſt drew theſe Words from him, *I have Reaſon to complain, that* Luines *has not kept his Word with me; but God forbid that I ſhould ever engage in a Civil War upon my own Account; I ſhall be* Luines *his Friend and Servant, as long as the Queen Mother ſhall be pleaſed with it.* *Luines* was much perplext herewith, and ſtill more when he heard the Duke of *Vendoſme* who had retired to his Houſe at *Anet*, was gone to *Angiers*, where the Duke of *Nemours* arrived at the ſame time. Laſtly when *Baſſompierre* went to tell the Duke, that the Counteſs of *Soiſſons* was preparing to go away with her Son, and that the Grand Prior of *France* was to accompany them; it was at firſt propoſed to ſeize them, and ſeveral Councils being held thereupon, the Opinion of *Jeannin* prevailed, that they ſhould let them and all others that had a Mind to it, quietly depart unmoleſted.

Queen Mother's League.

Since the famous League made in the Reign of *Lewis* XI. by the Name of the League for the Publick Good, *France* never ſaw a more powerful Party than that formed by the Queen Mother this Year, under the ſame ſpecious pretence of obtaining the Eaſe of the People and Reformation of the State. There were no leſs than the ſecond Prince of the Blood, ſeventeen Great Lords, Officers of the Crown and Governors of the Provinces, that took her part; *Longueville*, the Grand Prior, and the Count of *Torigni* held all *Normandy*; *Soiſſons* took care of *Perche*, and part of *Mayenne*; *Vendoſme* was Maſter of all the Cities upon the *Loire*, *Bois-Dauphin* held the others between the *Sartre* and the *Mayenne*: The Queen Mother had *Angers* and *Pont de Ce*; the Dukes of *Tremoville* and *Retz* were in poſſeſſion of all the Places in *Poictou* and *Bretagne*; *Roan* commanded in *St. John d' Angeli*; *Eſpernon* diſpoſed of *Angoulmois* and *Saintonge*; *Aubertre* Governor of *Blaie* declared for them; the City and Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, and all *Guyenne* were at the Devotion of the Duke of *Mayenne*. In ſhort, the Queen Mother had

had two hundred Leagues of the Maritime Provinces of *France*, from *Diep* to the Mouth of the *Garonne*, in her Intereſt, beſides a great Number of conſiderable Places throughout the Kingdom, divers brave experienced Officers, able Generals, and Lords very expert in all Affairs Military and Civil; they did not pretend to Sieges, their Deſign was to form a puiſſant Army to march towards *Paris*, and to engage the People on their Side, by demanding a Redreſs of Grievances and reforming the Abuſes of the Government; the Project was excellently well laid, but very ill executed.

In the mean time they were much alarmed at Court, and various were their Opinions concerning this Affair, for which various Expedients were propoſed; but what was moſt acceptable, was the ſending of *Montbazon*, *Bellegarde*, the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and the Preſident *Jeannin* to the Queen at *Angers* with Propoſals of Peace. *Bentivoglio* the Pope's Nuncio had ſeveral times offered the good Offices of his Maſter, for reconciling the King and his Mother, and propoſed to go himſelf to her; but the Prince of *Conde* and the Favourite not liking that, only allowed him to write to her by the Archbiſhop of *Sens*. But when ſhe came to underſtand, the King was reſolved upon an Expedition into *Normandy*, there was no more talked of the Negotiation: And the Duke of *Roan*'s Advice to her upon this Occaſion, was to withdraw to *Bourdeaux* to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had with him an Army of 18000 Men, which was indeed the beſt thing ſhe could have done; but *Richlieu* craftily oppoſed this, his whole aim being to betray the Queen without her perceiving it, and to bring all the Lords of her Party to be at the Mercy of the King, or rather of his Favourite. He knew well enough in caſe ſhe went thither, ſhe muſt be influenced by *Mayenne* and *Eſpernon*, and not be capable of treating with the King without their concurrence, whereas the Prelate pretended to force her to a Peace, ſince *Luines* had promiſed him a ſhare of his Authority at Court, and to demand a Cardinal's Cap for him; he flattered himſelf if he were once made a Cardinal, the Queen deſirous to have her own Creatures in the Councils, would aſſiſt him to ſupplant the Cardinal *de*

Retz

Retz, and that the Favourite who was eaſily to be ſurprized, would conſent to it, upon *Richlieu*'s joining Intereſt with him.

While the King, purſuant to the good Advice of the Prince of *Conde*, was preparing for his Expedition to *Normandy*, he diſpatched Orders to the Duke of *Chevreuſe* and the Mareſchal *de Themines*, to oppoſe *Eſpernon* in *Limoſin*, and *Mayenne* in *Guyenne*. *Rochefoucault* Governor of *Poictiers* was to make head againſt the Duke of *Roan* in *Poictou*: *Courtevaux* went to *Lorain* to obſerve the Motions of the Queen Mother: *Nevers* and *Vitri* were entruſted to act againſt *la Valette* in *Metz*, and to hinder the Troops raiſed by the Queen Mother in *Liege*, from entering *Champagne*: The Duke of *Guiſe* was ſent into *Provence*, with Orders to join with the Mareſchal *Leſdeguieres*, in caſe *Montmerancy* ſhould declare himſelf in *Languedoc* in favour of the Queen Mother: Laſtly *Baſſompierre*, Colonel General of the *Swiſs*, received Orders to draw together all the Troops diſperſed in the Towns of *Champagne*, and forthwith to join the Army commanded by the Prince of *Conde*, in quality of Lieutenant General. This done, the King ſent for all the Magiſtrates of *Paris*, and after having told them of his Intentions to go to *Normandy*, he recommended to them the Preſervation of the Peace of his Capital City, where the Queen his Wife, with the Chancellor and part of his Council, ſhould continue for the diſpatch of Publick Affairs. The King was received at *Roan* with extraordinary Acclamations of Joy, and went next day to the Parliament, where *du Vair* the Keeper of the Seals made a long Narration of all that was paſt ſince the Retreat of the Queen Mother to *Angouleſme*, of the Care that had been taken to content her, and the tender Sentiments ſtill retained for her; after which he declared that the King having ſent his Orders to *Longueville*, to come to him at his Entry into the Province, he had refuſed it, which prepared the Parliament to receive the Orders given, whereby the Duke was ſuſpended from acting as Governor of *Normandy*, and theſe Orders were ſeconded by an Interdiction of ſome Officers who had taken the Duke's part.

King goes to Roan.

The

The Duke was indeed ſo well intrenched at *Diep*, that the King did not think fit to go thither to attack him, but rather choſe to march to the Relief of the Inhabitants of *Caen*, who had much ado to defend themſelves againſt an Officer named *Prudent*, who commanded in the Caſtle for the Grand Prior of *France*. *Praſlin* laid Siege to it, and prevented the Succours of the Grand Prior; at length the King himſelf arriving before the Place, threatned to hang all the Gariſon if they did not ſurrender; this had ſo much effect upon the Soldiery, that *Prudent* thought fit to capitulate, and had honourable Terms allowed him. The King before his Arrival at *Caen* had refuſed a Letter brought by *Sardini* to him from the Queen Mother; but he forthwith ſent a Gentleman away to *Angers*, to acquaint *Bellegarde* and two other of the King's Commiſſioners, with the Reaſons why he would not receive the Letter, and to require them to aſſure the Queen, that his Affections ſhould never fail towards her. In the mean time all *Normandy* ſubmitted to the King, after the Surrendry of the Caſtle of *Caen*; ſeveral Perſons of Note came and waited upon the King; nay *Longueville* himſelf ſeemed as if he would come to Terms, he writ a very ſubmiſſive and reſpectful Letter to the King, where after ſome Excuſes he promiſed to do nothing againſt his Service. On the other hand the Queen Mother, frightened with the Progreſs of her Son's Arms, reſolved to ſeize *Mans* and the other Cities that lay in the King's way to *Angers*; wherefore ſhe took the Field with 6000 Foot and 1200 Horſe, ſeized the Town of *la Fleche*, and advanced towards *Mans*; but her Acquiſitions did no ways compenſate the loſs of *Alenſon*, *Vernueil* and *Dreux*, for which Reaſon ſhe quickly retired to *Angers*. The King at the ſame time, having received a Reinforcement of 8000 Foot and about 700 Horſe, which were brought him by *Baſſompierre*, *Luines* began now to be much elated, and perſuaded the King who was then at *Mortagne* in *Perche*, to publiſh a Declaration upon the account of the Queen Mother's taking up Arms againſt him; the Expreſſions were very wary and tender in reſpect to the Queen herſelf, and all Miſmanagements laid upon ill Counſel; but for the Count and Counteſs of *Soiſſons*, *Vendoſme* his

King's Declaration.

his Brother, the Grand Prior, *Mayenne*, *Nemours*, *Longueville*, *Roan*, *Tremoville*, *Eſpernon*, *Retz*, *Roannes*, *Bois-Dauphin*, *Candale*, *la Valette*, the Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe*, and all others engaged on her ſide, they were declared Rebels and Guilty of Treaſon, eſpecially if they laid not down their Arms in a Months time, and quitted all Leagues and Aſſociations both within and without the Kingdom.

The Queen and her Party muſt needs be alarmed at this Pace, but was in a perfect Aſtoniſhment to find her Son march directly and with ſo much Reſolution towards her; wherefore having adviſed with her Council, whether ſhe had beſt wait his Coming with the 8000 Foot and 1500 Horſe ſhe had with her, till ſhe were reinforced by *Soiſſons* and *Roan*, or that ſhe ſhould leave ſome Troops for the defence of *Angers* and *Pont de Ce*, and ſo go and join *Mayenne* and *Eſpernon*, who had as many Men as could make up an Army of 30000 Men, the baſe *Richlieu* diverted her from this laſt and good Propoſal, and now as it were governing all that belonged to her, he took care that there ſhould be neither Powder nor Ball in *Pont de Ce*, and that his Relations, Friends and Creatures ſhould command her Troops. In ſhort, he had it in his Power to deliver the Queen up, if he pleaſed. The Queen now ſenſible of her Weakneſs, ſent *Bellegarde*, the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and *Berulle*, to acquaint the King that ſhe was willing to treat with him, but one preliminary Article put a ſtop to the whole; he was willing to give her good Conditions, and to pardon the Count and Counteſs of *Soiſſons*, but required that all the reſt ſhould be left to his Mercy; whereas the Queen inſiſted to treat conjointly for herſelf and her Party without Reſtriction; but the King's Troops having by this time taken *Pont de Ce*, thro a ſecret Correſpondence held between *Richlieu* and *Luines*, the Queen reſolved to paſs the *Loire*, and go to *Ancenſis*, and then to throw herſelf into the Arms of *Mayenne* and *Eſpernon*. *Richlieu* giving immediate notice of it to *Luines*, the King diſpatched a Body of Horſe to hinder the Project from being executed, which would at once have broke all the meaſures of the Favourite and of *Richlieu*; ſo that the Queen finding her Paſſage thus ſtopped, ſhe

was

Articles between the King and Queen Mother.

was wholly bent upon treating; and therefore *Bellegarde*, the Cardinal of *Sourdis*, Archbiſhop of *Sens*, Preſident *Jeannin*, *Richlieu* and *Berulle* attending the King from his Mother, they ſoon agreed upon the Articles, whereby the Treaty of *Angouleſme* was confirmed; *Lewis* promiſed to teſtify his Mother's Innocence, by a Declaration put forth according to Law, and to grant a General Pardon to all that took her Part, provided they returned to their Duty in eight Days time after the Accommodation was ſigned; thoſe whoſe Places and Imployments the King had beſtowed upon others, were excepted, which ſtruck more particularly at the Grand Prior; *Richlieu* by a ſecret Article was promiſed a Cardinal's Cap. As ſoon as the Articles were ſigned, the King and his Mother had an Interview, and *Eſpernon* according to the Terms of the Treaty was the firſt that laid down his Arms.

There was nothing now more talked of, than the King's Progreſs into *Guyenne*; the pretence was to confer with the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Eſpernon*, tho the real Deſign was to deſpoil *Bearn* of all its Privileges: But that the Proteſtants, who had very peaceable Diſpoſitions, might not be too much heated, a Secretary of State writ to *du Pleſſis Mornay*, that the King had no other Intention than to content his Reformed Subjects, by making a Governor of that Religion in *Leitoure*, as he had promiſed, and regiſtring in the Sovereign Council of *Pau* the Edict made for the Reſtitution of Church-Lands in *Bearn*. *Du Pleſſis* anſwered very judiciouſly, That the King had given his Word to the Aſſembly at *Loudun*, to grant ſome things firſt to the Reformed, and afterwards to hearken to the Remonſtrances made him about the Edict concerning the Church-Lands in *Bearn*. It was not only to make a Proteſtant Governor in *Leitoure*, but to admit two Counſellors of the ſame Religion into the Parliament of *Paris*, and leave to the Reformed all the cautionary Places the late King had given them. This was wiſe and uſeful Advice, had the King, who was by this time come to *Bourdeaux*, been ſuſceptible of it; whereas the *Bearnois* (as the Duke of *Roan* has very well obſerved) on their part knowing not well, either how to obey, or to keep themſelves from being impoſed upon by Courtiers, they deputed

deputed *de la Force* their Governor, and the first President of *Pau*, to wait upon the King, without the Verification of the Edict which the King stiffly insisted upon, and who ordered them to go forthwith to *Pau*, and return without Delay with the Edict registred. The Sovereign Council sent other Deputies to him, in order to represent the Hardship put upon them, but the King was so far from relenting, that he proposed to his Council to go to *Bearn* himself to have it done; the Duke of *Mayenne* did all he could to dissuade him from it, but the Arguments of the opposite Party prevailing, he directed his March towards *Pau*, that presently opened her Gates to him; from whence he went to *Navarrois*, a strong Place in *Bearn*, turned out the Protestant Governor, and put it into the Hands of *Poyenne* a zealous Catholick; then returning to *Pau*, he gave the great Church to the Papists, restored the Bishops and Abbots, allowed them the Places they were wont to have in the States of the Country before the Reformation, and restored the Church-Lands. Lastly, in consequence of a Reunion of *Bearn*, and the lower *Navarre* to the Crown, he erected a new Parliament at *Pau*, like the other Parliaments of *France*.

King goes to Bearn.

Bearn *loses its Privileges.*

We might here take in the Affairs of *Germany*, as well as those of the *Valtoline*, were it consonant to our Design, but we omit them as Foreign, tho the *French* chiefly by Embassies and Negotiations, concerned themselves with them in some measure; neither will we enter upon a Relation of the particular Negotiation carried on at *Rome* to get *Richlieu* made a Cardinal, nor of the Ceremony of *Luines* being made Constable of *France*, but take notice that in the Spring of this Year, the *Bearnois* being not able to endure the Oppressions they lay under, made an Insurrection for the Defence of their Privileges, against whom *Espernon* was to command as General, who with a good Body of Men having entred the Country, instead of meeting any Opposition, he found they had abandoned all their Towns and Villages, and fled to the Mountains. *Orthes* immediately opened her Gates to him, *Oleron* did the same, and *la Force* was forced to quit the Province. The *Hugonots* beginning about this time in general to be

1621.

Insurrection of Bearn.

be alarmed, as if the Court had formed a Design to diveſt them of all their Privileges, thought it beſt to hold a General Aſſembly on the 20*th* of *Novemb.* laſt Year, to conſult about their common Security, which the King condemned; but they not thinking fit to obey the Royal Mandate, and not failing in ſome Places to revenge themſelves for the many Injuries that were done them, this was ſufficient to put the Court upon a Reſolution to imploy open Force, and therefore the King now at *Saumur*, underſtanding *Roan* was fortifying *St. John d' Angeli*, he forbad it, and commanded the Duke and his Brother *Soubize* to attend him; but the Duke declining it, the King on the 18*th* of *May* laid Siege to it, the Army being commanded under him by *Leſdeguieres* and *Eſpernon*, the Place held out till the 16*th* of *June*, and then capitulated, That the King ſhould pardon all that were in it, leaving them at Liberty, and in poſſeſſion of their Eſtates and Privileges granted to the *Hugonots* by the Edict of *Nantes*. After this they reduced *St. Foi* and *Clerac*, with divers other Places too long to be mentioned; but the moſt memorable Siege was that of *Montauban*, which was inveſted by the King in Perſon on the 17*th* of *Aug.* the Conſtable *Luines* commanded the Army, and under him as Lieutenant Generals, acted his Brother, with *Mayenne*, *Chevreuſe*, and *Leſdeguieres*; *Schomberg* acted as Maſter of the Ordnance. There were three Attacks made, the firſt was that of the King, commanded by the Conſtable and his Brother; the ſecond that of *Mayn*, and the third that of *Chevreuſe* and *Leſdeguieres*; and all the Attacks were made with the greateſt Vigour imaginable, but it was as bravely defended by *la Force*, *Orvale*, and the Burghers. In ſhort, after the greateſt part of the Outworks were taken, and a conſiderable Breach made in a Baſtion, which was the weakeſt Place, a General Aſſault was reſolved on; but the Beſiegers having judged it convenient, that an Officer ſhould firſt take a View of it, and he accordingly mounting the Breach, ſaw on the other ſide a very large Retrenchment, wherein were 2000 Men poſted, ready to receive the Beſiegers, this News put a ſtop to their Deſign. *Roan* who kept the Field with a ſmall Body of Men, put ſome Relief into the Place,

St. John de Angeli *taken.*

Siege of Montauban.

Place, which together with the frequent Sallies of the Beſieged, made the King on the firſt of *Novemb.* raiſe the Siege, after the loſs of a great many brave Soldiers and Perſons of Quality, among whom was the Duke of *Mayn*, who was killed with a Musket-ſhot received in his Eye. It's not known to what the ill Succeſs of this Siege is to be attributed, moſt People aſcribed it to *Luines*, who was no Soldier, inſomuch that the Reproaches wherewith he was juſtly charged upon this occaſion, and the Concern he had for the raiſing of it, threw him into a Purple Fever, of which he died on the 14*th* of *Decemb.* three Days after the Royal Army had taken a ſmall City in *Guyenne*, called *Monhurt*. *Siege raiſed.* *Luines's Death.*

The Queen Mother was now readmitted into the Council, but *Richlieu* would not be allowed to bear her Company thither. At the ſame time Propoſals of Peace were made, and all that the *Hugonot* Party demanded was inviolably to obſerve the Edict of *Nantes*, and to leave all things in the ſame Poſture as they were at the Death of *Henry* IV. The Miniſters and Eccleſiaſticks were entirely againſt the King's hearkening to them, and it was unhappy for the Reformed, that ſome of the Nobility of their Religion, fearing to be overwhelmed under the Ruins of the Party, abandoned them at a time when they had the greateſt Occaſion for them; nor was this all, for their Generals could not endure, that not only the Aſſemblies of their Nobles, but, what was more unpalatable, that their very Synods ſhould pretend to concern themſelves with the management of the War. Theſe and other Conſiderations of particular Advances, brought off the Dukes of *Sully*, *Bouillon* and *Leſdeguieres*, with *Chaſtillon* and divers others of Quality, from the Party; ſome of whom afterwards turned Roman Catholicks. 1622.

The King on the other hand having obtained ſome Edicts to be verified for the raiſing of Money, reſolved to go into *Bretagne*, to put a Stop to the Progreſs of *Soubize*, who had already maſtered ſeveral Poſts in the Lower *Poictou*, and began to threaten that Province; he parted on the 20*th* of *March*, and the Army rendevouzed at *Nantes*, *April* 20*th*, of which *Conde* was Lieutenant-General, and the ſame conſiſted of about 10000 Foot and 2000 Horſe. *Soubize* who was not *King's Progreſs againſt the Hugonots.*

half ſo ſtrong, retired to the Iſle of *Rhee*, but was forced to quit that alſo without coming to Blows. After this the King took *Royan* in *Santonge*, and about the end of *May*, *la Force* left the Reformed, and made his Peace with the King, who made him a Mareſchal of *France*, and gave him a Sum of Money at *St. Foi*, whoſe Gates the other cauſed to be opened to his Majeſty, after he had concluded a very advantageous Capitulation for them. *Negrepeliſte* in *Guyenne* was taken by Storm, and moſt of the People put to the Sword. *St. Antonin* upon the *Aveiron* was forced to ſurrender upon Diſcretion on the 22*d*. from whence the Army marched into *Languedoc*, with a Deſign to attack *Montpelier*, but e'er they came before it, reduced ſeveral ſmall Towns there, and particularly *Lauel*, where the Capitulation was baſely violated. In the mean time *Leſdegnieres* apoſtatizing from his Religion, was made Conſtable; and *Chaſtillon* having given up *Aigues Mortes* to the King, was rewarded with a good Sum of Money and a Mareſchal's Staff: So that the Reformed finding now their ill State, they offered by the Intervention of *Leſdeguieres* to lay down their Arms in all Places, upon condition of an Amneſty for what was paſt, and Liberty of Conſcience for the future; and at laſt after ſix Weeks Siege at *Montpelier*, *Roan* perſuaded the Inhabitants to receive the King into the Place, upon condition of the Peace, and that he ſhould leave no Gariſon behind him at his Departure; which he did not perform in that particular. The King's Naval Forces commanded by *Guiſe*, had likewiſe this Year great Advantages over the *Rochellers*, whom they blocked up by Land by Fort *Lovis*, and ſeveral others, which were the beginning of their Ruin, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But here not to paſs over the Death of the Cardinal of *Retz*, while the King was in *Languedoc*, whereby two Places were become vacant in the Sacred College; *Richlieu* did ſo beſtir himſelf now, that he obtained a Cardinal's Cap: He acted all the while for the Queen Mother, on all Occaſions ſhe was pleaſed to imploy him. After the Death of *Ancre*, the King underſtanding he had Money in the Bank of *Florence*, imployed all his Intereſt to call it out from thence; but the Great Duke to whom the Crown of

A Peace made.

1623.

France

France was indebted, kept back 200000 Crowns of it, upon ſome pretence or other; but he dying in 1621. it was demanded of his Succeſſor, the Queen Mother deſigning it ſhould be reſtored to *d' Ancre*'s Son. *Richlieu* upon this Occaſion had ſeveral Conferences with the *Florentine* Agent, between whom it was agreed that the Grand Duke ſhould immediately give the Queen 100000 Crowns, and that the King ſhould pay the reſt to diſcharge what he owed to the Houſe of *Medicis*. While this Negotiation was on foot, the Agent offered to give 50000 Crowns to *d' Ancre*'s Son; but the Cardinal alledged, the Queen would never have it publiſhed, that ſhe had given the King 200000 Crowns which ſhe deſigned to reſtore to *Conchini*, but that ſhe would have it owned that this Money belonged to herſelf. We meet with nothing elſe of any great Moment, but that towards the end of this Year, the old Chancellor *Silleri* began thro the great Power of his Enemies to totter in his Place, and he and his Son *Payſieux* had made but a very ſmall Advance into the ſucceeding one, before their Diſgrace enſued. About the ſame time the Match between the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain* being broke off, they began to treat of a Marriage between the ſaid Prince and *Henrietta Maria*, *Lewis* XIII's Siſter. The Buſineſs alſo of the *Valtoline*, which was thought to be as good as concluded, was perplext with more Difficulties than ever, ſo that in all probability a Rupture with *Spain* muſt ſoon follow. But Cardinal *Richlieu* being now at the Sollicitations of the Queen Mother, admitted into the Council of State, began to manage all things, and more particularly the Buſineſs of the Match with *England*; the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle* were ſent over to treat about it, and having repreſented to the Cardinal, that the Propoſition they made of a Marriage, being no new thing, ſince it had been diſcourſed of many Years to marry the Prince of *Wales* with Madam *Chriſtiana*, who was afterwards married to the Prince of *Piedmont*; they had nothing now to do, but to re-aſſume the Articles already made, and to continue on the ſame Foot. But the *French* anſwered, that the Face of Affairs were changed ſince that time, and that they had other Thoughts at preſent; that it was the

1624.

Proceedings about the Match with England.

King of *England*'s Intereſt to keep the Reputation of the *French* King in this Marriage: That they could not be contented now with what had been formerly offered about Religion after what had hapned in *Spain*, when there was a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta*; and urged, That it was neceſſary to begin the Negotiation by laying the eleven Articles upon the Table, which the King of *Great Britain* had agreed with *Spain* upon that occaſion. But the Ambaſſadors rejecting this, *de la Ville aux Clers* anſwered, he was ſurprized that they were not come with Power to make the ſame Conceſſions to the moſt Chriſtian King, as their King had granted to his Catholick Majeſty, ſince they might eaſily know *France* would ſuffer no Inequality in this Affair.

Hereupon a Courier was diſpatched to the *French* Ambaſſador in *England*, that he ſhould remonſtrate to the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham*, that the King could do no leſs, and how much it imported the Crown of *England* that this Negotiation ſhould not be broke off; that they knew for certain, that the Prince ſtill hearkened to thoſe Propoſitions which the *Spaniards* had made him, and which in all appearance would turn greatly to his diſadvantage: But the King having diſcovered that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had not written to their Maſter, another Courier was ſent to the *French* Ambaſſador to order him to take no notice of it. In effect the Ambaſſadors of *England* ſoon conſented to agree to all the Articles with *Spain*, except three, of which one was concerning Liberty of Conſcience for the *Engliſh* Catholicks, another for a publick Church for the Retinue of *Madam*, and the laſt related to the Education of thoſe Children who ſhould be born of this Marriage, who were to be, till they came to be 12 years old, in the hands of the Queen, to bring them up in her own Religion. The *French* repreſented it would do great ſervice to the King of *England*, by uniting to his Party all the *Engliſh* Catholicks, who would oppoſe themſelves to the Puritans and Presbyterians, by whom the King was not beloved: But the Ambaſſadors would never conſent to grant a Church to the Papiſts, which would endanger a Mutiny in *London*; tho they agreed to the Article concerning the Education

ducation of the Children, but yet rejected to have a Biſhop ſent over with the Queen, as a Matter that was of no uſe. As for the Dowry, they demanded 800000 Crowns, of which one half to be paid in *London* the Evening before the Marriage, 200000 a year after, and the reſt in ſix Months more. They provided alſo, that if *Madam* ſhould happen to die before the Prince without Children, he ſhould be obliged only to reſtore the Moiety.

Match concluded.

The Negotiation being carried on thus far, the main thing now wanting was a Diſpenſation from *Rome*, which being obtained after various Difficulties and Delays, *Richlieu*, to prevent all Conteſts which might ariſe by the means of this Alliance, obliged *Madam* to renounce all Succeſſions, both direct and collateral, which might accrue to her, for which there was to be given her in Marriage 800000 Crowns. He farther procured that her Houſhold ſhould be numerous and ſplendid; that her Dowry ſhould be 60000 Crowns *per Annum*, which ſhould be aſſigned her upon Lands; that if ſhe became a Widow, ſhe ſhould have her choice to live in *England* or *France*, whether ſhe had Children or no; and that in caſe ſhe returned to *France*, the King of *England* ſhould be obliged to cauſe her to be conducted at his Charge, with Honours agreeable to her Quality, as far as *Calais*.

1625. This fatal Match having been thus agreed on, we will leave it to be conſummated in due time, and ſo proceed to another Year. After the Concluſion of the Peace with the *Hugonots*, there was no care taken for the razing of *Fort Lewis*, which ſtood a thouſand Paces from *Rochel*, tho they were indeed engaged to do it by one of the Articles of the Treaty of *Montpelier*; wherefore the *Rochellers* having ſeveral times repreſented the ſame to the King, and receiving no other Satisfaction than fair Words, inſtead of ſtaying till the King was engaged in a War with *Spain*, as in all appearance he would ſuddenly be about the Affairs of the *Valtoline*, the *Spaniards* deſigning to have a Paſſage to and Communication with *Germany* by that way, which was not the Intereſt either of the *Venetians*, *French* or any other neighbouring Princes or States: And alſo inſtead of preſſing him in that conjuncture, when Neceſ-

ſity would have obliged him to keep his word with them, they would needs do themſelves Juſtice; and therefore they gave ſome Ships to *Soubize*, who went to ſurprize ſeven of the King's Ships in *Blavet*: He carried away ſix of them; after which the *Rochellers* attempted to beſiege the Fort, which incommoded them; but not having been able to take it readily, they gave over that Enterprize. Soon after *Soubize* ſeized the Iſle of *Oleron*, where he built three Forts to keep it for his Party: From thence he pretended to keep all the neighbouring Ports in awe, while thoſe of *Rochel* over-ran all the Neighbourhood, in ſpite of *Thoiras* and the other Commanders in thoſe Parts. *Soubize* on the other hand, proving unſucceſsful in his Deſcent on the Coaſt of *Olonne*, was more fortunate on the Banks of the *Garonne*, where he over-ran all about *Bourdeaux*, and by the means of his Fleet hindred all things from coming thither by Sea: He maſtered the Caſtle of *Chaſtillon*, but was forced to quit it by *Thoiras*; and a little after a furious Storm having much damnified his Fleet, he was forced to go and refit. In the higher and lower *Languedoc*, *Roan* had made a great many take up Arms to defend themſelves againſt the daily Encroachments on their Privileges, notwithſtanding the reiterated Promiſes of the King, and his Declaration of the 25*th* of *January*, whereby he declared *Roan* and *Soubize* Rebels, with their Adherents; but took under his Protection thoſe that continued quiet at home under the benefit of his Edicts. *Roan* having withdrawn himſelf to *Caſtres*, from whence he ſent his Orders into all Parts, the Parliament of *Tholouſe* enacted, That all the Juriſdiction Secular and Eccleſiaſtical, Sub-treaſuries, and all Receipts ſhould be transferred from thence to *Lantrec*. *Themines* and *Eſpernon* commanded two little Armies againſt *Roan*: The ſecond of them attempted to block up *Montauban* with four Forts, often beat the Gariſon and the Inhabitants, and took their Moveables from them; while the other took *Bonail*, *St. Paul*, *Lauriatta*, and divers other little Places. Beſides, he beat *Roan*, blocked him up in *Vienne* with the Troops he had brought from *Sevennes*, and conſtrained him to retire by night. The ſame Duke alſo failing to take the Caſtle of *Sommieres*, theſe and other Diſadvantages obliged him

him and his Brother to ſend Deputies to Court to make their Peace.

But tho the *French* were embaraſſed at this time with the Affairs of *Italy*, and more particularly of *Genoua*, on which the Duke of *Savoy*, aſſiſted by a Body of their Troops under the Conſtable, had formed a Deſign, wherein they were oppoſed by the *Spaniards* at laſt with good Succeſs; yet ſo violent was the Cardinal againſt the Reformed, that he repreſented to the King, he could not undertake any thing conſiderable abroad, till he had firſt ruined that Party at home: But there being a neceſſity of treating with them at this Conjuncture, the principal Articles agreed on were, That *Fort-Louis* ſhould remain entire ſix Months after the Treaty, and then be demoliſhed: That the *Hugonots* ſhould yet for three years enjoy the Places of Security remaining to them: That the building of ſome Forts begun about *Montauban*, ſhould ceaſe: That a Sum of Money ſhould be given to *Roan* and *Soubize*, for all their Pretenſions, on condition that this laſt ſhould reſtore the ſix Veſſels taken from the King at the beginning of the Year. They ſo much deſired the Concluſion of this Treaty, that they would not retard it farther, tho they had an Account but two Days before the ſigning of it, that the *Rochellers* had ſet fire to ſome of the King's Ships, burnt the Vice-Admiral of *Holland*, and ſunk three of their Veſſels. And here we are to obſerve, that there being a kind of a Truce while the Treaty was on foot, this Action of the *Rochellers*, eſpecially againſt the *Dutch* Ships, was generally diſapprov'd. It was wonder'd the States, who were of the ſame Religion with the *Rochellers*, and whoſe true Intereſt it was to preſerve that City, ſhould ſend a Squadron to the King to reduce it; but mercenary Ends prevailed with them, which was, to keep their Alliance with *France*, for which they were to have 600000 Crowns yearly, as long as they carried on the War with the *Spaniards*. Indeed it has been alleged that their Admiral *Houtſtein*, tho he had Orders to aſſiſt the King's Army to reduce *Soubize* to Obedience, did under-hand make an Agreement with the *Rochellers* to obſerve a kind of Neutrality between them, in reciprocally doing each other as little hurt as they could; but the *Ro-*

Articles of Peace.

chellers believing they could burn all the King's Fleet, and hinder them from making uſe of the *Dutch* Ships againſt them, broke their Word, and did the Damage juſt ſpoken of.

If the *Dutch* were to be blamed for giving aſſiſtance to the *French* King upon ſuch an occaſion, what ſhall we ſay of the *Engliſh*, who under the Miniſtry of *Buckingham* lent them ſeven great Ships? and with the *French* and *Dutch* making in all ſixty Sail, the *Rochellers* were no way able to reſiſt them. *Montmerancy* Admiral of *France* had the chief Command; but before they put to Sea, *Thoiras* Governour of *Fort Louis* had formed a Deſign to attack the Iſle of *Rhee*, and having obtained about 1700 men, ſix Barks, and about 50 Horſe, he purpoſed to follow the Fleet, and make his Deſcent, while the *Rochellers* ſhould be buſy in their own defence againſt the Grand Fleet, which ſet ſail from the Road of *Olonne* on the 15*th* of *September* towards the Road of *St. Martins* in the Iſle of *Rhee*, where the *Rochellers* Fleet lay conſiſting only of 28 Ships, who having no appearance of being able to engage ſixty, retired preſently to the *Foſſe de l'Oge*. On the ſame day *St. Luc*, who had the general Command of the Land Troops, and *Thoiras*, made their Deſcent upon the Iſland under the favour of ſome Vollies of Cannon by ſome Galleons; to oppoſe whom *Soubize* having 1200 Foot, 100 Horſe, and 24 Pieces of Cannon, he diſcharged them ſeveral times; but for all that they marched on, and he was ſoon routed with the loſs of all his Cannon. However, next Morning as they advanced towards *St. Martins*, he came again to meet them with about 3500 men and four Pieces of Cannon; but the Militia of *Rochel* diſheartned with their Defeat the Day before, and perhaps ill conducted, could not ſtand before the King's Forces: Wherefore *Soubize* ſeeing them routed, fled in a Challop to the Iſle of *St. Mary*, then to *Oleron*, and afterwards to *England*; ſo that *St. Martins* ſurrendring next day upon Articles, they became Maſters thereby of the whole Iſland with inconſiderable Loſs.

Rochellers *defeated.*

While *St. Luc* and *Thoiras* did this, *Montmerancy* beat the *Rochellers* Fleet ſeveral times, being forced to attend the Wind and Tide to come at them: He took nine of their Ships, and very much damnified the reſt, who

who retired to *Oleron*; but three of the King's Ships having grapled one of theirs, ſhe rather choſe to blow up both her ſelf and them, than to be taken: Soon after which *Oleron* alſo ſubmitted, ſo that the *Rochellers* now thought of nothing more than how to make their Peace with the Court. The Pope's Legate was at *Paris* when the News of this Victory came thither; and tho it did not trouble him to ſee the Hereticks brought down, yet he perceived with regret, that now the Court was out of that trouble, it would every day grow more firm in the Affair of the *Valtoline*, about which the Pope, *French* and *Spaniards* could not agree. But as ſoon as ever the Legate was gone, who departed in diſcontent, an Aſſembly of Notables was ſummoned at *Fontainbleau*, in preſence of the King, Queen-Mother and Duke of *Orleans*: The ſame conſiſted of four Cardinals, the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops and Deputies of the Clergy; the Dukes of *Nemours*, *Longueville* and *Chevreuſe* of the Privy Council; the Secretaries of State, Superintendants and Intendants of the Finances; the Preſidents and Officers of the Parliament of *Paris*; the Mareſchals *de Baſſompierre*, *de Schomberg*, *Aubeterre*, and other Officers of the Crown, convocated by the King's expreſs Orders. *Richlieu* had contrived this Aſſembly to diſcharge upon thoſe that compoſed it the Hatred which his Envyers had endeavoured to draw upon him, under pretence that he had adviſed the King to unite himſelf with divers Proteſtant Powers againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. They particularly accuſed him with giving Peace to the *Hugonots*, and protecting the *Calviniſt Griſons* againſt the Catholick Inhabitants of the *Valtoline*, with which the Pope himſelf was offended: But what was that in competition with the Good of the State? The King being ſat, told the Aſſembly, that the Chancellor ſhould tell them the reaſon why he had called them together; who thereupon taking the Word, began with the Alliances and Treaties the Crown had made with the *Griſons*, and afterwards informed them of what had paſſed in reſpect to the *Valtoline*, and the Propoſitions the Legate had made, referring the more particular Circumſtances to what the Mareſchal *Schomberg* ſhould ſay: He then fell upon the Departure of the Legate, who had given ſeveral Marks of his Diſcontent, tho

Aſſembly of Notables.

tho ſo well uſed by the Government. In fine, he enlarged to demonſtrate the Falſity of that Propoſition which ſome *Italian* Divines had maintained, That it was not lawful for Catholicks to reſtore Lands to Hereticks, by drawing from thence pernicious Conſequences, which might ariſe in reſpect to Temporal Princes. *Schomberg* then took up the matter, and proceeded more to declare his own Opinion, than to expound the Affairs then in agitation: He complained of the Negotiations of the Legate, and other Miniſters of the Church of *Rome*, who had only ſpoken of the reſtitution of the Forts in the *Valteline*, and at laſt had yet left it undetermined. He added alſo, That they would not at all declare whether they had Power from the *Spaniards* to treat in their Name, or not: That being preſſed thereunto, they ſaid, they had in their hands wherewith to ſatisfy the King; and in the Sum of the Account they ſaid, That they had not any Power in behalf of the *Spaniards*: That at other times they ſaid *Bormio* might be ſurrendred by the *Griſons*, and that at preſent they would not leave them any Marks of Soveraignty. In ſhort, his Opinion was, that the Propoſals of the Court of *Rome* were to be rejected. The Queen-Mother thereupon ſaid ſome things in praiſe of the Legate, as being well inclined to *France*. After which there was ſo long a Silence, that the Chancellor was obliged to ſay, that if there were any one in that Aſſembly who had any good Counſel to give about the Matters in debate, the King permitted him to do it. The Cardinal of *Sourdis* ſaid, he ſaw no better Expedient to accommodate the Difference between the two Crowns, than a Suſpenſion of Arms; that an honourable Peace was beſt for them; but in caſe that could not be had, they were to obtain their Right by Arms. In fine, his Opinion was for Peace, ſuch as the Pope deſired, by remitting the *Valtoline* to him. *Richlieu* being diſturbed herewith, tho he had no thoughts of ſaying any thing that day, yet he drew near, and by his Geſtures ſhewed he diſapproved of his Opinion, and particularly of the Suſpenſion of Arms; and as ſoon as *Sourdis* had done ſpeaking, he took the Word, and ſaid, That tho his Profeſſion rendred him partial, ſince the Tranſaction was, whether War or Peace; yet the King's Reputation obliged him

Debates of the Aſſembly.

to

to ſpeak his Mind freely: Then he praiſed Peace, and one would have thought by this beginning, that his Intentions were the ſame as the other Cardinal's; but his Concluſion was quite the contrary, That he ſaw not how the King could honourably make a Peace in the preſent Conjuncture; That the Duty of a King, and the Title of Moſt Chriſtian were not incompatible, and ought not to be ſeparated; That as by his Quality of Moſt Chriſtian, the King ought to have a care of the Catholick Religion, and thoſe who made profeſſion of it in the *Valtoline*; ſo in his Quality of King, he ought not to neglect his Reputation, the Intereſt of his Dominions and Allies, nor regard it as a thing indifferent, to be conſidered as a Prince without Honour, Power and Faith: That to get off with Honour, he muſt reſolve on a long War, and that way preſerve to *France* the Paſſage by the *Valtoline*, and to the *Griſons* their Soveraignty: That if *France* abandon'd her Allies, ſhe'd not find in the Sequel any Support from her Neighbours, who would be ſure to forſake her to unite themſelves with *Spain*; but as ſoon as the neighbouring Potentates ſhould behold the King full of Conſtancy and Courage, they would preſently be for him, and never forſake him: That Honour was the true Patrimony of Kings, and that his Majeſty ought to hazard all for the preſerving of it: That the Treaſury was in a good condition; that the Affairs of *Spain* began to grow worſe in *Italy*, and that their Army was extremely diminiſhed: That the Victory the King had obtained over the *Rochellers* aſſured the Tranquillity of the Kingdom; and at laſt he concluded, that if every body was of his mind, and the Majority of Votes conformable to his, that a Courier ſhould be diſpatched to the Legate, to let him know the Aſſembly was of the ſame Sentiments with the Cabinet Council. Cardinal *de la Valette* ſeemed to be of *Richlieu*'s ſide, and no body elſe oppoſing, Couriers were ſent, not only to the Pope and Legate, but alſo to the Ambaſſadors of the Crown, to inform them of what had paſt.

The Negotiation of the Legate being at laſt divulg'd, the Duke of *Savoy* by his Ambaſſador highly complain'd that King *Lewis* had not had any regard to his Intereſts, nor cauſed a word to be ſpoken to the Legate about

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Satisfaction to be made to him concerning the Marquiſate of *Zuccarello*. In the mean time *Papenheim* alſo, who was at *Riva* with a *German* Regiment, attacked ſome *French* Troops, which *de Cœuvres* had put into *Verceil* and *Campo*, little Places about the Lake of *Como*, beat them, and took from them twelve pieces of Cannon, and alſo eleven Barks which were upon the Lake. This News being come to Court, they believed the *Valtoline* to be loſt, but *Papenheim* not having puſhed on his Point, the *Venetians* ſent Forces enough to *Cœuvres* to oppoſe him, with which Succour and ſome Troops that came from *France*, *Cœuvres* attacked the *Spaniards* in ſome Poſts, where they were retrenched and barricadoed two Days before, and paid them in the ſame Coin: So that the Affairs of the *Valtoline* being in as good a Condition as before, the Negotiations were ſtill purſued, tho with but little Succeſs, and *Baſſompierre* was ſent into *Switzerland*, to endeavour to keep the *Cantons* in the *French* Intereſt, which they began now to decline.

About the ſame time, the *Rochellers* ſent their Deputies to Court to endeavour a Peace, but had much ado to get Audience of the King; and when they obtained leave to proſtrate themſelves before him, he told them, *They had behaved themſelves very ill and inſolently towards him, but he would pardon them, and grant them the Conditions his Chancellor ſhould tell them*, which were theſe that follow: 1. That the Council and Government of *Rochel* ſhould be put into the Hands of thoſe of the Body of the City, as it was in 1610. 2. That it ſhould receive a Superintendant of Juſtice, to prevent the Differences and Partialities that might happen in the City, to adminiſter Juſtice there, and ſettle Trade. 3. That all the Fortifications ſhould be demoliſhed, and the City reduced to its antient Circuit, as it was in 1560. 4. That the King ſhould be received there with the Reſpect due to him, whenever he ſhould pleaſe to give them the Honour of a Viſit. 5. That they ſhould not keep in their Port any Men of War, and that all others appointed for Privateers or Merchandize, ſhould have the Admiral's Leave, as was practiſed in other Places of the Kingdom, and ſhould not depart out of the Port, before eight Days notice

Conditions propoſed to the Rochellers.

notice given to the Intendant of Juſtice. 6. That all Goods belonging to Eccleſiaſticks ſhould be reſtored, as well as the Carts, Horſes and Merchandize of ſome Merchants of *Orleans*. 7. As for the reſt, it was the King's Pleaſure, That the *Rochellers* ſhould fully and peaceably enjoy all their Privileges of Freedom of Trade, and of the Edict of *Nantes*. The Deputies having received theſe Articles, carried them to *Rochel*, to adviſe what Anſwer ſhould be returned thereto. In the mean time that City was kept blocked up as before, and *Themines* was named General of the Army; which oppoſed the Incurſions of the *Rochellers*, who made divers vigorous Sallies and many Rencounters, wherein ſometimes they, and ſometimes the King's People had the better. But to leave the *Rochellers* for the preſent, we are here to obſerve, that *Blainville* was about this time ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary into *England*, to complain of the Breaches which the new King *Charles* I. (for King *James* was dead ſometime before the Queen paſſed over Sea) had made in the Matrimonial Contract concluded in *France*, more particularly in favour of the Papiſts, which the *Engliſh* Proteſtants would by no means endure. *Soubize* who was now in *England*, was indeed not received at Court, yet the King durſt not command him to depart the Kingdom for fear of diſobliging his Proteſtant Subjects; but now upon the Remonſtrances made, the King anſwered, *That he thought he might receive Thanks from the* French *King, that he had not received him at Court, but only ſuffered his Ships not to be driven out of the Ports of* England; *That in Truth he thought it not fit they ſhould go out and make Courſes on the* French; *but the Moſt Chriſtian King would alſo do well to grant Peace to his Subjects, that he might be better enabled to act againſt his Enemies: That* Henry *IV. had given Refuge in* France *to the Earl of* Bothwel, *that had made an Attempt on the Perſon of his Father King* James, *and made this Excuſe, That all the Kings of the World had a Right to give Sanctuary to whom they pleaſed.* This *Blainville* owned in the Rigour of it; yet ſaid, *He ought to think alſo that* France *might one Day give him the ſame Vexation, and perhaps on more important Occaſions; but if he would live amicably with the King his Brother-in-law,*

Jars between England *and* France.

law, he would have many Things to ſay in contradiction to this Proceeding; yet if he took ſo much part as to the Perſon of Soubize, *he would ſay no more of it, but he would not do the ſame in reſpect to the Ships, which for the moſt part belonged to the King or his Subjects, from whom* Soubize *had taken them, and therefore demanded a Reſtitution of them, or the King his Maſter would cauſe them to be taken wherever he found them.* You muſt know that when *Buckingham* was in *France* to fetch the Queen over, he not only appeared with very great Splendor, but carried himſelf ſo at the *French* Court, that he could by no means accord with *Richlieu*, who gave him ſo many Mortifications, that he was reſolved to reſent it; and to his Advice ſome Authors attribute the Violation of the Marriage Articles already mentioned, and the Naval War with *France* in defence of the *Rochellers*: However it were, King *Charles* inſtead of giving Ear to the *French* Ambaſſador's Complaints and Threats, redemanded his Ships of the *French* King; and they not reſtoring of them, he cauſed ſeveral of their Ships that were in the *Engliſh* Ports to be ſeized. In the mean time the *Rochellers* perceiving by the Conditions the Court offered them, that they intended to deprive them of their Privileges, and to put them out of Condition to reſent it, ſent Deputies to *London* to demand Succours, in caſe the War ſhould break out, where they were kindly received, and in effect Orders were given to put part of the Fleet in a readineſs to ſail.

1626. But to proceed to another Year, and *Charles* not being willing to make too forward a Breach with *France*, ſent the Earl of *Holland* and *Carleton* Ambaſſadors to *Paris*, to induce *Lewis* to make a League with *England*, for the reſtoring of the Elector *Palatine*; they had alſo Orders to endeavour to procure Peace to the *Rochellers*, and to redemand the Ships of War *England* had ſent the *French* the preceding Year. They were anſwered, 'That *France* had Reaſons not to 'make any ſuch League, but perhaps they would cauſe 'the Elector to be reſtored without it. As for the ſe'cond Propoſal, if the *Rochellers* would return to their 'Duty, the King would not refuſe them Peace, but 'would not engage to treat about it with any one

Engliſh *Embaſſy to* France.

'whatſo-

'whatſoever, and that they ought to expect it from 'his ſole Bounty. As to the Veſſels, they declared 'they were ready to reſtore one Man of War, but the 'other ſix being Merchant Ships armed for them, they 'could not be obliged to return them while they had 'occaſion for them, ſince the *French* would not have 'asked them but for that uſe, and that they had made 'a Contract for them.

Now in ſpeaking concerning the *Rochellers*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors ſaid, 'That they had not any League 'with them, and if they demanded Peace for them, 'it was as Friends of *France*, and becauſe they deſi-'red all their Forces might be imployed againſt the 'Spaniards. But for all that the *Engliſh* Council reſol-ved upon three Things, very oppoſite to King *Lewis*, or rather *Richlieu*'s Deſigns, which was to aſſiſt *Rochel*, recal the Ambaſſadors, and to ſend *Buckingham* upon the Expedition, which was to be authorized by Act of Parliament. *Buckingham* at the ſame time ſaid to *Blainville*, 'That he was troubled to ſee the two 'Crowns embroiled in ſuch a manner, as that he muſt 'loſe the Fruit of all the Services he had done to 'France, and found himſelf in danger of giving an 'Account of his Actions to the Parliament: That his 'Maſter had helped to ruin *Soubize*, only out of the 'Affection he had for the *French* King, and the 'Thoughts of contenting himſelf with the Pu-'niſhment of one mutinous Subject, but now he ſaw 'that they laboured wholly to extirpate thoſe of his 'Religion; ſo that he could no longer ſtand Neuter, 'without incurring the Blame of all the World: And 'that all his People, and all his Council would oblige 'him with common Conſent to undertake their De-'fence. To this the Duke added, 'That *France* ex-'poſed her Allies to great Danger by this Conduct; 'and that the *Spaniards* would certainly take advan-'tage of their Diviſions; and farther, that if the 'War brake out between the two Crowns, the Queen 'and her Domeſticks would ſuffer much, without any 'poſſibility of hindring it.

Before Advice came of the Inclinations of the Coun-cil of *England* in the preſent Conjuncture, the *French* Court had very illy treated the Deputies of *Rochel*, and

and Mareſchal *Schomberg* told them, that if the King uſed them as he ought, he would cauſe them to be hanged: But now they quite altered their Note; for finding there had been yet no Overture to accommodate the foreign Differences, and *England* buſying her ſelf in favour of the *Hugonots*, they concluded a Peace with them on the 5*th* of *February* on theſe Terms.

Peace concluded with the Rochellers.

I. That the Council and Government of *Rochel* ſhould be put and eſtabliſhed in the hands of thoſe who were of the Body of that City, in the Form they were *Anno* 1610.

II. That they ſhould receive a Commiſſary to cauſe thoſe things to be executed which ſhould be ordered by the Peace, and to ſtay there during the King's Pleaſure.

III. That they ſhould have no Men of War in their City, and obſerve in their Traffick the uſual Forms eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, without derogating from what concerned their Commerce and Privileges.

IV. That they ſhould reſtore to the Eccleſiaſticks all their Goods which they ſhould have in their poſſeſſion, conformable to the Edict of 1558. and to its Execution.

V. That they ſhould ſuffer the Catholicks fully and peaceably to enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion, and the Goods belonging to them in the ſaid City, and reſtore whatever ſhould be found in kind, and raſe the Fort of *Tadon* by them lately built.

VI. That becauſe the King could not agree to the raſing of *Fort Louis*, which the *Rochellers* required, he promiſed to cauſe ſuch Orders to be eſtabliſhed in the Gariſons which he ſhould leave in the ſaid Fort, as alſo in the Iſles of *Rhee* and *Oleron*; that the *Rochellers* ſhould not receive any Trouble or Impediment in the Security and Liberty of their Commerce, which they ſhould make according to the Laws, Orders and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom; nor in the Enjoyment of the Goods, and gathering the Fruits they ſhould have in thoſe Iſles.

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Richlieu had a great hand in these Articles, tho he would not appear in it; and the King, the more firmly to conclude the appeasing of the *Hugonots*, got an Edict verified in the Parliament of *Paris* on the 6*th* of *April*, importing,

1. That the Edict of *Nantes*, Declarations and secret Articles, published and registred in Parliament in favour of those of the pretended Reformed Religion, should be observed. *King's Edict in favour of the Hugonots.*

2. That the Catholick Religion should be observed in all those Places wherein it had been intermitted, with prohibition of Disturbance to the Ecclesiasticks, to whom their Goods were to be restored.

3. That the Exercise of the pretended Reformed Religion should be re-established in all Places where it was in 1620.

4. That the King would grant Pardon for all Enterprizes that were past, as levying of Arms, Money or the like.

5. That the Articles 74, 75, 78, 79. of the Edict of *Nantes* should be entertained.

6. That the Translation of Justices, the Offices and Receipts of the Finances should be disannulled.

7. That those of the Reformed should be discharg'd of all Judgments and Sentences given against them.

8. That the Prisoners of War who had not yet paid any Ransom should be released.

9. That the 27*th* Article of the Edict of *Nantes* should be observed.

10. That the 28*th* Article of the same Edict should be executed.

11. That those of the pretended Reformed Religion should not hold any Assemblies without the King's Leave, only in things simply concerning the Regulation of the Discipline of their Religion: That they should make no Fortifications without permission from the King.

12. That the Articles agreed on for *Rochel*, the Isles, and Country of *Aunis*, should be kept.

But to say no more at present of the Affairs of the *Rochellers*, nor of those of the *Valtoline*, which were now terminated by the Treaty of *Monzon*, scarce to the Satisfaction of any of the Parties concerned in it; *Court Broils.*

we are to take notice, that *Ornano* the Duke of *Anjou*'s Brother having by the Intrigues of *Richlieu* been seized and confin'd, this caused new Broils at Court, where the Cardinal governed all; insomuch that there was a Libel now published against him, entituled, *The King of the King*. And besides the Duke of *Anjou*, divers Persons of the first Rank, as the Count of *Soissons*, Dukes of *Longueville* and *Vendosme*, the Grand Prior of *France*, the Dukes of *Chevreuse* and *Espernon*, and the Marquess of *la Valette*, were accused of being concerned in a Design of assassinating the Cardinal, who having Artifice enough to draw *Vendosme* and the Grand Prior to Court then at *Blois*, they were there both arrested; while the Cardinal, instead of setting the Mareschal *de Ornano* at liberty, was soothing *Anjou* with hopes of his having his liberty to marry whom and when he pleased, with other Demands he insisted upon; but when the Court was arrived at *Nantes*, the King established a Chamber of Justice, which made out the Process of *Chalais*, who was one that should have assassinated the Cardinal, and condemned him to lose his Head. There was much murmuring about erecting this extraordinary Tribunal, whereas any of the ordinary might have tried the Accused; but the haughty Prelate by establishing this new Method would strike an Awe into them that durst attack him, that all might imagine there was no way to avoid his Revenge by Formalities of Law established in favour of Innocents.

D. *of* Anjou *married.*

Anjou still was upon the chagreen; but being at length reconciled to the Court, he was married on the 5th of *August* to *Mademoiselle de Montpesier*; in consideration of which the King conferred upon him the Dutchies of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, with the County of *Blois*, from whence forward he must be stiled Duke of *Orleans*. He afterwards gave him the Seignory of *Montargis* to hold, till it should amount to 100000 Livres, besides which he had a Patent of 560000 Livres annual Pension. In the mean time the Cardinal being intent upon the prosecution of the rest of his Enemies, *Soissons* retired into *Italy*, and *Ornano* dying in prison of a Fever, the Cardinal's Enemies reported he had poison'd him.

Before

Before the King left *Bretagne*, he held an Aſſembly of the States of that Province, the Government whereof he took away from the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and gave it to the Mareſchal *de Themines*. But not to dwell upon things of this nature, and juſt but to mention the Death of the Conſtable *Leſdeguieres* at the Age of fourſcore, who left great Wealth to his Son-in-law the Mareſchal *de Crequi*; we are to ſhew, that the King called an Aſſembly of Notables to meet in the beginning of *December*, and the ſame ended the 24*th* of *Febr.* this Year. Beſides the King, Queen-Mother and *Orleans*, who was Preſident, and was aſſiſted by the Cardinal *de la Valette* and the Mareſchal *de la Force*, and *Baſſompierre*, it was compoſed of the firſt and ſecond Preſidents of the Parliament of *Paris*, of the firſt Preſidents of eight other Parliaments, of the Procurators, of the firſt and ſecond Preſidents of the Chambers of Accounts of *Paris*, *Roan*, and *Dijon*, with their Procurators General, of thoſe of the three Courts of Aids, of the Lieutenant Civil of *Paris*, of ſix Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt, of ſix of the Council, and of twelve Prelates. The King told the Aſſembly, That he had called them together to remedy the Diſorders of the State: He was followed by *Morilla* the Keeper of the Seals, by *Schomberg*, *Richlieu*, the Preſident of *Paris*, and others; and all tended to get Money, and blindly to follow the Dictates of the Miniſters, who would have nothing propoſed, but what they approved of; ſo that in reality nothing more need be ſaid of them. *Aſſembly of Notables.* 1627.

In the mean time they were full of new Projects of War againſt the *Engliſh* and the *Rochellers*, and the King having diſſolved the Office of Admiral, which was enjoyed by the Duke of *Montmerancy*, gave part of his Functions to *Richlieu*, in whoſe behalf he erected the new Office of Grand Maſter, Head and Superintendant General of the Navigation and Commerce of *France*; and a few days after the Cardinal went into Parliament to take poſſeſſion, with a great number of Clergy and Nobility. But to come now more particularly to the Affairs of the *Rochellers*; it having been agreed by the laſt Peace that the Fort of *Tadon* built by them ſhould be demoliſhed, they ſoon after effectually began to pull it down; but ſeeing that *Fort Louis* was

not only ſtill ſtanding, but that *Thoiras*, to whom the King had given the Government of the Iſle of *Rhee*, built there a great Fort near *St. Martins*, beſides that of *de la Pree*, they found that the Peace which was granted them was only to gain time; ſo that they left off demoliſhing *Tadon*, and by *Soubize* petitioned the King of *England* to aſſiſt them againſt the Deſigns of the Court: They alſo ſent one *Blancard* to *London*, who negotiated this Affair with good Succeſs, eſpecially ſeeing that *Buckingham*, out of a Pique to *Richlieu* and the *French*, ſo mightily favoured it, that the *Engliſh* began without any formal Declaration of War to ſeize the *French* Ships that were in their Harbours, and took two Men of War from *Diep* and *Havre de Grace*. The *French* hereupon forbad all Commerce with *England*, and ordered all the *Engliſh* Effects to be ſeized; and for fear of a Deſcent in *France*, all Precaution imaginable was taken for the Security of the Coaſt: The King reſolved to go towards *Poictou* and *Santonge*, but fell ſick of a Fever at *Villeroy*; before which he had named his Brother *Orleans* to be Lieutenant General of his Armies, and *Baſſompierre* and *Schomberg* to command under him. The King was ſtill ſick, when News came of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s having made a Deſcent on the Iſle of *Rhee*, and forced *Thoiras* to fly into *St. Martins*. The Duke at the ſame time ſent ſome Men of War to cruiſe at the Mouths of the *Loire* and *Garonne*, and ſoon after publiſhed a Manifeſto, not only to excuſe his Deſign in reſpect to *France*, but endeavoured to make the *Engliſh* believe, that pure Zeal of Religion had induced the King of *England* to this Action.

Engliſh break with France.

Land in the Iſle of Rhee.

In the mean time the Duke of *Roan* was to form the Body of an Army in *Poictou*, and alſo publiſhed a Manifeſto to excite the People to take up Arms; but the Reformed Nobility, thro ſome ſiniſter end or other being not of a piece, and many of them oppoſing the Brave *Roan*, he was not able to draw many Men together in *Poictou* becauſe of this and the King's Army there, and therefore he retired to *Languedoc*, where he raſed ſeveral Towns; but the Court ſent the Prince of *Conde* thither to oppoſe him, as alſo *Galland* a Counſellor of State and a *Hugonot*, to divert the People of that Religion from taking up Arms. But

But to return to *Buckingham*, he inſtead of imploying Art and Force in taking the Fort, into which *Thoiras* was retreated, before it could be relieved, thought to ſtarve it, yet without abſolutely blocking it up. In the mean time *Thoiras* ſent word to Court of the Straits he was reduced to, and how at the ſame time Relief might eaſily enter the Iſland by the Fort *de la Pree*, and attack the *Engliſh*; upon which the Cardinal, contrary to the Opinion of moſt of the Counſellors, carried it, that a Body of Men ſhould be forthwith tranſported thither. In the interim the King's Tertian Ague being remitted, he went to his Army in order to the blocking of *Rochel*; and at laſt between the 5*th* and 6*th* of *November* at night, a Body of 6000 men under the Command of *Schomberg* and *Marillac*, landed in the Iſle of *Rhee* without any great Reſiſtance, and next day drew themſelves up in Battalia in order to attack the *Engliſh* in their Trenches. *Buckingham* met them, and after a Fight wherein the *French* ſaid he loſt near 2000 men, he retreated in good Order, till having paſſed the Borough *de la Covard*, and finding himſelf at the Entrance of the Paſſage which brought the *Engliſh* to their Barks, they fell into diſorder by embarking; and they had loſt a great number of Men on this occaſion, if the Night that came on had not hindred the *French* from purſuing them. On the other hand, when *Thoiras* ſaw the Trenches almoſt deſerted, he made a Sally with 800 men, and routed thoſe the Duke had left therein. All that could recover the Fleet embarked with the reſt, and ſailed, to the no ſmall diſgrace of him that headed them.

Engliſh *beat out of the Iſle of* Rhee.

After this Victory the Blockade of *Rochel* daily continued on the Land-ſide, and the Court thought to reduce that City the Campagn enſuing; and that they might meet with no further Interruption from the *Engliſh*, they ſend their Priſoners home very kindly without any Ranſom; while the Deputies of *Rochel* having got wind of a Negotiation like to follow between the two Crowns, preſented a Memorial to King *Charles*, wherein, after they had given him thanks for the Succours he had ſent them the Summer paſt, they ſhewed him that the Peace which was ſpoken of might perhaps be only a Snare laid for him to withdraw him from

the Intereſt of the *Rochellers*, that they might more eaſily be deſtroyed: That if a Treaty were entred into, it would cauſe a Delay to the Preparations that were making for their Relief, and the leaſt ſtop put to that would be pernicious to them: That the very Report of a Peace would cauſe thoſe of the Reformed in *France* who had a deſign to take up Arms for the Preſervation of *Rochel*, to ſtay at home, and would entirely diſperſe the Duke of *Roan*'s Army: That in the mean while thoſe who blocked up *Rochel*, would have time to build up the Forts they had begun about that City: That they had likewiſe undertaken to dam the Port of *Rochel* by a Fence, which would ſo embaraſs its Entrance, that it would render it almoſt unpaſſable; and thereby no Proviſion being to be got to the Town, it would be reduced to Extremity, becauſe it had conſumed the beſt part of what it had to provide for his Majeſty's Fleet: That the Opportunity of relieving it being paſt, all the Strength of *Europe* would not be able to deliver it: That if it ſhould happen the Treaty ſhould afterwards be broken, he would be expoſed to the Railleries of his Enemies, and the City be forced to ſubmit to the Yoke of a provoked and victorious Maſter. *Buckingham* was indeed forward enough for his part to relieve them both with Men and Proviſions; but for the reſt, things began now to be manag'd ſo ſtrangely in *England*, that we had better paſs them over in ſilence, than ſay any thing of them in this Place.

Siege of Rochel. 1628.

In the mean time the King and Cardinal cauſed new Forts to be made the more cloſely to block up *Rochel*; but this would not do, unleſs you could ſhut them up alſo by Sea, which *Targan* an *Italian* Engineer tried to do ſeveral times to no purpoſe; for the Storms or Tides only carried away all that he placed in the Entrance of the Haven. At laſt the Cardinal propoſed to make a Ditch of Stone, and in the middle of it to leave a Paſſage for the Tide; which Work was begun on one ſide of the Gulph, which made the Harbour of *Rochel* of 740 Fathom Breadth, where the Cannon of the Town could not reach. To frame this Fence they drove great Piles into the Sea, travers'd them with others, and put great Stones into them; they alſo ſunk

ſeveral

several Veſſels laden with Stones to ſupport them. It was at the bottom twelve Fathom wide, and went ſloping towards the top, where it was four; ſo that the Soldiers that guarded it were always dry: There were alſo many Ships to defend it within and without, and Artillery on both the Banks. Whilſt they were working at this Fence, the *Spaniſh* Fleet under *Toledo* arrived there to the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, tho in a very bad Condition, and with it *Leganes* and *Spinola*, to which laſt eſpecially the King ordered all the Works to be ſhewed, who diſliked ſome of them, and ſaid, there were but two ways to take it, which was to cloſe up the Haven, or open the Purſe. But when he went into *Spain*, inſtead of adviſing the King, as *Olivarez* had done, to help on the Ruin of the *Rochellers*, he counſelled him to aſſiſt them.

Now the *Spaniſh* Fleet joining that of the *French*, and making in all a hundred Veſſels ſmall and great, the *Engliſh* would not adventure to ſend a Convoy of Victuals, Wood and Coals, which was ready, to *Rochel*: But on the other hand, the Marine Work not advancing very much, and the King being weary of ſtaying ſeven Months in Camp, went for *Paris*, where ſome Affairs of State required his Preſence; but before his Departure he made *Richlieu* Lieutenant General of his Armies in *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, *Angoumois* and *Aunis*, with full Power over all his Troops, Horſe and Foot, *French* and Foreigners, and expreſly enjoin'd *Angouleſme*, *Baſſompierre*, *Schomberg*, and the reſt of the Officers, to obey him, as they ought to do the King when perſonally preſent. *Richlieu made General.*

The King being gone, the Works were ſo far from ceaſing, that notwithſtanding the Seaſon, and the Sallies of the Beſieged, they at laſt ſo well finiſhed the Lines of Circumvallation, that the Forts were all in a ſtate of Defence, and had mutual Communication; but the Dam advanced more ſlowly, as meeting with more Oppoſition. The Cardinal at the ſame time foreſeeing the Length of the Siege, took great care to pay and provide well for the Army; and a little after the King's Departure ſummoned the *Rochellers* in vain to ſurrender: Neither was he more ſucceſsful in his Deſign of retarding the falſe Port of *Salines*, the new Gate of

St. Nicholas, and to ſcale the Baſtions of the Gabut and of the Goſpel, to endeavour to break the Chain, and ſurprize the Fort of *Tadon*, whilſt ſome falſe Alarms were given in other Places. This was on the 11*th* of *March* at Night; they alſo failed in another Enterprize on the Fort of *Tadon* two Days after.

While theſe things were tranſacted, they began to want many Things in *Rochel*, and were forced to open the Magazines of Corn and Salt-Meat to private Perſons, and diſtribute thoſe Proviſions which were in no good Condition with extraordinary Ceremony; but notwithſtanding the great Prudence of the Mayor and others, many Soldiers deſerted to the Enemy, and the Cardinal would not let the Duke of *Roan*'s Mother, and her Daughter-in-law come out of *Rochel*, for fear they ſhould cabal for that Duke, who then made War in *Languedoc*, and created a great deal of Trouble to the Prince of *Conde*, *Montmorency* and others, who commanded for the King in that Province. In the mean time, the *Rochellers* had waited with Impatience for the Spring-Tide of the Equinox of *March* which is commonly the greateſt, but it had no great effect on the Dyke; however ſome Barks came in that brought them a little Corn, and News of the Succours from *England* which were ſuddenly to depart. The Cardinal being informed hereof, and the *Spaniſh* Fleet being gone, it was thought fit the King ſhould return to the Camp, where arriving on the 24*th* of *April* accordingly, a few Days after the *Engliſh* Fleet appeared conſiſting of fifty Men of War and Forty Victuallers which made that of *France* range it ſelf in the Channel between the two Points, and the Stoccado of ſunk Veſſels was furniſhed with a Regiment on each Side. They cauſed thirty ſix Galleots to enter between the Dyke and the City, and on each of them were put twenty Men more than ordinary to oppoſe the Sallies of the *Rochellers*. The Storm which was violent for ſome Days, hindred the *Engliſh* from attempting any thing; but at laſt eight Days after their Arrival, the Men of War advanced within Cannon-ſhot of the *French* Fleet, on whom they diſcharged all their Artillery, but did no more, only one of their Shallops got into *Rochel*. The Retreat of the *Engliſh* without attempting any

Engliſh *fail to relieve* Rochel.

any thing, extremely enraged the *Rochellers* againſt the Earl of *Denbigh* who commanded, altho they promiſed to ſend them ſuddenly a more powerful Aſſiſtance.

The Cardinal thereupon wrote a Letter to the *Rochellers*, to exhort them to ſubmit, which they refuſed in hopes the *Engliſh* would at laſt relieve them; and then having an Opportunity to write them another, which hapned to be on the ſame Day wherein the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſtabbed at *Portſmouth* by *Felton*, as he was going on board for the Relief of *Rochel*; he no ſooner had the News of it, but he cauſed ſome Propoſitions to be made to them, which they would not yet hearken to, tho they were reduced to the utmoſt Extremity, and that a great many of them lived upon nothing but Cockles and Roots, which was difficult to find. Many of the Magiſtrates were for capitulating, but the Mayor ſupported by moſt of the People oppoſed this Deſign; while the contrary Party to gain the People by pity, took a Reſolution to put all the unprofitable Mouths out of the Town, thinking that the People affected with ſo ſad a Separation, would reſolve to ſurrender; but the Beſiegers drove them back with Musket-ſhot, and they were forced to lie in ſome Medows below the Lines and the City, where they lived on Herbs; and the King and Cardinal were ſo far from pitying them, that by firing upon them, they cauſed the Beſieged to take them in again. *Miſery of the Rochellers.*

The King by this time threatned to give them no quarter if they did not ſurrender, and the *Rochellers* themſelves offered to beg Pardon with Ropes about their Necks, provided they might have their Privileges in relation to their Religion and Magiſtracy, without ſaying any more about demoliſhing of Fort *Lovis*, or thoſe on the Iſles of *Rhee* and *Oleron*; they alſo demanded Pardon for *Roan* and *Soubize*, as well as the Citizens of *Languedoc*; and that Peace alſo ſhould be made with *England*. To this the Cardinal anſwered, the King would abſolutely puniſh *Roan* and *Soubize*; That for the Cities of *Languedoc*, they ſhould be treated with ſuch Mildneſs as they deſerved; That as to *England*, it was not for them to preſcribe to the King

King what he had do, and that it was enough for themſelves that they were not puniſhed according to their Deſerts, for having drawn *France* into a War on that ſide.

Engliſh *Fleet comes to relieve* Rochel *again.*

This Anſwer being no way pleaſing to the poor *Rochellers*, the Siege went on. At laſt the *Engliſh* Succours commanded by the Earl of *Lindſey* appeared in ſight of the Iſle of *Rhee*, on the 28*th* of *Sept.* conſiſting of 70 Veſſels, and were followed next Day by 30 more. The whole *French* Army which was 20000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, were many Days in Arms to repulſe the *Engliſh*, in caſe they ſhould attempt to maſter the Dyke, which was then wholly finiſhed, and only 50 Geometrical Paces left open for the courſe of the Tide. The *Engliſh* for the firſt five Days did nothing but coaſt along the Shoars, to look on the *French* Army, and fire a few Cannon; but on the 3*d* of *Oct.* the Fleet ſtood right into the Channel, and the Vanguard, wherein was *Soubize* and a great Number of *Rochellers*, after they had made ſeveral Broad-ſides to gain the Wind, advanced within Cannon-ſhot of the *French* Fleet; the main Battel and the Rear-guard did the ſame, and all the Fleet returned three times to the Charge in the ſame Order, while the Tide laſted: They endeavoured alſo ſeveral times to make uſe of their Fireſhips to no purpoſe, as well as the reſt of the Attempts they made were; and indeed the *French* with a great deal of Reaſon ſay, there was but little Sincerity in the *Engliſh* at this time, eſpecially ſince the Lord *Montague* would have a private Conference with the Cardinal about an Accommodation contrary to the Inclinations of the Deputies of *Rochel*, and K. *Charles* only aſſiſted *Rochel*, to avoid the Diſcontents of his People, who earneſtly deſired their Relief.

In the mean time, the Cardinal cunningly cauſed the *French* on board the *Engliſh* Fleet, and now diſtruſtful of them, to be told it would be a Shame and Diſadvantage to them, to ſuffer an Agreement to be made for them by a Foreign Prince, who conſidered not their Intereſt ſo much as his own; and that they would make their Conditions better, if they implored the King's Clemency: Upon which ſome of them having obtained a ſafe Conduct, waited upon the Cardinal,

nal, by whoſe means he ſo wrought upon the *Rochellers*, that they ſent out their Deputies to treat about giving up the Place, which was now reduced to very great Miſery; and having after many Difficulties ſigned the Articles on the 28*th* of *Octob.* was given up accordingly, and with it I may truly ſay, the Liberties of *France*; and this the Mareſchal *de Baſſompierre* was ſo ſenſible of, that tho he were then actually againſt it, he ſaid, *I think we ſhall be ſuch Fools at laſt, as to take* Rochel. It's very remarkable, that the fair Weather ended the very Day of the Reducement of *Rochel*, and that the Dyke in the Sea began preſently after to deſtroy it ſelf; the King walking upon it on the ſide of *Coreille*, a Joyce fell down under him, and had he not readily caſt himſelf on the other ſide, he had fallen into the Sea; and the Storm was ſo great eight Days after, that it threw down forty Fathom of the Fences, and a Ship that was by a Guſt of Wind drove againſt it, broke four or five Machines without hurting it ſelf; which may let us know what the *Engliſh* might have done againſt the Dyke, if they had attempted to have broken it. It's a lamentable Story to relate, that the *Rochellers* before they would ſurrender, were reduced to ſo great Extremity, that above 15000 Perſons died of Famine or Diſeaſes, proceeding from too little Suſtenance or ill Diet; and thoſe who remained alive were ſo pale and thin, that they reſembled rather Skeletons than Living Perſons; nay they tell us, ſome having prepared their own Coffins, laid themſelves down in them in the Church-yards, to wait their Paſſage by dire Famine into another World. However the Cardinal to do him Juſtice, took great care of the Living, by diſtributing Proviſions amongſt them, and clearing the City of the Dead Corps that in great Numbers remained unburied in private Houſes and elſewhere; whole Families being dead for want, and others ſeeing themſelves at a Wake of the ſame Nature, no Perſon took care to bury the Dead, and the Houſes being ſhut, ſerved for Sepulchres to thoſe that inhabited them.

Rochel ſurrendered.

Before the King's Departure from *Rochel*, he publiſhed a Declaration concerning that City, which contained twenty ſix Articles; the Principal of which were,

King's Declaration againſt Rochel.

were, That there ſhould be a free and Publick Exerciſe of the Catholick Religion in *Rochel*, and the Country of *Artois*; That the Churches demoliſhed ſhould be rebuilt, and reſtored to thoſe to whom they belonged before, with their Church-yards, Houſes and Dependencies; That a ſufficient Revenue ſhould be aſſigned to the Curates, who had no means to live on, to maintain themſelves according to their Quality, out of the Demeaſns which belonged to the Town-Houſe of the City; That they ſhould ſet up a Croſs in the Place of the Caſtle, with an Inſcription on the Pedeſtal, touching the Reduction of the City; and That every Year on the *1ſt* of *Novemb.* a general Proceſſion ſhould be made for Thankſgiving; That the Church-yard that had been conſecrated in the Territory of *Coreille*, and wherein the greateſt Part of thoſe of the King's Army who died during the Siege were buried, ſhould be kept in good condition, without Prophanation; and That a Convent of Minims ſhould be erected there, who ſhould pray for the Souls of the Deceaſed; That the Building which was in the Place of the Caſtle, where they formerly preached, ſhould be converted into a Cathdral Church, which ſhould be erected to a Biſhoprick, at leaſt the neareſt Epiſcopal See ſhould be transferred thither by the Pope's Leave; That the Mayoralty, Sheriffalty, the Body and Community of the City, the Order of Peers and that of Burgeſſes ſhould be ſuppreſt for ever; and that the Steeple, which ſhould be for calling together the Aſſemblies of the City, ſhould be founded; That the Walls, Ramparts, Baſtions, and all the other Fortifications, except the Towns of *St. Nicholas*, of the *Chain*, and of the *Lanthorn*, and the Walls on the Sea-ſide, which were neceſſary to ſecure the Inhabitants againſt the Incurſions of Pirats, ſhould be raſed, their Foundations demoliſhed, and their Ditches filled; ſo that the City ſhould be open on all ſides without ever being re-fortified for the future, nor any Wall to be hereafter made, no not for the Incloſure of a Garden; That the City ſhould be for the future liable to Taxes, and yet for the Incouragement of Trade, the Impoſition ſhould be moderated to 4000 Livres, which ſhould be inſtead of the like impoſed formerly for the

Sub-

Subvention; That no Stranger or Foreigner ſhould again inhabit there, tho he had obtained Letters of Naturalization; That the ſame Prohibition ſhould be of force, in regard of thoſe who made Profeſſion of the pretended Reformed Religion, or any other than the Roman Catholick Religion, none of which were to become new Inhabitants, at leaſt if they did not dwell there as Houſe-keepers before, or were not gone or departed upon account of the Deſcent of the *Engliſh*; That in fine, for the Maintenance of this new Polity, which equally concerned Religion and the Civil Government, there ſhould be an Intendant of Juſtice in the City, and in the Provinces of *Aunis*, *Poictou*, and *Saintonge*, whoſe Juriſdiction ſhould extend from the *Loire* to the *Garonne* and *Gironde*.

But to leave unhappy *Rochel*, during whoſe Siege *Conde* and *Montmerancy* carried on the War in *Languedoc* againſt *Roan*; the Duke of *Nevers* ſometime before become Duke of *Mantua* by Succeſſion (about marrying of whoſe Daughter *Orleans* made a mighty Buſtle) obtained a Promiſe of Succours from the *French*, before his Departure for *Italy*, againſt the Duke of *Savoy*'s Pretenſions upon *Montferat*. The Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second refuſed to confer the Inveſtiture upon him, but would have both Dutchies ſequeſtred into his Hands, till the matter were decided, and this Sequeſtration the *Spaniards* would take upon them to put in execution. In the mean time *Savoy* lays cloſe Siege to *Caſal*, and *Uxelles* with ſome Thouſands of *French* failing to make his way to relieve it, *Richlieu* uſed all his Arguments with the King to aſſiſt powerfully the Duke of *Mantua*, now much diſtreſſed for want both of Men and Money, to the diſguſt of the Duke of *Orleans*, who had been appointed General for the Expedition, to go and head his Army in Perſon: Having therefore acquainted the Parliament of *Paris* with his Reſolutions, and publiſhed an Amneſty thro all the *Hugonot* Cities, and to all of that Party, who ſhould within fifteen Days accept of the Pardon he offered them, not excepting *Roan* and *Soubize*, he on the 15*th* of *Jan.* began his March; the Duke of *Savoy* would have amuſed him and the Cardinal with ſome Propoſals, but the Cardinal having Intelligence that the

King marches for Italy. 1629.

the *Spaniſh* Troops under *Gozales* were much advanced, and ſome of them already entered into *Suſa*; after he had held a Council of War with the three Mareſchals *de Crequi*, *Baſſompierre* and *Schomberg*, they reſolved on the 6*th* of *March*, to attack the Barricadoes the Duke had made on the way to *Suſa*: The King and the Cardinal appeared about ſeven in the Field, attacked the Palizadoes in the Front, while the other Troops paſſed on the Tops of the Mountains to the Right and Left, and no ſooner appeared on the Flanks of the *Piedmontois*, but they fled and gave up the Paſſes to the *French*, who purſued them with ſo much Vigour, that if the *French* General had been minded, their People might have entred Pellmell with the Fugitives into *Suſa*, which Place the Duke of *Savoy* ordered the Governor to ſurrender next Day. On the 8*th* of *March*, *Crequi* and *Baſſompierre* (for *Schomberg* was wounded) paſſed the *Dore*, and incamped at *Buſſolongo*, from whence the King having ſent a Complement to the Princeſs of *Piedmont* his Siſter at *Turin*, the Duke was quickly brought to agree, that the *French* Army ſhould march thro his Territories for the Relief of *Caſal*, while the King on his part engaged to obtain for him, from the Duke of *Mantua*, *Trino*, with Lands of 15000 Gold Crowns Annual Rent, till which he conſented the Duke ſhould keep what he had taken in *Montferat*.

Routs the Piedmontois.

An Accommodation agreed on.

The King ſtaid ſome time at *Suſa*, to ſee the Execution of the Treaty, but ſent *Thoiras* away with 3000 Foot and 400 Horſe to the Service of the Duke of *Mantua*, and to oppoſe any new Enterprizes which might be made againſt him. Here it was that he concluded two important Treaties, one was a League with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Savoy*, for the Preſervation of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Eſtates, and the Repoſe of *Italy*; the other was the Concluſion of a Peace with *England*, by the Mediation of the Republick of *Venice*. Theſe things done, and the King having received the Viſits of *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, his Son *Victor Amadeus*, and of his Spouſe the Princeſs of *Piedmont*, left *Suſa* on the 28*th* of *April*, and in his Return over the *Alps* cauſed a Pillar to be erected in the Common Road upon one of the higheſt

French *make a Peace with* England.

highest Mountains with this ostentatious Inscription: *To the Eternal Memory of* Lewis XIII. *King of* France *and* Navarre, *most Gracious, Victorious, Happy and Just; a Conqueror, who having overcome all Nations of* Europe, *hath triumph'd also over the Elements of Heaven and Earth, having passed over these Hills in the Month of* March *with his victorious Army, to restore the Princes of* Italy *to their Estates, and to protect and defend his Allies.*

The first thing now the King undertook was to lay siege to *Privas* in *Vivrets*, where the Reformed had not yet laid down their Arms, and wherein were *Roan*'s best Soldiers. On the 26*th* of *May* he became Master of all the Outworks, after a most vigorous Resistance made by *St. Andrew Montbrun*; but having staid too long to capitulate, and it being impossible to defend it any longer, the Garison and Inhabitants endeavoured to save themselves by night in the neighbouring Fort and Mountains: The Castle upon this surrendred at discretion, and the King shewed himself very cruel to the Garison. This done, *Marillac* now a Mareschal of *France*, marched to attack *Alets* in the *Cevennes*, which surrendred on the 7*th* of *June*, the Duke of *Roan* endeavouring in vain to relieve it. This, with the loss of divers other Places, made that Great Man think seriously of an Accommodation; in order to which having convocated an Assembly at *Anduza*, after a most excellent Speech made to them of the necessity they lay under to accept of Terms; the Treaty was signed at *Alets* on the 27*th* of *June*, on condition he and his Brother should be pardoned, have the Enjoyment of their Estates, and Liberty of Conscience to all the *Hugonots*; but yet that the Fortifications of *Nismes*, *Castres d'Uzes* and *Montauban*, which were not yet in the King's Power, should be demolished.

Privas *taken.*

But tho the Court thus triumph'd over the poor *Hugonots*, they were not altogether easy among themselves: The Duke of *Orleans* had still a passionate Affection for the Princess *Mary de Gonzaga*, the Duke of *Mantua*'s Daughter; and the Queen-Mother being so averse to it, that she did all that ever lay in her power to thwart his Design, the Duke at last retreated to *Nancy* to the Duke of *Lorain*, from whence he wrote a long

long Letter to the King, wherein he ſet down the Subjects of his Diſcontent, and above all complained againſt the Cardinal, that he was called Mayor of the Palace at that time, and that he was ſaid to uſurp the Royal Authority: He farther inſiſted upon many Advantages to himſelf upon condition of his Return to Court; that the Duke of *Vendoſme* ſhould be releaſed, and reſtored to his Goyernment; and laſtly, that divers things ſhould be conferred on *Bellegard*, the Preſident *le Coigneux*, and *Pucy-laurens* his principal Counſellors. This Buſineſs of the Flight of *Monſieur*, principally occaſioned by the Queen-Mother's being the means of confining the Princeſs of *Mantua* at *Vicennes*, imbroil'd her and the Cardinal to ſuch a degree, as occaſioned great Troubles afterwards: However, the King ſtood firm by his Miniſter, and was ſo far from giving way to his Mother to ruin him, that he gave him a Patent, wherein he declared him principal Miniſter of State. In the mean time *Bellegard* returned to Court on behalf of *Orleans*, to endeavour to get ſomething for him, and to intreat the Queen-Mother not to be reconciled to the Cardinal. He alſo bad him tell her, that he would marry what Princeſs her Majeſty pleaſed: He agreed to return to *Paris*, and to remain a while at *Orleans* without ſeeing the King, provided they would augment his Allowance of 100000 Livres in a Fund of Lands, which at laſt was granted him by aſſigning to him the Dutchy of *Valois*, beſides what he had already.

But to leave theſe Domeſtick Broils, the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the Duke of *Savoy* having no real Intentions to preſerve the Treaty of *Suſa*, the Emperor ſent a good Body of Troops to invade *Mantua*, while the *French* King having got together an Army of 20000 Foot and 2000 Horſe in *Dauphine*, cauſed Letters Patent to be paſſed to the Cardinal on *December* 24*th*, wherein, after the Encomiums of that Prelate, he gave him the Title of Lieutenant General repreſenting the King's Perſon, which was never before granted to any Perſon whatſoever. It was allowed him to hear and receive the Ambaſſadors of Princes, and Deputies of Towns and Communities, and to ſend them as he ſhould judg neceſſary for the King's Service. It was for him the

Cardinal made Generaliſſimo.

the new Word *Generaliſſimo* was invented, to diſtinguiſh him more eaſily from the Mareſchals *de Crequi*, *Schomberg*, and *de la Force*, who were to ſerve under him in quality of Lieutenant Generals. He arrived at *Lyons* on the 18*th* of *January* this Year, from whence he ſent notice to the Duke of *Savoy*, that he expected according to the Treaty of *Suſa*, he would grant him Paſſage through his Territories, and join his Army with his. The Duke hereupon deſired the Cardinal to have an Interview with the Prince of *Piedmont* his Son at *Pont de Beauvoiſin*. The Cardinal, after long Conſultation with his Generals, would not agree to it; and having failed of ſurprizing the Duke in *Rivoli*, he laid ſiege to *Pignerol*, and in a ſhort time, thro the Cowardice or Treachery of the Governour, became Maſter of that important Place, whereby *France* obtained a Paſſage from *Dauphine* into *Piedmont*, and which ſhe could not ever ſince be forced to part with till our Days by the ſeparate Peace the preſent Duke of *Savoy* made with her in 1696.

Pignerol *taken by the* French.

The Duke of *Savoy*, as well as the Pope's Legate and the *Venetians*, were for having this Place reſtor'd, and the two laſt more particularly for having the Cardinal march to the Relief of the Duke of *Mantua*; but neither could be effected, *France* ſeemed to have gained her Point. In the mean time the King and the whole Court going to *Lyons*, it was concluded there to make a Conqueſt of *Savoy*, thereby to counterballance the Advantages the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards* had made by the Territories of *Mantua*. The Cardinal on the 12*th* of *May* waited upon the King and both the Queens at *Grenoble*, after which the Royal Army proceeded, and in a little time made a Conqueſt of all *Savoy*. In the mean time *Mazarine* came in the quality of a *Nuncio* to treat of Peace, and the Cardinal offered to reſtore *Pignerol*, but on ſuch hard Terms, that there was no appearance the Houſe of *Auſtria* would accept of them.

In the mean time *Spinola* the Governour of *Milan*'s Son took *Poudeſtre*, ill defended by the *French*; ſo that there remained no more than *Caſal*, which belonged to the Duke of *Mantua* in *Montferat*, maintained by the Bravery of *Thoiras*, who was always in the Place. *Spi-*

nola formed the Siege of it on the 23*d* of *May* with 18000 Foot and 6000 Horſe, while the *Germans* at the ſame time began to attack *Mantua*, into which the Mareſchal *d' Eſtree* ſome time before had thrown himſelf without Money or Forces; ſo that he was of little uſe to the Duke, and therefore the Place ſurrendred on the 18*th* of *July*. On the other hand, the *French* having defeated the *Savoyards* under Prince *Thomas*, ſoon after took *Saluces*, much about which time *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* departing this Life, there were great Expectations of a ſudden Peace between his Succeſſor *Victor Amadeus* and his Brother-in-law K. *Lewis*; but inſtead of that, the *French* purſued their Conqueſt, took the Caſtles of *Villa Franca* and *Pontcalier*, after which they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Carignan*; and proceeding ſtill farther, the Nuncio *Mazarine* uſed ſo much Dexterity in his Negotiations, that at laſt he brought the contending Parties to ſign a General Truce from the 4*th* of *September* to the 15*th* of *October*, at which *Spinola*, who had reduced *Caſal* to the utmoſt Extremity, grew ſo melancholy and diſcontented, that he ſoon after ſickned and died.

In the mean time *Guſtavus Adolphus* having fallen upon *Germany*, *Brulant* and Father *Joſeph* concluded a Treaty at *Ratisbone* with the Imperial Ambaſſadors, wherein, after the regulating of what *Nevers* ſhould give to the Pretenders to the Succeſſion of *Mantua*, the Emperor promiſed him the Inveſtiture, provided he asked it with Submiſſion. On the other hand, the Truce being expired in *Italy*, *Mazarine* with infinite trouble and hazard, not only prevented the *French* and *Spaniards* from coming to a Battel, but brought them to agree to theſe Terms: That the *Spaniards* ſhould quit the Town and Caſtle of *Caſal*, *Pendeſture*, *Roſſignano*, *Nizzo de la Paille*, and *Caſtle Pouzone*, and at the ſame time the *French* ſhould quit the Cittadel of *Caſal*: That till the 23*d* of *November*, when the Emperor was to give the Inveſtiture to the Duke of *Mantua*, there ſhould be an Imperial Commiſſary with his Family only remaining there, of whom the Gariſon ſhould receive Orders, without his being further concerned: That the Governors which the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould ſend to other Places, ſhould be preſented to this Com-

Peace in Italy.

Commiſſary, who ſhould diſpatch their Patents without taking any Oath of them: That on the 23*d* of *November* the Inveſtiture being agreed or refuſed to the Duke of *Mantua*, this Commiſſary ſhould go out of *Caſal* or *Montferat*: That on the 27*th* of *October* the Emperor and King of *Spain*'s Armies ſhould begin to march out of *Montferat*, and that the *French* ſhould at the ſame time do the like: That there ſhould be Liberty of Commerce between *Montferat* and the *Milaneſe*; and that it being impoſſible for the *Spaniards* ſo ſuddenly to withdraw their Ammunition and Artillery, ſome Days ſhould be given to do it.

In the mean time K. *Lewis* about the latter end of *September* fell ſick at *Lyons* of an Impoſtume in the Meſentery, which made his Belly ſwell; and the Phyſicians not knowing the Cauſe of his Malady, gave him for loſt without retrieve; but this Impoſtume breaking, and the Matter running out by Stools, he ſoon recovered his Health. As ſoon as the Court was arrived at *Paris*, the King went to *St. Germains* and *Verſailles*, and the Queen-Mother to her Palace at *Luxemburg*, where it was that her Hatred to the Cardinal began to break forth; and all the King's Endeavours were ſo far from heartily reconciling them, that the Queen and the Duke of *Orleans* ſticking together, the latter at laſt after a Recital to the Cardinal of his ſuppoſed ill Uſage, mounted his Coach, and in diſcontent retired to *Orleans*. On the other hand, the Cardinal having adviſed the King to go to *Compeign*, to endeavour to draw the Queen-Mother thither from *Paris*, where ſhe was well beloved; ſhe for the ſupporting of her ſelf, and ſuſpecting no Deſign formed againſt her, followed him thither, where the Cardinal having made his Party good, the King reſolved to abandon his Mother, and to leave her under a good Guard in *Compeign*. The Mareſchal *d' Eſtree* was the Officer appointed to execute the Orders, and to cauſe the Princeſs of *Conti* to depart from *Eu* in *Normandy*, without permitting her to ſee the Queen, or paſs thro *Paris*. The Dutcheſſes of *Ornano* and *Elbeuf* were alſo ordered to retire from Court; and *Baſſompierre*, without being accuſed of any thing elſe but too much Complaiſance to the Princeſs of *Conti*, was ſent to the *Baſtile*;

King ſick.

1631.

Queen-Mother confin'd.

ſtile, as was alſo *Vautier* the Queen-Mother's Phyſician, and all to gratify the Revenge of the Cardinal.

Now the Duke of *Orleans*, who had made ſome Preparations for War, and to keep *Orleans* by Force, retired in *March* to *Burgundy*, when he ſaw the King approach to ſeize him before he was ready: From thence he retreated to *Beſanſon*, and the King who followed him, cauſed at *Dijon* the Count of *Moret*, the Dukes of *Elbeuf*, *Rouannes* and of *Bellegarde*, *Coygneux*, *Puylaurens*, and all the reſt that were with him, to be proclaimed Traitors. Whereupon the Duke ſent a Petition to the Parliament of *Paris*, wherein he ſaid, he was gone out of the Kingdom by reaſon of the violent Perſecution of *Richlieu*, who had made an Enterprize on his Perſon, and that of the Queen-Mother, and in the ſequel to attempt that of the King, and make himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom: He oppoſed the King's Declaration, and required an Act of his Oppoſition, as well as what he gave in Form againſt the Cardinal. But the King by an Order of Council ordered this Petition to be ſuppreſt as ſcandalous. The Queen-Mother alſo preſented a Requeſt to the ſame Parliament, wherein ſhe ſet forth, that without any thing againſt the King or the Government, ſhe was detained under a ſtrict Guard at *Compeign*, with mighty Complaints againſt *Richlieu*: And being informed ſoon after that the Mareſchals *Schomberg* and *d' Eſtree* were come to *Compeign* with 1200 Horſe, to take her away by Force, ſhe retired to *Flanders*, and was very honourably received by the *Infanta* at *Bruſſels*; and this the Cardinal failed not to improve to his own advantage, and the better eſtabliſhing himſelf in his Maſter's Favour.

Queen-Mother makes her Eſcape.

About this time the King having ſent to the Parliament of *Paris* the ſame Declaration which he had cauſed to be confirmed in that of *Dijon*, wherein he declared all the Adherents of *Orleans* to be guilty of Treaſon, the Parliament made much difficulty of confirming it without any foregoing Deliberation, as the King had deſired them: But the King commanding their Attendance at the *Louvre*, and ordering their Regiſter to be brought before him, he tore out their Vote of Separation to pieces himſelf, in order to have the Decree of the Council inſerted in its place, which pro-

hibited the Parliament from deliberating any more upon Declarations concerning State Affairs, upon pain of Interdiction to the Counſellors, and of ſomething worſe, as the King ſhould think fit. It was likewiſe ordered, that for a Puniſhment of the Fault committed by the Parliament, the Declaration ſent them ſhould be drawn back, and they prohibited from taking any knowledg of the Contents thereof. The King farther, as a ſign of his Diſpleaſure, ſuſpended and exiled two Preſidents of the Court of Inqueſt, and a Counſellor, who nevertheleſs were immediately afterwards reeſtabliſhed.

Thus with a high hand did the King, or rather his haughty Favourite the Cardinal, carry all before him, who was created now a Duke and Peer of *France*, and upon the Deceaſe of *Themines*, made Governour of *Bretagne*. On the other hand, *Orleans* having always entertained a good Correſpondence with the Duke of *Lorain*, endeavoured to engage him in his Party; and that Duke having in reality raiſed ſome Forces, the King and the Cardinal with an Army reſolved to march to the Frontiers; but firſt, in order to have the Declarations againſt thoſe that eſpouſed the Queen-Mother's Party put in execution, there was a Chamber of Juſtice conſtituted, the Declaration for the eſtabliſhing of which the Parliament refuſed to own, unleſs the Members that compoſed it were all taken out of their Body: But the Court would carry their Point, and did afterwards eſtabliſh another Chamber of Demeſne to follow them, and put their Orders in execution. On the other hand, the Parliament ſeeing their Authority would fall at laſt to nothing, and that no body's Innocence would be ſecured againſt the exceſſive Power of the Miniſter, ſummoned an Aſſembly of all the Chambers, wherein it was concluded that a Remonſtrance ſhould be made to the King concerning extraordinary Commiſſions, and in the mean while a Prohibition directed to the Commiſſioners to act by extraordinary Proceedings: They alſo publiſhed a Decree purſuant to this Reſolution, which the King cauſed to be diſannulled in Council.

The King's Army had in the mean time ſeized on all the Places in *Lorain*, to which he had any Pretenſions, *Mayenvic* only excepted, which was inveſted in

the Name of the Biſhop of *Metz*, the King being not willing to declare openly againſt the Emperor. The Place being ill provided, ſurrendred on the 27*th* of *December*; whereupon the Duke of *Lorain*, in order to ſave himſelf, went to the King and Cardinal at *Metz*, who in outward appearance received him very kindly, and after ſome Negotiations concluded a Treaty with *France*, which was ſigned at *Vic* on the 6*th* of *January*, whereby the Duke promiſed to diſengage himſelf from any Intelligence, League or Aſſociation which he had made with any Prince or State whatſoever to the prejudice of the King, his Dominions and Countries under his Obedience or Protection, and to the detriment of the Alliance made by his Majeſty with the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Bavaria*, for the defence of the *German* Liberty, and the Catholick League. He likewiſe obliged himſelf to turn out of his Dominions all the King's Enemies and Subjects who had left the Kingdom without his Leave, and to deny them any Paſſage or Retreat for the future.

1632. *League between* France *and* Lorain.

I ſhould have mentioned before that the Treaty of *Queraſque* was concluded laſt year for the Tranquillity of *Italy*, whereby *Nevers* was confirmed in the Dutchy of *Mantua*, and *Savoy* reſtored by *France* to the Duke of that Name, except *Pignerol*, which the Cardinal would by no means part with. But to paſs over that, I am now to obſerve that the Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris* a little after the Concluſion of the League with the Duke of *Lorain*, waited upon the King at *Metz*, who after a Fortnights ſtay having given them Audience, told them, that for that time he forgave them; but they ought to take care leſt they fell into the ſame fault again, for a Relapſe would prove fatal to them: That he loved his People better than they did: That he took more care of the Glory and Grandeur of the State, and would maintain it better than they: That he forbad them from buſying themſelves about any thing but the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. They anſwered, they had been brought up in a very good School, where they had learned Obedience and Fidelity to his Majeſty. To whom the King replied, they had ſoon forgot what they were taught; after which the Keeper of the Seals made them a long Remonſtrance, wherein he

he reproached them, that they deſigned to divide the Royal Authority with the King: Nevertheleſs he told them his Majeſty ſent them back to the exerciſe of their Offices, except 5 who were ſuſpended from their Places, and order'd to follow the Court to ſerve for an Example.

Orleans, who was then at *Nancy*, was obliged to retire to the *Netherlands*, and the *French* Army advanced to the Frontiers of *Germany*, as if they would have favoured *Guſtavus Adolphus*, tho in reality they began now to grow jealous of his ſtupendious Victories. The Duke of *Lorain* offered his Mediation for the reconciling of the King and his Brother, and received this Anſwer; That if that Prince would return into *France*, a general Pardon ſhould be granted to all thoſe that followed his Party, and that they ſhould be reeſtabliſhed in their Eſtates and Dignities, except only in the Governments which they poſſeſſed before. But neither *Monſieur* nor *Lorain* could by any means reliſh this Offer, which would but the more increaſe the Authority of the Cardinal; and therefore *Orleans* returning again to *Lorain* with ſome Forces, joined them to thoſe the Duke had raiſed. On the other hand, the King and Cardinal being gone into *Picardy*, reduced the Governour of *Calais* (who was in *Monſieur*'s Intereſt) to his Duty, and at the ſame time ordered the Mareſchals *d' Effiat* and *la Force* with an Army to obſerve the Motions of *Monſieur* and the Duke of *Lorain*, who would not at firſt ſtand to the Treaty of *Vic*; but the *French* thereupon falling to work, and having taken *Pont à Mouſſon*, and entirely defeated a Regiment of *Lorain* Horſe, which they ſurprized, the Duke was glad again to come to an Accommodation, and the Treaty on the 26*th* of *June* was concluded between his Commiſſioners and *Richlieu*, whereby the Duke obliged himſelf to deliver up the Towns of *Stenay*, *Tamets* and *Clermont* to the King, and even to ſell him the latter, to which the King had ſome Pretenſions.

Here but juſt to mention the Condemnation and Execution of the Mareſchal *de Marillac*, who fell a Sacrifice to the Reſentments of *Richlieu*, for his having adviſed the Queen-Mother at *Lyons*, when the King was ſick, to have the Cardinal apprehended in caſe his Majeſty died; and that *Pignerol* was conceded to

France by a Treaty of the 5th of *May* this Year: We return to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was the moſt dangerous Enemy the Cardinal had; and as ſoon as it was known he intended to enter *France* with ſome Troops he had gathered from divers Parts, the *Spaniards* were given to underſtand, if they gave him the leaſt Aſſiſtance, it would be looked upon as an Infraction of the Peace of *Vervins*; while the Cardinal promiſed the States General of the United Provinces what they ſhould ask of him, upon condition they ſhould make neither Peace nor Truce with *Spain*. *Orleans* entred *France* by the way of *Baſſigny* with 2000 or 1500 Horſe, and fell upon *Burgundy*, and at the ſame time publiſhed a Declaration, wherein he called the Cardinal a Tyrant, an Uſurper, an Enemy to the King and Royal Family, ſaying, he had taken up Arms for no other intent but to open the King's eyes, and ſhew him how plainly his Miniſter deceived him: He took upon him the Title of Lieutenant General for the King, to redreſs the Abuſes and repreſs the Violences of the Cardinal. Having burnt part of the Suburbs of *Dijon*, he marched to *Auvergne*, while the King at *Paris* was procuring his Declaration to be confirmed againſt the Male-contents, and diſpatching an Army in two Bodies againſt his Brother, under *de la Force* and *Schomberg*. The firſt was very loth to undertake any thing againſt *Orleans*, who finding no one inclined to open a Gate for him in *Burgundy*, and that *Schomberg* ſtraitned one Flank of him, while *la Force* followed him in the Rear, he was forced to caſt himſelf into *Languedoc*, tho the Agreement with ſome Governours of Places had not yet been perfected, and the Arrival of the Ships with the Soldiers from *Italy* being retarded, the *Spaniards* were not in a readineſs to appear in the Field: However, he was received by the Duke of *Montmerancy*, who was diſobliged by the Cardinal's refuſing him the Office of Mareſchal General of the King's Armies, and by many of the Province; but *de Foſſez* Governour of *Montpelier* refuſed to deliver that Place to him. Diſcord began now to ariſe amongſt the Great Ones about the chief Command, and otherwiſe. In the interim *Schomberg* near *Caſtelnodari* meeting *Monſieur* and *Montmerancy*, and ballancing the inferior Numbers

D. of Orleans *in Arms.*

Numbers of his Troops with the advantage of a narrow Paſſage, he charged them with ſo much Boldneſs and good Fortune, that the Count of *Moret*, a natural Son of *Henry* IV. *de Rieux*, and *de la Feuillade* being ſlain at the firſt Rencounter, the reſt were diſperſed. The Noble *Montmerancy* being wounded, was taken Priſoner, while *Orleans* ſaved himſelf by Flight. This Blow brought all the chief Cities to ſubmit, and *Monſieur* himſelf to beg Pardon upon Conditions that ſeemed to exceed the Fortune of one conquered; for he inſiſted upon the Liberty of *Montmerancy*, the Abolition of all Faults for his Followers, the Reſtitution of the Places in *Lorain*, the Return of the Queen-Mother, and a Place of Security for himſelf. But he was poſitively given to underſtand, that his Faults could be covered only by his own Reputation and the King's Clemency; but for the Crimes of others, he ought not to blemiſh himſelf with them, the King being reſolved that from thence forward Rebellion ſhould not be rewarded, and that his Subjects ſhould find no benefit nor ſecurity but in Duty and Obedience. Reduced therefore to be without Followers, and without Places, he was under a neceſſity of receiving any Conditions; *Richlieu* aiming ſo to diſcredit him, that he abandoning thoſe who had taken part with him, no Man for the future would dare to follow, truſt or depend upon him. He was no ſooner retired to *Champagne* his Country-Houſe, but he heard that *Montmerancy* was tried by the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, and condemned to die. Great Interceſſions were made for the Life of this young Duke, in whoſe Perſon alone remained the Great and Illuſtrious Name of *Montmerancy*; but the Cardinal proving inexorable, he underwent the Stroke of the fatal Ax with an Undauntedneſs of Mind equal to the Courage he had ſo often ſhewed, even beyond his Years, againſt his Enemies in the Field, and was the laſt of that Noble Family that by a long Series of Years deſcended down from the Beginning of the *French* Monarchy to this unhappy Lord; to whoſe Father or rather Grandfather, *Henry* IV. uſed to ſay, he was a better Gentleman than himſelf; and it was thought never ſo many Tears had been ſhed in *France* in one Day, as on that of the Duke's Death. *Orleans* being informed of *Mont-*

Orleans *defeated.*

Montmerancy *beheaded.*

Montmerancy's Fate, publiſhed to the World, that in the Treaty with him there had been ſecret Promiſes made of his Indemnity; and therefore complaining of his having been deceived, he not according at all with the Queen Mother, who was ſtill in *Flanders*, and angry with him, becauſe that in the Treaty of *Beſiers* he had been ſo far from ſupporting her Intereſt, that he had not ſo much as made any mention of her, made his Eſcape once more to *Lorain*. The Court beſides ſome other Domeſtick Broils, muſt needs be concerned at this alſo: However the Great *Guſtavus* hapning
1633. to be ſlain before the end of this Year at the Battel of *Lutzen*, made them ſolicitous now about Foreign Affairs; and therefore the King on the firſt of *Jan.* held a Council upon the Affairs of *Germany*, where the Cardinal being for raiſing a good Sum of Money, and for managing matters ſo, that the War might be continued in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, and yet the *French* not declare formally againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, his Advice was purſued accordingly, and to that end it was reſolved to ſend Ambaſſadors Extraordinary to the Emperor, and all the Electors, Catholick and Proteſtant, as alſo to the States-General, to exhort the one to continue the War with Vigour, and to promiſe them Aſſiſtance againſt their Enemies, while they aſſured the latter to live in Peace with them; great Endeavours they alſo uſed to get the Generals *Baudiſſen* and *Horn*, to give up to *France* all the Places they poſſeſt in the Electorates of *Cologn* and *Ments*, and in *Alſatia*.

The Cardinal was at the Head of all theſe Affairs; and the King the more to honour him ſtill, who had been before made Duke and Peer of *France*, held a General Chapter in the Spring, of the Knights of the Holy Ghoſt, and gave the Ribbon to him and Cardinal *La Valette*, and they received the ſame ſtanding; he honoured him with ſeveral Diſhes of Meat from his own Table, and a Rock of Sweet-meats, out of which ſprang an Artificial Fountain of Water; while the Miniſter was endeavouring all he could to keep the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſo well imployed without, that it could make no Advantage of the Broils of the Queen-Mother and *Monſieur*. *Feuquieres* renewed with the Chan-

Chancellor *Oxenſtiern* at *Hailbron*, the League which the Crown of *France* had made with the late King of *Sweden*, and promiſed his Daughter Queen *Chriſtina* ſhould receive the yearly Sum of a Million of Livres to continue the War in *Germany*. The two Crowns obliged themſelves to make no Treaty, but with mutual Conſent, and to ſupport all their Allies. At the ſame time *Richlieu* ſet his Engine at work to break off the Negotiation that was on foot at the *Hague*, between the States General and the Envoys of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, concerning a ſecond Truce between them; and having at laſt effected it by Money and good Management, he brought the States to take the Field, and begin the War again by the taking of *Rhinberg*. *France* properly ſpeaking was now neither at Peace nor open War with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the two Crowns were inclined to follow that ſide which carried the greateſt Advantages with it. They croſſed one another's Deſigns all they could, but the Count Duke who governed *Spain*, being nothing comparable in Dexterity to the Cardinal Duke, who was as it were the Soul of all the Counſels of *France*, the Affairs of *Spain* went every day worſe and worſe. Now to prevent a Communication between the ſeparate Branches of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Roan* who had reſided at *Venice* ever ſince the Peace was concluded with the *Hugonots*, had Orders to go to the *Griſons*, in quality of the King's Ambaſſador and Lieutenant General of the Troops deſigned to be raiſed there, in order to ſecure himſelf of all the Paſſages of the *Valtoline*: The *Spaniards* made loud Complaints hereof, and farther inſiſted, That as the *French* pretended to obſerve the Treaties of *Queraſque* and *Ratisbonne*, they ought to deliver up *Pignerol*, abandon *Caſal*, the Paſſes of the *Valtoline*, withdraw their Gariſons out of *Treves*, reſtore what they had taken from the Duke of *Lorain*, and intermeddle no more with the Affairs of the Empire. The *French* were not wanting for Excuſes on their part, and at the ſame time forgot nothing that might irritate the Enemies of the Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt her; they promiſed the States General to carry on the War, and ſent Money to *Roan* to diſtribute among the *Griſons*,

French *treat with* Sweden.

ſons, who complained they were not paid, and to make new Levies, in order to ſecure the Paſſes; nay ſo far their blind Intereſt prevailed over the *French* Miniſtry, that under divers Pretences of the Duke of *Lorain*'s having made Infractions of the Treaty of *Liverdun*, his Ruin was reſolved on, and the King muſt treat him like a Vaſſal, and confiſcate his Dutchy of *Bar*, becauſe he had not done Homage to the Crown for it; and when the Attorney General had aſſigned this matter to the Parliament of *Paris*, he on the 30*th* of *July* obtained a Decree for it.

Dutchy of Bar *confiſcated.*

At this time the Neighbourhood of the *Swedes* furniſhed the Duke of *Lorain* with a pretence to give out Commiſſions to raiſe 8000 Foot and 1500 Horſe, hoping to be powerfully aſſiſted by the *Spaniſh* Army under the Duke of *Feria*; who croſſing the Country of *Luxemburgh*, had now joined the Imperial Troops in *Alſatia*: But the *Swedes* ſoon after having entirely defeated the *Lorain* Troops, near *Haguenau*, and the Duke being affrighted at this Accident, and the King's Preparations, who marched towards *Lorain* at the Head of his Army, ſent the Cardinal his Brother to wait upon him at *Chaſteau-Thierry*, to endeavour to appeaſe him: He made many large Propoſals to *Richlieu*, and offered to diſſolve the Marriage lately contracted between the Duke of *Orleans* and his Siſter *Margaret*, at which the *French* Court was much diſguſted; nay he would have married *Combalet*, *Richlieu*'s Niece, and his Brother upon that would conſent to leave *Nancy* in the King's Hands, becauſe they ſhould be then ſecure of its Reſtitution: But this not ſatisfying neither, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* having farther propoſed, that ſince the Duke his Brother was ſo unfortunate, as not to be able to engage his Majeſty to put any confidence in him, he was reſolved to reſign his Dominions to him, in caſe the King approved of it; *Richlieu* was ſtill inflexible, and ſo evaded it. The Cardinal of *Lorain* foreſeeing now, that *Nancy* would be ſoon inveſted, took care to ſecure the Eſcape of his Siſter *Margaret* into *Flanders*, where *Orleans* then was; at which the *French* King and Cardinal were much concerned.

In the mean time the Duke of *Lorain* having made but little Preparation for the Defence of his Capital City, his Brother the Cardinal obliged him to ſign a Treaty on the 6*th* of *Novemb.* whereby he promiſed to give it up in three days to the King, to keep ſuch a Gariſon there as he ſhould think fit, till ſuch time as his own good Behaviour or the Peace of *Germany* ſhould convince his Majeſty, that he had nothing to apprehend on that ſide: Beſides which he conſented, that the Marriage of the Princeſs *Margaret* ſhould be declared null in all the Forms, and that within fifteen Days ſhe ſhould be put into the King's Hands, who had agreed that ſhe ſhould tarry at *Nancy*, that he might inform himſelf upon the Place of all the Circumſtances of her Marriage. This done, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* having obtained the King's Leave to go and find out the Duke his Brother, that he might ratify the Treaty, *Lewis* in the *interim* takes *Charmes*, whither the Duke adventured to go in Perſon, and ſtood with much Waveringneſs to what his Brother had agreed; tho after he had paid the Cardinal with a great many fine Words, he thought to retire, without putting *Nancy* actually into the King's Hands; and therefore wrote to the Governor, that notwithſtanding any Letters he might ſend him, he ſhould not open the Gates to the Governor unleſs he ſaw a certain Mark therein, which he had agreed; but the Cardinal as cunning as he, having under pretence of Honour ordered the King's Guards to attend him, and the Duke now growing ſenſible he had no hopes of Eſcape, inſerted the Mark in his Letter, and ſo the *French* Forces entring the Town on the 24*th* of *Septemb.* ſeized all the conſiderable Poſts, built a ſort of a Fort upon the Baſtions of the old City, and diſarmed the Inhabitants, who were too well affected to the Duke.

Nancy ſurrendred to the French.

There were ſome Negotiations now on foot for reconciling the Queen-Mother to the King; but an Accident hapned which muſt needs rather widen than cloſe the Breach, for while the King in his Return from *Lorain* ſtaid at *Metz*, that Parliament condemned one *Alfeſton* to be broke upon the Wheel alive, for having formed a Deſign to kill Cardinal *Richlieu*, if he paſſed thro ſuch a Place: He had not been long com

come from *Bruſſels* with two more in Company, who had belonged to the Queen-Mother's Guards; nay the Horſe he rode on coming out of her Stables, ſhe was ſhrewdly ſuſpected to have been privy to the Deſign; and now under pretence of defaming her, the Beaſt was ſent back to her in the King's Name, with a Deſire ſhe ſhould not ſuffer any ſuch Wicked Deſign to be laid in her Houſe for the future, becauſe that beſides the Perſon of the Cardinal was infinitely dear to him, ſuch profligate Wretches as this was were capable of making ſeveral Attempts of the like Nature.

Towards the end of the Year, the Cardinal of *Lorain* went to *Paris* about his Brother's Affairs, and to treat of his own Marriage with *Richlieu*'s Niece, but met with little Succeſs in either, and was at laſt forced to return without any Determination as to the Marriage; and all that he carried as to the Duke his Brother, was, the Reſtitution of the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Bar*, and a Prorogation of two Months for him to do Homage to the King for them. Time ſoon
1634. ſpun out, and the ſpace of three Months quickly came ſince the Treaty of *Charmes*, when the Duke of *Lorain* not having delivered his Siſter the Princeſs *Margaret* to the King, the *French* Court talked of nothing
D. of Lorain *oppreſt.* but making void the Marriage of *Orleans* with her, which they founded upon this Reaſon, That the Princes of *Lorain* had ſtole the Duke of *Orleans*. Wherefore they reſolved to cite the Duke of *Lorain* before the Parliament of *Paris*, to produce his Reaſons for this pretended Rape. The Cardinal of *Lorain* did all he could to moderate Things, but *Richlieu* was ſtiff, and at the ſame time Orders were ſent to the Parliament of *Metz* to prohibit the Inhabitants of thoſe Places that had been lately taken from the Duke from owning him for their Lord. They were not much better natur'd towards the Queen-Mother and *Orleans*, againſt which laſt the Attorney General now preſented a Requeſt to the Parliament, to declare his Marriage null and void.

In the mean time, *Lorain* being now oppreſt more and more, and ſtudying an Opportunity to retaliate the Injuries he had received; he on the 19*th* of *Jan.* made

made a Donation of his Territories to his Brother *Nicholas Francis* the Cardinal, who immediately gave notice of it to the *French* Court, in hopes they would now act with much more Moderation towards the Brothers, but it ſignified very little; nothing but the Cardinal Duke (as he now ſtiled himſelf) his Marriage with *Richlieu*'s Niece could ſave him, which after all not taking effect, he married his Couſin *Claude de Lorain* publickly, from which Match was produced that great Hero of our Age, *Charles* V. Duke of *Lorain*. As ſoon as the Mareſchal *de la Force* heard of this Marriage, he cauſed *Luneville* to be inveſted, and conducted the new married Couple with the Dutcheſs of *Lorain*, and the Princeſs of *Phaltsburg* to *Nancy*, where they were confined, tho with much Reſpect. Upon this, Duke *Nicholas* ſent to Court to acquaint the King with his Marriage, to deſire *Luneville* to be reſtored, and himſelf and his Princeſs to be ſet at Liberty, ſince he was ready to obſerve all the Treaties made with his Majeſty; but the *French* were ſo far from giving up any thing, that tho Duke *Charles* offered to ſurrender *La Mothe* and *Biche*, two ſtrong Places which he ſtill kept in poſſeſſion, into the King's Hands, if he would ſet his Brother and the Princeſſes at Liberty, yet they choſe rather to take them by Force. In order to which, *La Force* was ordered to block up *La Mothe*, while Duke *Charles* who was in *Alſatia* with the Imperial Army, deſigned to ſurprize the *French* Camp before it; wherefore having obtained ſome Troops of the Imperial Generals, he joined them with his own, and marched on that ſide; but the Rhinegrave *Otho*, who commanded the *Swediſh* Army, prevented him, and cut his Men in pieces, ſo he eſcaped very narrowly with a few Followers into the *Franche Compte*, there to pick up the Remainder of his Army. *D. of Lorain defeated.*

I ſhould have told you before, that the Princeſs of *Phaltsburg* had made her Eſcape out of *Nancy* into *Beſanſon*; and now Duke *Nicholas* and his Wife having found a way to do the ſame, from whence they went to *Florence*, they were much concerned at it in *France*, where they reſolved now to proſecute the matter of *Orleans*'s Marriage with the Princeſs *Margaret*,

ret, and to make it void; and for the better effecting of it, ſome Overtures were made of Reconciliation between the Queen-Mother and the King, leſt ſhe might join Intereſt with *Orleans*, and ſo create them more Trouble, but this came to nothing; while *Monſieur* fearing the worſe, obtained a Decree of the Univerſity of *Lovain*, whereby they adjudged this Marriage with *Margaret* valid. Wherefore the Cardinal and other Miniſters, finding themſelves gravell'd with theſe Procedures, concluded it would be the ſureſt Expedient to get *Orleans* into *France*, as ſuppoſing they could there make him do whatever they had a mind to, for which Reaſon they laboured privately to effect it, tho this Prince pretended to be as far from entring into any Reconciliation as ever he had been. It would be too tedious to enter upon the Particulars of the Negotiation; it's ſufficient to obſerve, That as it was neceſſary it ſhould be concealed from the *Spaniards*, leſt they ſhould detain the Duke's Servants, he had ſo much Artifice as to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with them, which had it been real, might in time be of great Advantage to them, but indeed did only haſten the Treaty for his Return: The Subſtance of which was, That the King and he agreed to be determined, as for what related to the Marriage of the latter, by thoſe Laws which the other Subjects of the King are uſed to be judged by in the like Caſes; the King allowing full Liberty to *Monſieur*, to ſatisfy his Conſcience in that Point by the uſual Methods; That if the Marriage hapned to be diſſolved, he promiſed the King not to marry again without his Conſent; as on his part, the King gave his Word not to conſtrain him to act againſt his Inclinations, and that in whatever Place *Orleans* reſided with the King's Leave, he promiſed to behave himſelf like a true Brother and a good Subject, without maintaining any private Correſpondence which might offend the King; That his Majeſty granted an Amneſty for him and all his Domeſticks, except three or four; That *Monſieur* ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all his Goods, Appenages and Penſions; and that the King ſhould give him immediately upon his Arrival in *France* 400000 Livres, to pay off his Debts at *Bruſſels* and elſewhere, and 100000 Crowns fifteen

Treaty between Lewis *XIII. and his Brother.*

Days

Days after to ſet up his Equipage; That the King ſhould give him the Government of *Auvergne*, inſtead of that of the Province about *Orleans* and *Blois*; That he ſhould keep for him a Company of Gens d' Arms, and another of Light Horſe, conſiſting of 100 Men each, for ſix Months, and afterwards of fifty, till ſuch time as *Monſieur* returned to Court. The King performed his Promiſes to his Brother; but at the ſame time, both by himſelf and others, the beſt of his Divines would have perſuaded him to conſent that his Marriage ſhould be declared null; but how weak and unconſtant ſoever *Orleans* might have been reputed to be, he was very honourable and ſtanch in this matter, and would by no means give way to it.

Having therefore no farther occaſion to mention this Affair, at leaſtwiſe for the preſent, we are here to take notice, that the Dutcheſs of *Lorain* being commanded to go for the *French* Court, *de la Force* while ſhe was there, took the Caſtle of *Biche*, and afterwards *La Mothe* on the 28*th* of *July* ſurrendered upon Articles; after which there being no other Places in *Lorain*, that durſt hold out for the antient Lords of that Country, the Parliament confiſcated the Dutchy of *Bar*, and the Cardinal cauſed the Decree to be executed with all imaginable Vigour. He erected a Court of Juſtice at *Nancy*, which adjudged to the King Abundance of Places in *Lorain*, as having been alienated from the three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul* and *Verdun*; he likewiſe got the Remainder of *Lorain* to be ſolemnly ſeized on towards the Expences of the War, and obliged the Clergy, Nobility and People to take an Oath of Fidelity to the King. The *Swedes* all this while carried the War on in *Germany*, and were for the moſt part incouraged therein by the *French*, but being defeated at the great Battel of *Nordlingen*, Orders were immediately ſent to the Mareſchal *de la Force*, who was in *Lorain*, to advance towards the *Rhine*, to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Imperialiſts, who already threatned to join the Army of the Marqueſs of *Ayton* and Prince *Thomas*, and with them to enter *Lorain*. Several Places of *Alſatia* and the *Palatinate*, which the *Swedes* were forced to abandon to form an Army out of their Gariſons, put themſelves under

French *ſeize* Lorain.

Battel of Nordlingen.

the Protection of *France*. *La Force* incamped between *Coblentz* and *Briſac* with 25000 Foot and 4000 Horſe: And in the *interim* a new Treaty was concluded with the Proteſtant Confederates, who were promiſed great Supplies of Men and Money: In conſequence of which Treaty the *Swedes* delivered *Philipſburg* to the *French*; but they continued not long in the Poſſeſſion of it, for it was about the beginning of this Year ſurprized by the Imperialiſts, under the Conduct of *Braumberger*, who had been Governor of the Place before it fell into the Hands of the *Swedes*. The manner was briefly thus: Some Soldiers were dreſſed like Peaſants, and driving ſome Wagons laden with Wine, cut the Throats of the Corps *de Garde*, while *Braumberger* ſcaled the Place on the other ſide; and this was done ſo expeditiouſly, that the *French* Gariſon were made Priſoners. The *French* Court was much concerned at this Male-adventure, and the rather becauſe the Place was ſo well provided, and that they had given the *Swedes* 400000 Crowns to deliver it to them.

1635.

Imperialiſts ſurprize Philipsburg.

But to prevent the dangerous Conſequences which the loſs of *Philipsburg* might occaſion, Orders were diſpatched to *la Force* and *Breze* not to ſtir from the *Bergſtraat*, till *Manheim* and *Heidelberg* were fortified as well as their Situation would permit. It was alſo judged convenient that the *Swedes* under the brave Duke of *Weimar* ſhould join the King's Army, to drive the Imperialiſts out of the Country of *Wirtemburg*, and to deliver *Ulm*, *Noremburg* and *Ausburgh*. *Fenquieres* was alſo ſent into *Germany* to be preſent at the meeting of the four Circles at *Worms*. The *French* Generals opened the Campagn by attacking *Spire*, which they took and diſmantled in ſpite of the Imperial General *Galas*: But their Joy for the taking of this Place was not long liv'd, ſince they quickly received an Account of the Surprizal of *Brezes* by the Governor of *Luxemburg*; at which the *French* expreſt a mighty Indignation againſt the *Spaniards*, as if it had not been as lawful for them to aſſiſt the Emperor, as it was for the *French* to ſupport the *Swedes*: And they talked of carrying on a War into the *Netherlands*, but yet quickly cooled upon the matter, and the rather

rather ſince their Army had ſuffered not a little by their early Campagn upon the *Rhine*; ſo that out of 28 Royal Regiments that had paſſed that River, there were ſcarce 10000 found Men left among them. *Weimar*'s Army was not in much better Circumſtances, ſo that beſides ſome other Reinforcements, *Feuquieres* had Orders to raiſe 12000 *Germans*.

Now *Oxenſteirn* the Chancellor of *Sweden* going in *April* this Year to *Paris*, to renew the former Treaties, and concert Meaſures how the Armies were to act in *Germany*, there was another concluded on the 28*th* of *October*, which confirmed the reſt, and the two Crowns obliged themſelves reciprocally to aſſiſt their Allies, and to make no Peace nor Truce without one another. The *French* for all their bouncing upon this occaſion, were ſo far from being able to make head againſt the Imperial Army at this time under *Galas*, that had it not been for the great Vigilance and Dexterity of the Duke of *Weimar*, they had in all probability not only penetrated into, but alſo recovered all *Lorain*: And they were governed by a ſtrange ſort of Policy, to put the Command of their Army into the Hands of the Cardinal *la Valette*, notwithſtanding ſo many Mareſchals and Generals they had, who knew ten times more of War than he. However the Cardinal in conjunction with *Weimar* forced 14000 Imperialiſts to quit the Siege of *Mentz*, which was reduced to that Extremity, that they muſt have ſurrendred in four or five days for want of Proviſions: But *Galas* having ſoon after re-united all the Imperial Forces about the *Rhine*, obliged the Cardinal and Duke to retire, even with the loſs of their Artillery; and having cloſely followed them over that River, he forced the *French* to abandon their Baggage, and to retire under the Cannon of *Metz*: So that things now looked with no very good Aſpect upon *France*, neither could the King's Preſence in the Army in *Champagne* much mend the matter.

French *King's League with* Weimar.

However ſome days after his Return to *Paris*, the Duke of *Weimar*'s Agent made a new Treaty for his Maſter, and for the reſt whoſe Troops he commanded, whereby the King obliged himſelf not to make any Treaties without the Allies in *Germany*, and the Duke

promiſed the ſame thing in relation to the King: *Weimar* likewiſe engaged to have twelve thouſand Foot and ſix thouſand Horſe in *Germany*, with a Train of Artillery proportionable, upon condition the King would cauſe to be paid to him four Millions of Livres a Year; that if in fighting he happened to loſe his Army, the King ſhould raiſe him another, and that if he was taken Priſoner he ſhould take the ſame care of him, as of one of his own Generals; beſides which the King promiſed him by a ſecret Article the Title of Landgrave of *Alſatia*, and fifty thouſand Crowns Penſion for ever.

With the States General.

This League being thus concluded, both ſides had brought conſiderable Forces into the Field; there was no Action of Moment happened between them. In the mean time the Cardinal ſtill remembring the Aſſiſtance the *Spaniards* had given the Imperialiſts, and fearing the States General might, as being well tired with the War, and would at laſt make a Peace or Truce with *Spain*; he concluded a League offenſive and defenſive with the States, whereby they obliged themſelves to enter into the *Spaniſh* Provinces on two ſides, with 25000 Foot and five thouſand Horſe each, if the *Spaniards* did not agree to reaſonable Terms of Accommodation. The Conqueſts were to be divided amongſt them, ſo that the King was to have the Country of *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, *Haynault*, *Artois* and *Flanders*; and the States the Marquiſate of the ſacred Empire, where *Antwerp* is, the Lordſhip of *Malines*, the Dutchy of *Brabant*, *Hulſt*, and the Country of *Dam*. This Treaty was to be kept ſecret till the very time of the execution of it, when *France* ſhould declare War againſt *Spain*, upon occaſion of the ſeveral pretended Infractions which the *Spaniards* had made of the Peace of *Vervins*. In the *interim* the *Spaniards* happening to ſurprize *Triers* (as already mentioned) and carried away the Archbiſhop Priſoner, this was looked upon as a plauſible Pretence to declare War againſt them.

The Prince of *Orange* delayed to march to the Rendevouz, till he heard the *French* Army was entred into the Territories of *Spain*: But at length the ſame having advanced towards *Maeſtricht* under *Chatillon*

Chatillon and *Breze*, they were informed that Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* (the Grandfather of the famous Prince *Eugene*, now General of the Imperial Army in *Italy*) was intrenched at *Avein* with 12000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, with a Deſign to diſpute the Paſs with them, or fall upon their Rear; they preſently fell on, beat him from his Poſt, with the loſs of fifteen hundred Men and 3000 Priſoners; and the Prince was forced to retire without his Baggage and Artillery to *Namur*, where he had an opportunity to gather up his Straglers, while *Frederick* Prince of *Orange* was janggling with the *French* Generals about ſome Miſmanagement or other. However the two Armies being now joined, they beſieged and took *Tirlemont*; then taking *Dieſt* and *Arſchot*, marched directly towards *Bruſſels*, on purpoſe to draw the Cardinal Infanta from *Lorain*, which they inveſted on the 26*th* of *June*: But *Piccolomini* coming to join the Cardinal Infanta, in order to the Relief of it, they raiſed their Siege on the 4*th* of *July*, with great Diſcontents between the Generals, which we cannot ſuppoſe muſt be leſſened by the *Spaniards* ſurprizing the Fort of *Schenck*, which belonged to the States. *The Battel of* Avein.

On the other hand while they were treating with the States General about attacking the *Spaniards* in the *Low-Countries*, their Ambaſſador *Bellievvre* was forming a League in *Italy* with the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Mantua* and *Parma*, to fall upon the *Milaneſe*; whereby the King, beſides the Troops he kept on foot in the *Valtoline*, obliged himſelf to ſend 12000 Foot and 5000 Horſe againſt the *Spaniards*; the other three Princes promiſed their reſpective Proportions, of all which *Savoy* was to have the Command. Accordingly the Mareſchal *de Crequi* inveſted *Valencia* upon the *Po*, who was ſoon joined by *Parma*; but *Savoy* making a longer ſtay before he came to the Rendevouz, the *Spaniards* found an opportunity to throw 4000 Men into the Town; and at the ſame time having formed an Army under *Carlo Colonna*, to march to the Relief of it, they were attacked by the Confederate Forces at firſt very vigorouſly, and forced to recoil; but then the other giving them time to intrench, they were not to be beaten from thence; and not only ſo, but they *Confederates beſiege* Valencia *in vain.*

they threw fresh Succours into the City, thro a place where the Lines of Circumvallation were not compleated; so that what with this and the Increase of the mutual Jealousies between the Duke of *Savoy* and *Crequi*, they were forced to raise the Siege, leaving their Cannon and part of their Baggage behind them. Thus the Cardinal's great Expectation of conquering the Dutchy of *Milan* vanished into Smoak, tho 'tis certain he could not have chosen a fitter time for the Enterprize if it had been well executed, for the King had made himself Master of the Passes of the *Valtoline* before hand, to hinder any Troops from coming to the Assistance of the *Spaniards* from *Germany*. *Roan* who was in *Alsatia*, was ordered in the Spring to go to *Switzerland*, to take 6000 Foot and 4 Troops of Horse, and conduct them into the *Valtoltine*, in order to possess himself of that Country, which he happily executed, and first bravely beat 8000 *Germans* under *Fernamond*, that attack'd the Pass on *Tyrol* side, and was presently after no less successful against *Serbellon* on the side of *Milan*.

Roan *in the* Valtoline.

While the *French* were thus employed every where by Land, the *Spaniards* with their Fleet seized the Isles of *St. Margaret* and *St. Honorat* in the *Mediterranean*, whereby they might very much incommode the
1636. Trade of *Provence*. On the other side they were obliged in *France* to create abundance of new Offices, to get Money for the Expences of the War: And in order to support the Duke of *Parma* her Confederate, whose Country during his Absence in *France* was ravaged by the *Spaniards* and Duke of *Modena*, the King gave him leave to command a small Army, which the Duke of *Savoy* was to furnish him with, for his own Defence: But while the Duke and the brave *Thoiras*, whom he much valued, and would take along with him, was preparing to assist him, the *Spaniards* and *Modena* had time to fortify themselves in the Places they had taken from him; and *Leganez* Governor of *Milan* had placed the best of the *Spanish* Troops at *Novara*, *Pavia* and *Alexandria*, and thrown a Bridg over the *Po* at *Girola*, in order to hinder *Savoy* from coming into *Parma*'s Country. On the other hand the Confederates full of Discord amongst themselves, at length

on

on the 14*th* of *June* came before *Oleggio*, which *Crequi* next day forced to ſurrender; then having paſſed the River, they began to make a Retrenchment to cover the Bridg, which they deſigned to make in that Place. At the ſame time *Savoy* marched to *Foutanet*, which upon his Arrival he found to be ſtronger than he expected, and before which Place the brave Mareſchal *de Thoiras* was hit full in the Breaſt with a Musket Ball, and ſlain upon the Spot. *Foutanet* ſoon after ſurrendred, and then *Crequi* joining the Duke of *Savoy* without oppoſition; the *Spaniards* abandoned all the Places along the *Teſin*, which the other poſſeſſed themſelves of; and marching on the Banks of the ſaid River to fortify ſome Poſt there, they received Advice that *Leganez* was marching towards them on that ſide where *Crequi* was; ſo that *Savoy* ſet his Men to work all Night on a Bridg, which was ready by the next Morning, that he might join the Mareſchal. The *Spaniards* began the Charge in the Morning, and the Fight laſted with much Reſolution on both ſides till Night parted them, when the *Spaniards* retired in the dark, leaving the Enemy nothing more than the Field of Battel to boaſt of.

Fight between the Spaniards *and Confederates.*

In the mean time the brave *Roan* forced the Paſſes along the Lake of *Como*, while *Savoy* returned home; and the *French* Army diminiſhed conſiderably by perpetual Deſertions; whereas the new Levies of the *Milaneſe* and of the Kingdom of *Naples* daily augmented that of the *Spaniards*; ſo that *Parma*'s Country was almoſt entirely ravaged by them.

As for the Affairs on the *German* ſide, *la Valette* ſucceſsfully re-victual'd divers Places they held on that ſide: And *Conde* had now an Army given him to endeavour the Conqueſt of the *Franch Comte*, with which he laid Siege to *Dole*. The *Swiſs* who would have concerned themſelves about the Defence of it were ſilenced with a little Money, but for all that the Place had made an admirable Defence; and the Prince after he had taken the Outworks Inch by Inch, ordered a general Aſſault to be made on the 14*th* of *June*, but could not poſſibly carry it. In the mean time *Lorain* and *Lamboy* entring the *Franch Comte* with 8000 Foot and as many Horſe, incamped within a League

Conde *attacks* Dole *in vain.*

of the *French* Lines, designing to attack them next day; but the Prince not thinking fit to stay for their coming up, raised the Siege immediately, and retired into the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, being followed by the Imperialists who committed great Ravages there and in *Bress*. *Lorain* went after to besiege *St. John de Lone*, while *Galas*, who had joined him, ravaged the Province at pleasure: But this Place having at first made a vigorous Resistance, and afterwards receiving a considerable Relief, the Duke was obliged to raise the Siege; and *Galas* withdrew into the *Franch Comte*, and from thence into *Germany*.

On the other side the *Spaniards* formed a Design upon *Bayonne*, which met with no better Success: 'Tis true the Admiral of *Castile* made himself Master of the Field, and at the same time of *St. John de Luz*, and the Fort of *Socoa*; but instead of advancing speedily to attack that City, *la Valette* had time to fortify and provide it with Victuals, and his Design miscarried.

But on *Flanders* side they had better Success, by the taking of *Chapille* and *Catelet* from the *French*, and by *Roye* not long after falling into their Hands. The *Parisians* were put into a very great Consternation, and *Richlieu* was almost cursed by every body, as being the supposed Cause of their danger: But the *French* not to be wanting to themselves upon such a Conjuncture, presently raised 40000 Foot and 12000 Horse with a good Train of Artillery; the Command of which Army was given to *Orleans*, and *Soissons* made his Lieutenant General. And the King having at the same time concluded a new Treaty with the States General, whereby he promised them a Million and a half of Livres, to be paid at three several Payments in a Year, he went in the beginning of *September* to the Army himself; they quickly recovered *Roye*, and on the 19*th* of *November* had *Corbie* delivered to them. During the Siege of this last Place, the King lodged in a Castle near *Amiens*; and the Cardinal lying in the City, *Orleans* and *Soissons* hired four Men to assassinate the Cardinal, who had certainly fallen one day by their Hands, had not *Monsieur* relented and refused to give the Signal; but then the Design taking

taking air, *Monſieur* retired to *Blois*, and *Soiſſons* to *Sedan*. There was a Negotiation ſet on foot forthwith for the reconciling of the Duke to the King his Brother; and in order to the effecting of it, a Writing was brought from the King to *Monſieur*, wherein he approved of his Marriage, if he abſolutely deſired it, upon condition at the ſame time he would not eſpouſe the Intereſt of the Duke of *Lorain*, nor entertain any Correſpondence prejudicial to the Welfare of the Kingdom.

But for all this Condeſcenſion, *Orleans* inſiſted upon a Place of Security for himſelf, and *Soiſſons* would have the ſame; ſo that this created new Troubles, tho at length all was happily terminated to the ſeeming ſatisfaction and reconciliation of them all. But to the Affairs of War again, the *French* having fitted up a good Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, made an Attempt upon the Iſle of *Sardinia*, and then went to attack the Iſles lately poſſeſt by the *Spaniards* on the Coaſt of *Provence:* They ſoon maſtered that of *St. Margarets*, notwithſtanding the Brave Reſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, and the Iſle of *St. Honorat* was not long after forced to capitulate. *La Valette* alſo quickly drove the *Spaniards* out of *Guyenne*, neither did their Attempt upon *Languedoc* meet with any good Succeſs; for the Duke of *Halwin* having quickly drawn 10000 of the Militia together, on the 28*th* of *September* attacked them in their Camp, out of which he ſoon forced them to fly without their Ammunition and Baggage; and in recompence of this Brave Action and ſeveral other Services, the Duke was made a Mareſchal of *France*, and was ever after called Mareſchal *Schomberg*, as his Father was before him. 1637. Spaniards *worſted every where*

The *French* did not only defend themſelves with a great deal of good Succeſs in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, but alſo took *Landrecy* in *Hainault* and *Capelle*. Their Armies were alſo ſucceſsful in the taking of *Yeoix* and *Damvilliers* in the County of *Luxemburg*, beſides what they took in the *Franch Comte*, where their Army was commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*. But the Loſs which *France* ſuſtained of the *Valtoline*, which had given them ſo much Trouble and Expence, very much diminiſhed that Joy which their great Advantages

tages in other Places gave them; and all that the ever-famous Duke of *Roan* could do againſt the *Griſons*, who now entred privately into a League with the Governour of *Milan* and Arch-Duke *Leopold* for the Expulſion of the *French*, was to ſave the Lives of his Soldiers, and his own Honour, which he bravely effected, notwithſtanding *Richlieu* had been ſo far from giving him Support, that it was thought he had a Deſign to ruin him.

It will not be impertinent to mention the Death of *Victor Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy* in this Place, and how he was ſucceeded firſt by his Son *Francis Hyacinth*, and preſently after by *Charles Emanuel* a Child of four years old; and therefore to make no digreſſion here of the Deſign of Father *Cauſſin*, King *Lewis* his Confeſſor, to ſupplant the Cardinal, to his own Detriment and Impriſonment, till the King's Death, we are to obſerve, that the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* had one Father *Monod* a Jeſuit for her Confeſſor, who had a great Aſcendency over the Mind of that Princeſs. This Perſon by ſome means or other having undertaken to ſollicite the Return of the Queen-Mother into *France*, the Cardinal was ſo incenſed againſt him, that the Dutcheſs at laſt was forced to give her Conſent to have him apprehended. In the mean time the *Spaniards* and the Princes of *Savoy*, Cardinal *Maurice* and Prince *Thomas*, ſent the Dutcheſs word, that if ſhe obſerved the Neutrality, they would not make the leaſt Attempt upon *Piedmont*. On the other hand, *France* ſollicited her to renew the League offenſive and defenſive made with *Victor Amadeus* in 1635. and which was to expire in *July* 1638. The Dutcheſs would have evaded this, as being very unwilling to expoſe her Son's Territories to the Dangers of a new War; and while on the other hand the *French* inſiſted poſitively upon it, the Marqueſs of *Leganez* laid Siege to the Fort of *Breme* upon the *Po*, for the defence of which *Crequi* went thither in perſon, and as he approached the *Spaniſh* Camp with ſome Horſe to obſerve them nearer at hand, he alighted with his Proſpective Glaſs in his hand, and leaning on a large Tree to view their Lines, a Canoneer belonging to the *Spaniſh* Camp ſeeing ſome Horſe on that ſide, and a Man in red Clothes come forward, he fired a ſmall

1638.

Crequi *ſlain.*

nall Piece directly at the Tree where the Mareſchal as, which killed him forthwith; and ſome have been vain as to ſay, the Ball was inſcribed with theſe Words, *This for the Mareſchal* de Crequi. And *Bre-* ſurrendred hereupon.

In the mean time the Cardinal *la Valette* being nt to command in *Italy*, and the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* nding her ſelf uncapable of oppoſing the Forces of *rance*, was at laſt forced to comply with the Car-nal; but all the Force ſhe could make in conjunction ith the *French*, could not hinder *Verceil* from falling to the hands of the *Spaniards*. Then if we come to bſerve the moſt remarkable Occurrences in other Parts, e ſhall find the Cardinal ordered the Duke of *Roan*, ho was at *Geneva*, to retire to *Venice*, leſt out of venge for his baſe Uſage, he might carry on ſome eſigns againſt him: But the Duke pretending it was poſſible for him to go to *Venice*, the Ways being ſtop'd, he went to confer with the Duke of *Weimar* *Switzerland*, and afterwards came to him in his rmy; inſomuch that *Weimar* having taken ſome few laces, laid ſiege to *Rhinfield*, to the Relief of which *ohn de Wert*, Duke of *Savelli*, and other Imperial enerals directing their March, they attacked *Weimar*, d obliged him to riſe with the Loſs of his Cannon. this Encounter the Brave *Roan*, who refuſed to have y ſhare in the Command of the Army, put himſelf the head of the Left Wing, and was one of the ſt that began the Onſet, and fought like a common Roan *ſlain.* oldier: He was wounded by two Musket-ſhots, of hich he died on the 23*d* of *April*, leaving the Arms uſually wore to the Republick of *Venice*, as a Mark his Eſteem, and a Monument of that Renown which nrolled him in the number of the moſt famous Cap-ins of the World. The *Geneueſe* were at the charge erecting a noble Monument for him, where we all leave him to reſt, without having hardly his Equal hind him on this ſide the Grave. The Imperialiſts ot contenting themſelves with this Succeſs, by pur-ing the Victory loſt it; whilſt at *Laufenburg*, whither *Veimar* was gone, they attacked him, and he made it ppear of what importance the Courage of an excellent Commander is; for tho inferior in Reputation and

Forces,

Forces, he encountred and fought them with ſo much Reſolution, that he defeated them, putting almoſt all to the Sword, poſſeſſing the Cannon and Baggage, taking the Colours, and numbring amongſt the Priſoners of Quality *Wert* himſelf (who was afterwards carried to *Paris*) and *Enchefurt*. Upon which *Rhinfield* and other Places became the Reward of *Weimar*'s Victory.

As for the Affairs of the *Netherlands*, the Mareſchal *de Chatillon* having beſieged *St. Omer* in vain, did however take *Renty*, and raze it to the Ground, while *du Hallier* retook *Catelet* by Aſſault; but the Prince of *Conde* was not ſo ſucceſsful in the Siege of *Fontarabia*. Indeed *Eſpernon* took *Paſſage*, where he found ſix Galleons, and five *Spaniſh* Men of War, furniſhed with all manner of Proviſions, which he ſeized on; five more of their Galleons fell into the hands of the *French*, and the Admiral of this Fleet was ſunk. This was a great Incouragement to the *French*, and *Fontarabia* in all probability muſt very ſhortly fall into their hands, eſpecially ſeeing the Governour was yet abſent, and that the Gariſon and the Inhabitants could ſcarce make up 700 men fit to bear Arms. The Prince opened the Trenches on the 10*th* of *July*, and on the ſecond of *Auguſt* the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of 42 Veſſels full of Soldiers to be ſet on ſhoar, appeared before the Port. They immediately took or put to flight ſeveral *Spaniſh* Pinnaces that came thither, and gave chaſe to a Fleet of 50 Sail that brought Succours and Refreſhments to the Beſieged. The Arch-biſhop of *Bourdeaux* who commanded the *French* Fleet, deſtroyed alſo a great many Ships in the Road of *Gotari*, where abundance of *Spaniards* were loſt, and among others the two old Regiments of *Caſtile*, that made up 3000 men. *Fontarabia* having thus loſt all hopes of being relieved by Sea, the Archbiſhop offered to guard Port *Paſſage*; but *Conde*, that he might not divide the Army, thinking fit to abandon it, the *Spaniards* under the Admiral of *Caſtile* had an opportunity to march up, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Tops of the neighbouring Mountains, within Musket-ſhot of the advanced Guard of the *French*, who carried the Siege on vigorouſly by Attacks, Minings, and the like; but failing to carry the Place

Conde *beſieges* Fontarabia *in vain.*

lace in a General Affault, thro the ſuppoſed Fault leaſt of the Duke *de la Valette*, the Archbiſhop of *ourdeaux* would have undertaken his Poſt, when the *paniards* knowing the Place to be reduced to the laſt xtremity, with 15000 Foot only, and 1000 Horſe, e greateſt part of which were Militia Troops that d no Experience, advanced by broad Day-light to tack the *French* Lines: They beat back the advanced uards on the firſt Onſet, and as they retired within e neareſt Redoubts by leaping over the Ditch, the *paniards* followed them, preſently carried *de la Force* s Quarter, and turned their Cannon upon the Ene-y; ſo that all things now tending to a Confuſion a-ongſt them, the Prince in good time embarked in a all Veſſel, which carried him to *St. John de Luz*, hile the other Officers brought off the Army by their ipping alſo with little loſs of Men, but left all eir Baggage, Artillery and Ammunition behind em.

But to ſay no more of the Siege of *Fontarabia* and is ſhameful Defeat of the *French*, we are here to bſerve, that tho Queen *Ann* of *Auſtria* in the Spring this Year perceived ſhe was big with Child, after e had been now married 22 years; yet the Cardinal r all that wrought her many Mortifications, upon ac-ount of an innocent Correſpondence ſhe kept with the ardinal *Infanta* her Brother, for the preventing of a-y farther Deſolations and Effuſion of Blood between e two Nations: However ſhe bore all bravely, and as on the 5*th* of *September* delivered of a Son, who Lewis 14. as been ſince much known in the World by the Name *born.* *Lewis* XIV. and from the very time of his Birth, the rms which had hitherto been managed with Equality nd a Ballance between the two Nations, brought For-ne afterwards to encline in favour of *France*.

I might here enter upon a long detail of the Queen- 1639.
Mother's retiring into *Holland*, and from thence to *England*, with the Sollicitations made from thence by y Lord *Jermyn* for her return to *France*, which would y no means be allowed of, tho great Caution was ffered for her good Behaviour; ſo we might alſo upon e Trial of the Duke *de la Valette*, for being defective his Duty at the Siege of *Fontarabia*, and retiring without

without leave into *England*, and his being found guilty of High Treaſon and Felony. But leaving theſe things we muſt now take a ſtep into *Italy*, where we find the Cardinal of *Savoy* and Prince *Thomas* were arrived on of *Flanders*, and making Preparations to enter *Piedmont* with a powerful Army. In the mean time *Don Martin* of *Arragon* attacked the Fort of *Congio*, wherein was a *French* Gariſon that made a brave Defence. The *Spaniſh* General being ſlain before the Place, *Don Sotello* ſucceeded him, who after he had repulſed the Succours which the Marqueſs *de Ville* would have thrown into it obliged it to ſurrender. On the other ſide, Prince *Thomas* marched in the night to *Chivas*, which he took and thereby terribly alarmed the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* and the *French*, who were not yet ſtrong enough to take the Field. *Quiers*, *Montcalier* and *Jore* declared at the ſame time for the Prince, ſo did *Verrue* and *Creſcentin* ſoon after. Now to engage the Dutcheſs in ſome Treaty or other, which indeed the *French* were very intent upon, Prince *Thomas* and *Leganez* advanced within ſight of *Turin*, and made themſelves Maſters of the *Bourg de Pau*; but after ſome Propoſals, the Deſign of which was to diſengage the Dutcheſs from aſſiſting the *French*, Prince *Thomas* and *Leganez* retired; the firſt took *Villeneuf d' Aſti*, and the other *Montcalvo*, and *Ponteſture* after that, which occaſioning a Suſpicion that the *Spaniards* had a deſign upon *Caſal*, the Cardinal *de la Valette* ſupplied it in good time with all manner of neceſſary Proviſions.

The Affairs of Savoy.

In the mean time K. *Lewis* ſent *Chavigni* into *Piedmont* with Orders dexterouſly to inſinuate into the Dutcheſs, that ſhe had only one way left to ſave herſelf, which was to ſend her Children into *France*, and to ſecure her ſelf ſo effectually of all the principal Places of her Country, that ſhe might lie under no farther Apprehenſions of loſing them; and that was to put *French* Men into them. At the ſame time the King inſiſted for his Security and Protection to have the Caſtles that ſecured the Entrance into the Vallies put into his hands, as *Cahors*, *Revel*, *Coni*, and ſome others like them. The poor Princeſs was in a great quandary what to do under the very difficult Circumſtances ſhe was brought to; but wanting Money, and

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finding ſhe was already but too much under the power of *France*, from which ſhe ſaw no way to diſengage her ſelf, ſhe was brought to ſign a Treaty on the firſt of *June*, whereby the King promiſed to reſtore to her thoſe Places which ſhe put into his hands, as alſo thoſe which ſhe happened to retake from the Enemy, as ſoon as ſhe was in condition to keep them for her ſelf.

During this Negotiation *Leganez* made himſelf Maſter of *Trino* and *Santia* in *Montferat*; to repair which Loſs *La Valette* on the 17*th* of *June* inveſted *Chivas*, and *Leganez*, by reaſon of the Arrival of the Duke of *Longueville*, failed to relieve it. The Place was ſurrendred on the 29*th*, which began ſomewhat to re-eſtabliſh the Reputation of the *French* in *Italy*; but the Emperor ſhortly after having publiſhed a Manifeſto, whereby he declared the Dutcheſs to have forfeited the Guardianſhip of her Children, and abſolved the Subjects of *Savoy* from the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to her, and required them to own the young Duke's two Uncles for his lawful Guardians, all *Piedmont* hereupon roſe up againſt the Dutcheſs, except *Turin*, and thoſe Places where the *French* were ſtrongeſt: The Cardinal was much alarmed at the News, and wrote a Memorial to the Dutcheſs and the Generals what he would have done; but Prince *Thomas* was more quick for them than they expected, for he entred *Turin* the 26*th* of *July* at night by ſecret Intelligence with ſome of the Townſmen, and conſtrained the Dutcheſs and *French* that were there to retire in diſorder into the Cittadel, from whence the Cannon began to play upon the Town to no purpoſe; for the Prince had thrown up good Retrenchments on that ſide, and filled thoſe Houſes that lay moſt expoſed with Earth: However, he could not hinder the *French* from conducting the Dutcheſs to *Suſa*, and putting a ſtrong Gariſon into the Cittadel of *Turin*: But a Ceſſation of Arms being now agreed on by the Intervention of the Pope's Nuntio, *Leganez* began to ſpeak of a General Peace, and Prince *Thomas* weary of the *Spaniſh* Service, had thoughts of reconciling himſelf to the *French*. In the mean time Cardinal *Maurice* having found means to gain the Governours of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*, the fear of loſing all influenced the Dutcheſs to

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put *Suſa*, *Avellaine*, *Gelaſſe* and *Faillon* into the *French* hands; but ſhe would not hear the leaſt mention of ſurrendring *Montmelian*, notwithſtanding ſhe had an Interview with K. *Lewis* her Brother at *Grenoble*, and all the Arguments and Artifices of *Richlieu* to gain her Compliance.

Cardinal *la Valette* dying in the *interim*, the Count of *Harcourt* ſucceeded him in the Command of the Army, and quickly reduced *Quiers*. But to leave *Italy* for the preſent, and ſay nothing of ſome petty Diſguſts between the Courts of *Rome* and *France* not worth mentioning, we return to the *Netherlands*, and take notice, that ever ſince the preceding Year the *French* had a deſign to attack *Hedin*; but the Relief which Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* had thrown into the Place diverted that Deſign: But they undertook it now in good earneſt under the Command of *de Meilleray*, and at the ſame time *Feuquieres* with a ſmall Body of Men was to enter into the Province of *Luxemburg*, and attack *Thionville*, which he had not long done, when *Piccolomini* uſed ſuch haſte and ſecreſy to come to the Relief of it, that the other could not imagine who he was when he ſaw his Colours, at which and the ſtrait he found himſelf reduced to he was much concerned. In the mean time *Piccolomini* gave the firſt Onſet on that Quarter which was poſted on the other ſide of the *Moſelle*, which he carried after a vigorous Oppoſition made by the Foot, but the Horſe ran away; by which means he threw what Succours he pleaſed into *Thionville*, and then placing his Army in Battalia between the Counterſcarp of the Place, and the Quarter of *Feuquieres*, he ſo vigorouſly attacked the *French*, that he defeated them with the loſs of half their Foot and General, who was wounded, taken Priſoner, and died a few days after: However *Piccolomini* failed in his Deſign to take *Monzon*, by the approach of the Mareſchal *de Chatillon* with 16000 men to the Relief of it.

French defeated.

In the mean time *Meilleray* preſſed *Hedin* with great Vigour, and having forced it to ſurrender on the 29*th* of *June*, he was preſented with a Mareſchal's Staff thereupon; and about a month after *Chatillon* retook *Yvoix*, and razed the Works of it. On the ſide of *Spain Conde* took the Fort of *Salces*, which is not

French take Hedin, &c.

far from *Leucate*, and ſome time after maſtered *Cinnet*; then withdrawing to *Narbonne*, and leaving the Army to be commanded by *Schomberg*, *Spinola* with the *Spaniſh* Forces went to re-beſiege *Salces*, and to loſe no time made a general Aſſault upon the Outworks, which he carried with the loſs of a great many Men; but while he perſiſted to puſh the Siege forwards with utmoſt vigour, *Conde* having drawn together 22000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, moſt of them Militia of the Country, on the 24*th* of *October* he paſſed them over the Mountains, inſtead of marching them by the Sea-ſide, and unexpectedly arrived in ſight of the *Spaniards* Camp very much to the ſurprize of them: But the Prince not falling on preſently, and deferring the Onſet till next Day, there aroſe about Midnight ſo prodigious a Tempeſt of Wind, Rain and Thunder, that the Army was extremely incommoded herewith, and deſerted in great numbers as ſoon as Day appeared; ſo that thoſe who ſtaid behind were obliged to draw back, becauſe the Space between them and the *Spaniſh* Camp was by the Rain converted to a Lake. The *Spaniards* alſo on their part were much damnified; however they ſtill continued their Attacks, and compleated their Lines. On the other hand, the Prince, who had 14000 men ſtill with him, reſolved to attack them, but he was repulſed after he had loſt 3000 men, and left as many Priſoners to the Enemy, the Conſequence of which Victory was the ſurrendring of *Salces*.

French *defeated by the* Spaniards.

But to leave the Frontiers of *Spain*, and obſerve a little what they were doing on the ſide of *Germany*; after the Brave Duke of *Weimar* had taken *Briſſac*, where he deſigned to fix the Seat of a Principality he had thoughts to erect for himſelf in thoſe Parts, *Richlieu* did all he could to get that Place out of his hands, and having imploy'd Count *Guebrian* to feel his Pulſe upon it, the Duke bluntly anſwered, that *to demand a chaſte Woman's Virginity and a brave Man's Honour was the ſame thing*. But this gallant Man dying ſome time after, *viz.* on the 18*th* of *July* at *Neuburgh* in the 36*th* year of his Age, not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned by the Cardinal's means; there were ſeveral Conferences and Difficulties aroſe hereupon concerning the Army under his Command, and the Places he had

conquered, too tedious for me to enter upon the Particulars of; but at last a Treaty was concluded at *Brissac* on the 9*th* of *October*; the principal Articles were, That King *Lewis* agreed that the Troops commanded by the Duke of *Weimar* should continue in a Body, as he expresly desired in his last Will and Testament, and under the direction of the Officers whom he nominated: That the Artillery should be commanded by the same Officers also, and for the most part be joined to the *German* Body, with Power to the Mareschal of the *French* Camp, and to the Directors of the *German* Troops, to give them from time to time the necessary Orders: That if it happened the Army came to be destroyed in whole or in part, by any Misfortune of War, or some other inevitable Accident, the King should give the Officers extraordinary Allowances to re-establish their Troops: That the King should take care to pay them the Arrears due at *May*, which amounted to 200000 Crowns, and were to be imployed in paying a months Pay to all the Army, and should give them good Bills for 600000 Livres more, for the 3*d* Payment of that Year due the last of *September*, of which the Directors and Officers of the Army should imploy 300000 to remount and recruit their Cavalry: That the King should pay the Army three Payments and an half yearly, according to the Agreement made with the Duke of *Weimar*, with this Proviso, That the half Payment should be imployed by the Officers in Recruits, and making up their Troops; the other three in paying off the Officers and Soldiers, according to the Reviews that should be made of them by the King's Commissioners; besides, that he should pay, as well to the General Officers, as to those of the Artillery, eight Payments *per Annum*, according to the Appointments assigned to them by the Duke of *Weimar*: That his Majesty should supply them with all the necessary Provisions of War, besides all extraordinary Expences, as well as Ammunition and Bread: That both Officers and Soldiers should have Lands given them in the Conquered Countries: That they were to obey the Duke of *Longueville*, as they had done the Duke of *Weimar*. Lastly, for a Compensation of all this Charge the Conquered Places should be put into the King

Treaty of Brissac.

King's hands, that ſo he might give *Briſſac* and *Friburg* to ſuch Governours as he ſhould think fit, and place in their Gariſons half *French* and half *Germans*, as well as in the other Places, whoſe Governours he ſhould chuſe out of the Body of the Army.

I ſhall not touch upon the Intrigues of *Richlieu* to get the Marchioneſs *de Senecy*, firſt Lady of Honour to the Queen, and her great Confident, diſcarded from her Service, and but juſt mention the King's pretended Amours with Madam *de Hautefort*, the Cardinal's introducing *d' Effiat* Lord of *Cinq-mars* into the King's favour, and the King's Coldneſs towards his Queen, notwithſtanding ſhe had ſo lately made him a Father; but go on to ſhew, that the *Swedes* were not well pleaſed the *French* ſhould paſs the *Rhine* with a conſiderable Army, and take their Winter-Quarters in *Heſſe*, becauſe they pretended they were not to enter into *Germany*, but in the nature of Auxiliaries. The *French* were going to acquire a mighty reputation by obliging 1640.
the Houſes of *Heſſe* and *Lunenburg* to break the Neutrality, and to act in conjunction with them againſt the *Imperialiſts*; wherefore *Banier* marched into *Thuringia*, and deſired to join *Longueville* with a deſign to debauch the Army of the late Duke of *Weimar*, while the *French* undoubtedly had Deſigns much of the ſame nature upon him. But to go no further with this matter, we find that in the *Netherlands* the *French* French
formed a Deſign upon *Arras*, which they inveſted un- *beſiege* Ar-
der the Mareſchals *de Chatillon* and *Meilleray* on the *ras.*
24th of *June*. The Siege was puſhed on with much vigour; ſo that the Cardinal *Infanta* was forced to march in perſon to relieve it, and formed a Camp at *Mount St. Eloi*. The *French* could not receive their proviſion but from a great way off; ſo that the Court ſent a Convoy thither under *du Hallier*. In the mean time the *Spaniards* having received Advice that *Meilleray* was marched with 3000 Horſe and as many Foot to relieve it, they attacked the *French* Lines, which were double, and forced the firſt notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance made by *Chatillon* againſt them: Then they went on to force the ſecond; ſo that being ſupported by a vigorous Sally from the Gariſon, they had infallibly relieved the Place, if the *French* going out of their

ſecond Lines, had not fallen upon them in the Flank, and made them think of a Retreat. *Meilleray* arrived in the Heat of the Action, and *Du Hallier* in about half an Hour after; ſo that the *Spaniards* thought fit now to retire, leaving 1200 of their Men dead in the *French* Lines, while the *French* loſt about half the Number.

I might here enter upon the Particulars of the Revolt of the *Catalonians* from the *Spaniards*, which the *French* endeavoured all they could to improve for their own Advantage, the Conſequences whereof we ſhall meet with in the Hiſtory of the Events of the following Year; ſo we might alſo touch upon the Revolution that hapned now in *Portugal*, in their ſetting up *John* Duke of *Braganza* for their King, and throwing off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, were it pertinent to our Deſign; but leaving that, we'll take another Turn into *Italy*, where the Marqueſs of *Leganez* undertakes the Siege of *Caſal*, being incouraged thereunto by ſome Correſpondence he held in the Place: The Count of *Harcourt* was no ſooner informed of it, but he concerted his Meaſures to relieve it, or die before it; and therefore marched with 7000 Foot, 3000 Horſe, and 10 pieces of Cannon directly towards it, tho the *Spaniards* were double his Number. *Leganez*, who had not yet compleated his Lines of Circumvallation, doubled his Diligence upon the News of the Count's March, and ſent away his heavy Baggage and Artillery; and on the 24*th* of *April* was attacked in his Camp by the *French* in three ſeveral Places, under the Leading of *Turenne*, *du Pleſſy-Prailin*, and *La Mothe*. *Du Pleſſy* was three times repulſed on his ſide, but *Harcourt* finding it was eaſier to break in on the Left, fell in there with his Horſe, and was like to have been utterly loſt; but *La Mothe* finding a more eaſy Place, came and joined the Count, who at the Head of this Body charged the *Spaniſh* Horſe with ſo much Impetuoſity, that they preſently gave way; he had one Horſe killed under him, but being mounted again, was quickly bogged, yet recovering from that Danger alſo, he purſued his Game, while *Turenne* and *Praſlin* on their ſide returned with their Foot to give the Fourth Charge, and forcing the Lines carried all down before them. The

Spaniard's *beſiege* Caſal.

Spaniard

Spaniards upon this occaſion had 5000 Men killed and drowned, loſt 8 pieces of Cannon, 6 Mortars, all their Ammunition, which they themſelves ſet on fire, and a great part of their Baggage; nay *Leganez* had not ſo much Precaution as to ſave his Papers, but with them and the Day loſt all his Honour, while *Harcourt* acquired the Reputation of one of the braveſt and moſt reſolute Generals *France* had imployed for a long time, tho in reality this was a very raſh Action. *They are defeated.*

After ſo conſiderable an Advantage, the King diſſwaded his Siſter all he could from hearkening to Propoſals of Accommodation, which Prince *Thomas* made her; and *Harcourt* now bethinking himſelf of the Orders he had to beſiege *Turin*, marched with great Diligence, and on the 9th of *May* arrived in the ſight of the Place; he had only 7000 Foot and 3000 Horſe with him, with which he fell preſently to work. *Leganez* being advertiſed of it, marched with 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe to the Relief of the Place; but believing it not poſſible to force the *French* Camp, he endeavoured to cut off their Proviſions; to which end on the 9th of *July*, he ſent 1200 Men over the Po, to intrench themſelves near *Montcalier*, to hinder any Victuals from coming to them that way; but *Turenne* having forced them from thence with a great Slaughter, the whole *Spaniſh* Army ſoon after poſted themſelves there, whereby they cut off all Communication with *Pignerol*, and conſequently very much ſtraitened the *French* Camp: But *Leganez* being informed, that a great Convoy was for all that coming to them from the ſaid Places, and fearing they would force their paſſage, he in concert with Prince *Thomas*, who was to make a vigorous Sally from the Town, gave a General aſſault upon the *French* Lines; but matters were ſo ill managed by the *Spaniards*, eſpecially from without, that they could do no good againſt the Enemy. In the mean time the *French* having received a Reinforcement of 6000 Foot and 700 Horſe, under *Turenne* and *Tonnero* from *Pignerol*, blocked up *Turin* cloſer and cloſer, and Prince *Thomas* was at a loſs to inform *Leganez* of what he wanted, or what meaſures to take with him; when one *Zignon*, or according to others *Gallo* an Engineer of *Bergamo*, *Valet de Chambre* French *beſiege* Turin.

to the Prince, furniſhed him with an Expedient; for as *Leganez* was within Cannon-ſhot of him, he was adviſed to make hollow Cannon-Bullets, wherein he was to encloſe the Letters he had a mind to ſend to the *Spaniſh* Camp, and ſo from thence to the City, and to ſtop up the Hole with Lead: Before he ſhot it he gave him a Signal by ſome lighted Powder, to let him know he muſt take care of the Bullet. It was ſaid the *Spaniards* without uſed the ſame Stratagem, and threw into the Town Bombs full of Powder, which thoſe within took up in the Ditch, to uſe the Powder which they wanted, and theſe ſort of Bullets they called, *The Flying Couriers.*

This Correſpondence being eſtabliſhed, the *Spaniards* and Prince *Thomas* attempted the *French* Camp a ſecond time, with as ill Succeſs and bad management on *Leganez*'s ſide as before; ſo that at laſt the Prince on the 22*d* of *Septemb.* capitulated to ſurrender *Turin*, from whence he retired to *Yvree*. In the mean while, *viz.* on the 21*ſt* of the ſame Month, the Queen was brought to Bed of another Son, who was at firſt called Duke of *Anjou*, but by the Death of *Gaſton*, had the Title of Duke of *Orleans*; but for all this, the Queen had never a bit the more Authority; nay it was confidently ſaid, that the Cardinal had extorted a Promiſe from the King, in caſe he came to die and declared the Queen to be Regent, that he would conſtitute him Chief of the Council of the Regency, with Orders to the Queen to follow his Advice; but be this as it will, *Cinq-Mars*, commonly called *Monſieur le Grand*, from his being Maſter of the Horſe to the King, having like to have fallen into Diſgrace, thro his ſullen Behaviour towards his Majeſty, the Cardinal who introduced him firſt into the King's Favour, did now ſtrain all his Credit to ſupport him, tho he was but ill requited for it afterwards, as will appear by and by. In the mean time the Cardinal ſtrengthened himſelf by an Alliance with the Houſe of *Conde*, in marrying *Claira Clementia de Maille Breze*, a Daughter of the Mareſchal *de Breze*, to the Duke of *Enguien*; and during the Divertiſement thereof, the Miniſter contrived to mortify the Parliament of *Paris*, which had preſumed more than once to

D. of Anjou *born.*

1641.

to make ſome Oppoſition to his Demands: For ſome Weeks after, the King aſſembled all the Chambers together, and went thither, accompanied by the Princes of the Blood and other Grandees; where he cauſed a Declaration to be read, which prohibited the Parliament from concerning themſelves with any Affairs of State, and commanded them to receive his Edicts, not to diſapprove, but confirm them: He further declared, he intended to take the abſolute Power into his Hands, of diſpoſing of all the Offices of Parliament, and to reward ſuch as he pleaſed with them. At the ſame time he depoſed the Preſident *Barillon*, two Counſellors, and ſome others that had been baniſhed before. He likewiſe ordered, That the Parliament every three Months ſhould give the Chancellor an Account of what they did, and every Year take a Permiſſion from his Majeſty to continue in their reſpective Functions. Now thoſe who had the Courage to defend the Rights of the Parliament, urged in vain; That the Perſons who compoſed it, had never intended to be their King's Tutors, nor to arrogate a Power ſuperior or equal to theirs, nor to ſet up for Tribunes of the People, as their Enemies wrongfully accuſed them. They owned themſelves to be the King's Subjects, and to derive their Power from his Authority; but then they ſaid, that a Secret of Policy lay concealed in the Exerciſe of their Offices, which the Flatterers at Court were not acquainted with: That the antient Kings of *France* being ſenſible, that a pure Monarchy, where all the Laws depend upon the Will of a ſingle Perſon, was but of a ſhort continuance, had wiſely tempered the Form of Government, by mixing ſome Appearance of an Ariſtocracy with it, and by eſtabliſhing Laws, which they themſelves were not allowed to violate, that ſo the People might with greater Chearfulneſs ſubmit to their Sovereign Authority; That for this end they had voluntarily ſubmitted their own Edicts to the Examination of the Parliament, that ſo they might fully be informed, whether they contained any thing contrary to the known Laws and Rules of Equity; That their Conſcience and true Intereſt obliged them to obſerve theſe Laws impartially, and not to violate Juſtice; that however, in caſe they were of

Lewis *depreſſes the Parliament.*

Opinion the Parliament did not give them good Council, they were ſtill at Liberty to have recourſe to their abſolute Power, as it appeared by theſe Terms in their Edicts, *For ſuch is our good Pleaſure:* That Declarations were not addreſt to the Parliament out of pure Formality, which was wholly unneceſſary; but That the People might afterwards obey them without any Repugnance: That it had been the antient Policy of the Kings of *France*, to make all ſorts of Favours deſcend upon themſelves, but to ſee Juſtice adminiſtred in the Sovereign Courts; That this diſcharged the Kings from the Odium that might enſue upon the Exerciſe of any ſevere Act of Juſtice, and beſides diſengaged them from the Importunity of their Courtiers, who without this might lead them to commit ſeveral Things highly prejudicial to the Welfare of the States.

But to return now to Foreign Affairs, the Duke of *Lorain*, after having for a conſiderable time ſollicited for a Paſs-board to come to Court, at length arrived on the 10*th* of *March* at *St. Germains*, where he was received with all imaginable Reſpect: His main Buſineſs was to endeavour at leaſt to regain one part of his Country, to procure ſome Money for the Subſiſtance of his Troops, and to engage the Cardinal to act in his favour at *Rome*, for procuring him a Divorce from his Dutcheſs, that he might marry his Miſtreſs, the Counteſs of *Cantecroix*. The Divorce could by no means be obtained, but on the 29*th* of *May* they concluded a Treaty with him, whereby they reſtored *Lorain* and the Dutchy of *Bar* to him, upon condition he would do Homage for the latter; and that *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Jamets*, and *Dun*, with all their Dependencies, ſhould continue reunited to the Crown; *Nancy* was likewiſe continued as a Pledg in the King's Hands to the end of the War. Beſides this, the Duke was to renounce all manner of Correſpondence with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to reſign his Troops to the King, who was to entertain them as his own, and to pay the Dutcheſs *Nichola* 160000 Livres by way of Penſion. Laſtly, the Duke farther agreed, That all his Dominions ſhould devolve to the Crown of *France*, if he in the leaſt infringed this Treaty. But the Duke as ſoon as ever he returned home

Lorain *reſtored to the Duke.*

home, forgetting all his Engagements, quickly brought a *French* Army upon him, who once more maſtered all the Places belonging to him, while he himſelf retired with what Troops he had into the *Low Countries*.

Affairs of Italy.

On the other hand, Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* thinking himſelf not obliged to ſtand to the Treaty he had made with *France* towards the latter end of the laſt Year, brought *Turenne* ſoon to take the Field, and took *Montcalvo* and the Caſtle in a few Days, and gave perpetual Alarms to the *Spaniſh* Forces that were in *Piedmont*; and indeed the *Spaniſh* Forces in *Milan* and theſe Parts appeared very daſtardly, elſe the Brave Prince *Thomas* in all probability would have totally routed the *French*, as they beſieged *Yvree*, as well as he might have done at *Chivas*, had the *Spaniards* ſtood their Ground, and been willing to come to an Engagement: However the Prince having made a ſhift to put ſome Succours into *Yvree*, *Harcourt* on the 17*th* of *May* raiſed the Siege; but not willing to be idle, he reduced *Seva*, *Mondovi*, and on the 29*th* of *July* ſat down before *Coni*, which Prince *Thomas* endeavouring to relieve in vain, it was on the 15*th* Day of *Septemb.* ſurrendered to the *French*, while the *Spaniards* had the Opportunity to retake *Montcalvo*.

As for the Affairs of the *Low Countries*, the *French* under *Meilleray*, after having taken ſome Forts about *Aire*, laid a formal Siege to the Place; upon which the Cardinal *Infanta* failing to relieve it, he ſent a ſmall Party to make a Diverſion in the *Bolonois*. In the mean time the Place defended it ſelf with great Vigour, divers Works were taken and retaken ſeveral times, and the Beſiegers bought very dearly every Foot of Ground they got; however having at length made great Breaches with their Mines, they reduced the Gariſon and Burghers to capitulate on the 16*th* of *July*. *Genap* was ſurrendred the ſame Day to the Prince of *Orange*.

French take Aire.

The Cardinal *Infanta* was ſo concerned at the loſs of *Aire*, that having drawn a conſiderable Army together, he would block up the *French* in their Camp before the Place, and indeed he put them ſo hard to it, that *Meilleray* was neceſſitated to draw off by Night; he was no ſooner gone, but the Cardinal entred

tred his Lines, and began the Siege of the Place; the *French* who could not well relieve or throw any Supplies into the Place, by way of Diverſion, took *Lens*, *La Baſſee*, and made Inroads into *Flanders*; they likewiſe made themſelves Maſters of *Bapaume*. In the mean time the Cardinal *Infanta* falling ſick in the Camp at *Aire*, was carried to *Bruſſels*, where he died on the 9th of *Novemb.* It was believed in *France*, his Death would cauſe the Siege of *Aire* to be raiſed; but *Melo* who had the management of it, continued it with great Reſolution; ſo that at laſt, after the Beſieged had conſumed all their Proviſions, they ſurrendered on the 7th of *Decemb.* and ſo the Campagn ended on that ſide, not very much after all to the Reputation of the *French* Generals, who were blamed for taking ſo little care of that Conqueſt, which coſt them ſo much Blood, and which they ſaw retaken before their Faces, without finding a way to hinder it. On the other ſide, the *Spaniards* inſtead of uſing Lenity to reclaim the revolted *Catalonians*, were extremely cruel to them; ſo that inſtead of ſubmitting, they called in the *French*, with whoſe Aſſiſtance they defeated the *Spaniards* at *Montjai* near *Barcelona*; and *La Mothe Houdancourt* being come from *Italy* with 3 or 4000 Men to *Catalonia*, he relieved *Aytone* beſieged by the *Spaniards*, and increaſed the Gariſon of *Lerida*: *Conſtantin* not long after fell into his hands. In the mean time, as the Forces which were ſent by Land to *Catalonia*, run great Dangers, ſo long as the *Spaniards* were Maſters of *Rouſillon*; *Conde* entred that Country with 5000 Foot, and 1300 Horſe, he quickly took *Canet* and *Elve*, and *Angeles* opened her Gates to him; then dividing his Forces into two Bodies, *La Mothe* did as it were beſiege the *Spaniſh* Army under the Cannon of *Terragone*. Now the *Spaniards* having attempted to relieve their Troops, and the Town (reduced by great Extremities) by Sea, met with but very indifferent Succeſs the firſt time; but reſolving not to abandon the Enterprize, they fitted out a Fleet of 60 Sail, followed by ſeveral Brigantines laden with Proviſion; and having in a manner ſurprized that of *France* under the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, he was glad to make the beſt of his way to *Provence* with the Loſs of three of

Spaniards *retake it.*

of his Ships, and his Conduct upon this occaſion was highly cenſured, ſo that the Officers at *Thoulon* would not own him for their Admiral.

K. *Lewis* by this time having accepted the Donation of *Catalonia*, appointed the Mareſchal *de Breze* to go thither to command in quality of Vice-Roy, and to ſwear at *Barcelona* in his Name to preſerve the Privileges of the *Catalonians*: He was already arrived at *Rouſillon*, where we muſt leave him to receive Orders to block up *Perpignan*, to hinder any Relief of Ammunition from coming to it, becauſe the King propoſed to attack it the following Campagn. And we ſhall here ſay ſomewhat more once for all concerning the unfortunate Queen-Mother, who after ſhe had reſided ſome time at *London*, was obliged to leave the Kingdom; and the States General not daring to entertain her for fear of the Cardinal, ſhe was forced to go to *Cologn*; and who, tho the Wife, Mother-in-law and Mother of the greateſt Kings of *Europe*, wandred without Refuge or Shelter, as a Spectacle of Human Miſery, and now died here in a poor hired Houſe, without almoſt either Money, Friends or Followers. *Queen-Mother's Death.*

Richlieu was undoubtedly as much pleaſed with this, as he was for obtaining a Cardinal's Cap for his dear Friend and Confident *Julius Mazarine*. But to paſs this over, and not to enter into the Particulars of the Count of *Soiſſons*, Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Bouillon* forming a Deſign to diſpoſſeſs the Cardinal, and but juſt to mention the Retirement of the Dukes of *Vendoſme* and *Beaufort* into *England*, as being now of the number of his profeſſed Enemies; it's ſufficient to obſerve that he managed his Affairs with that dexterity, that he forced the former Princes to conclude a Treaty with *Spain*, to furniſh them with Forces, purely to diſpoſſeſs them of *Sedan*, and to ruin them. The King towards the beginning of Summer advanced as far as *Albeville* to be nearer *Artois*, where he deſigned to beſiege *Aire*; and there it was that he publiſhed a Declaration bearing date the 8*th* of *June*, wherein after he had obſerved that the Princes who were at *Sedan*, had committed divers Hoſtilities, and joined themſelves to *Spain*, he ordered all his Subjects to take them for declared Enemies, if they did not within a month acknowledg their fault, and *Civil War.*

and ſubmit themſelves to his Clemency. In anſwer to this, the Princes made a long Manifeſto dated *July* 2*d*, tho the ſame did not appear publick till after the Battel of *Sedan*: It was entituled, *A Manifeſto for the Satisfaction of the Princes of the Peace*, tho the Count of *Soiſſons* only ſpoke; and in a manner it contained little elſe than Complaints againſt the Cardinal, the greateſt part of which were undoubtedly well grounded.

Now leſt theſe diſcontented Princes and Lords ſhould be branded for Enemies to their Country, they ſaid, that they had taken all neceſſary Precautions that the Emperor and King of *Spain* ſhould lay down their Arms as ſoon as they ſhould conjointly obtain a ſure and honourable Peace, which they believed could never be durable as long as the Cardinal had power to break it, as he had done the Treaty of *Ratisbone*, and as long as every one did not enjoy what of Right did belong to him: That they took up Arms with no other proſpect than to ſettle a laſting Peace, which the Cardinal ſeemed in appearance to deſire, but not in reality: That it was but natural they ſhould defend themſelves as well as they could againſt the violent and treacherous Proceedings of the Miniſter: Laſtly, they exhorted the three Eſtates of the Kingdom to join them, to obtain Satisfaction for the great Wrongs the Cardinal had done them, promiſing nevertheleſs to treat with all Civility ſuch as were willing to continue Neuters, and declared the Cardinal and his Adherents to be Enemies to the King and State.

The Parliament of *Paris* before this Declaration appeared, made an Arreſt, whereby they declared all thoſe to be guilty of High-Treaſon that kept any Correſpondence with theſe Male-contents, or any way abetted or aſſiſted them. In the mean time *Chatillon* entred the Principality of *Sedan* before the Enemy were ready; but *Lamboy* having joined the Princes on the 5*th* of *July*, marched with 8000 Foot and 2000 Horſe to fight the Mareſchal, who had 1000 Horſe and as many Foot more than they: For all that he had poſitive Orders not to hazard a Battel; but the Princes having paſſed the *Meuſe* within a Quarter of a League of his Camp before he perceived it, he was ſurprized next day to ſee their Army march towards him near the

the Wood of *Marfee*; whereupon he preſently drew up his Army in Battel-array in very good Order, while the Enemy did the ſame in a Place too narrow, and much leſs advantageous; ſo that in all probability they muſt have been beaten. The Mareſchal's Right Wing began the Battel with ſome Advantage; but the Cavalry of the Left, thro I know not what panick Fear, turned back upon their Foot, and put them into Diſorder; ſo that the Royal Infantry being attacked by the Princes, was broken after ſome Reſiſtance, and fled with the Horſe, which could not be brought to rally again, and this obliged the Mareſchal to retreat, as the reſt had done. While the other part of the Army fled in this manner, the Regiment of *Rouſillon*, and two Troops of Horſe of the Queen-Mother, and that of *Monſieur*, who were in a manner the only Troops that did any Service, pierced to the very Place where *Soiſſons* was, who bravely marching up to charge them, was here ſlain with a Piſtol-ſhot, tho the Enemies Horſe that charged him were entirely cut in pieces. The King loſt 500 men, and 2000 were made Priſoners; his Cannon and Baggage fell alſo into the Enemies hands. Soon after this Battel *Lamboy* took *Dunchery*, but held it only for a little time: But the Royal Army coming to be conſiderably reinforced, they reſolved to attack *Sedan*, unleſs *Bouillon* made a ſudden Accommodation, which he thought fit to do, and the King granted him and all his Party a full Pardon, and a Neutrality for the Principality of *Sedan*, that it might not be expoſed to the Excurſions of the *Spaniards*. *Battel of Sedan.*

I will not interrupt the Proceedings on this ſide by entring into a Detail, that the Princes of *Savoy*'s being diſobliged by the *Spaniards*, began now to ſide with *France* in order to beat the other out of *Piedmont*; and therefore you muſt underſtand that the States General of the United Provinces being reſolved only to act defenſively this year, the *Spaniſh* Army under *Melo* quickly took *Lens* from the *French*, as they did ſoon after the little Town of *Baſſee*; after which the *Spaniſh* Army having ſtaid within their Lines till the 24*th* of *May*, they ſeparated into two Bodies to oblige the *French*, who were ſomewhat weaker than they, to do the like. *Harcourt* went to incamp near *Hedin*, and *Guiche* near *Catelet*, which 1642.

which laſt entrenching himſelf ſlightly enough near a Wood, and *Melo* being ſoon informed of it, he marched directly with the greateſt part of his Forces to attack him. While the *Spaniards* attacked the Retrenchments on one ſide, another Body of them entred the Wood, and came upon the *French* that way, who tho they fought tolerably well, yet were forced to fly with the loſs of 1500 Men, greateſt part of their Colours, a hundred thouſand Crowns in Money, and left two thouſand Priſoners.

Spaniards *defeat the* French.

If the *Spaniards* had rightly purſued this Victory, it would have proved of great advantage to them, and much detriment to the *French*, and perhaps to the Ruin of *Richlieu* himſelf, whoſe Kinſman *Guiche* was. But to ſay no more of the Conſequences hereof, we come to the Conſpiracy of the Maſter of the Horſe *Cinq-mars*, who engaged *Francis de Thou* Son to the famous *James Auguſtin de Thou* in his Intereſt, by whoſe means *Orleans* and *Bouillon* were drawn in to countenance his Deſign; but there being ſome things tranſacted between the two Nations on the ſide of *Rouſſillon* and *Catalonia* of conſiderable Conſequence, and which do as it were lead us to it, we ſhall give a ſuccinct Account of them.

War in Rouſillon.

The *French* had reſolved upon the Conqueſt of *Rouſſillon*, either to cover their own Frontiers, or to ſupport the Rebellion of the *Catalonians*; and the Cardinal, notwithſtanding the King's ill State of Health, and the Oppoſition made by the Phyſicians, would engage him to undertake the Expedition in perſon; wherefore the beſt of the Army being ordered to march that way, and good care having been taken for the ſecurity of the other Frontiers of the Kingdom, *Richlieu* adviſed his Majeſty to carry the Queen and *Orleans* along with him; but the Queen broke his Deſign ſo far, that ſhe was allowed to ſtay at *St. Germains*, while *Conde* was left at *Paris* with the Title of Regent during the King's Abſence, and had 200 men aſſigned him for his Guard.

The King after Candlemas began his Journey, and being arrived at *Lyons*, took a Review of his Troops quartered thereabout, which amounted to 15000 Foot and 4000 Horſe. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* hearing the vaſt Preparations of the *French*, were much alarmed

larmed at them, and took care to ſupply *Perpignan* with Proviſions, in doing of which they had ſeveral Rencounters with the *French*, wherein they generally worſted them. K. *Lewis* having left *Lyons* towards the latter end of *February*, tho ſomewhat indiſpoſed, and that the Seaſon was very rigorous, went to *Narbonne*, and there on the 23*d* of *March* created the Count *de Guebriant* and *la Mothe da Houdancourt* Mareſchals of *France*: Nor did the Severity of the Weather retard the Motion of the Army, who on the 17*th* of *March* laid ſiege to *Collioure*, a Place of great Conſequence, and defended by *Mortare* with 3000 men. This Place was neceſſary for the *French*, both to hinder the *Spaniards* from relieving *Rouſſillon*, as alſo to make uſe of it themſelves; wherefore the Count Duke *de Olivarez* order'd *de Povar*, who commanded in *Catalonia*, to advance with all his Cavalry, and hazard all for the Relief of the Place. *Povar*, after repreſenting the exceeding difficulty of the Action in vain, made ſeveral brave Attempts to execute his Order, till at laſt being with about 2000 Horſe ſurrounded by the *French*, they were all made Priſoners of War, only the *Portugueſe* among them were ſet at liberty.

Siege of Perpignan.

In the mean time *Meilleray* took both the Town and Caſtle of *Collioure*, the Caſtle of *St. Elme* was alſo comprehended in the Articles; and at laſt the Army came before *Perpignan*, where *Don Flores d' Avila* was Governour, and had under him *Cavalliero*, and they ſeemed inclined to defend it to the utmoſt extremity; but *Spain* was at this time in great Straits, both for want of Money, diſciplin'd Troops, good Generals, and from the Preſſures both of the *French* and *Portugueſe* upon her; and Proviſion growing daily ſcarce in *Perpignan*, K. *Lewis* was for reducing it by Famine. On the other hand, the Catholick King, contrary to the Humour of his Favourite, in *April* ſet out for *Arragon*, to be nearer his Army; and having at length advanced as far as *Molina* upon the Frontiers of that Kingdom, ſeveral Councils of War were held there, wherein it was concluded that the Marqueſs *de Torreceuſe* ſhould be ſent by Land with ſome Forces to *Rouſſillon* thro *Catalonia*, while the Marqueſs *de Leganez* and *de Tavara* amuſed the *French* and *Catalonians*.

About

About the beginning of *July* an Engagement happened on the Coaſt of *Catalonia* between the Fleets of *Spain* and *France* without any great loſs on either ſide; but the Catholick King having by a Courier falſe Intelligence of a compleat Victory, Orders were ſent to *Torreceuſe* to ſtop his March till farther Order, becauſe they thought now they had opened a Paſſage by Sea for their Forces; but when the true News came, they were as much in confuſion on the other hand, and *Torreceuſe* had poſitive Orders to hazard no Battel till he had received freſh Reinforcements. *Philip* did now all he could for the Relief of *Perpignan*, and having cauſed Forces to march from all Parts of the Kingdom for this purpoſe, it's obſervable that in 6 months time, after all the Efforts he could uſe, he could bring no more than 30000 men into the Field, and they coming even too late, the Place which had long ſuffered the utmoſt Extremities of Famine, and which nobody took care to relieve, was ſurrendred on the 7th of *September*, being wholly deſtitute of Victuals, but extremely well ſtored with Ammunition, there being alſo Arms in it for 20000 Foot and Horſe, and 120 Pieces of Cannon. *Salſe* ſurrendred alſo not long after; and the Fight wherein *Leganez* engaged againſt *la Mothe* ſignified little to the advantage of the *Spaniards*, tho they were ſuperior in number to the *French*.

Perpignan *ſurrendred to the* French.

Wherefore to leave them for the preſent to condole the many Loſſes they ſuſtained this Campagn, and the Count Duke to begin to decline in his Prince's Favour, we ſhall reſume now the Particulars of *Cinq-Mars* his Conſpiracy: The Ground-work of it was the Ruin of the Cardinal one way or other, tho he had been his Patron, and thereby to ſecure his Prince's Favour to himſelf; to compaſs which he thought the Aſſiſtance of *Orleans* neceſſary, as I have already hinted: But as *Monſieur* was none of the fitteſt Men in the World at finding out Expedients, the Maſter of the Horſe thought it would be his wiſeſt Courſe to engage the Duke of *Bouillon* in the Affair; in order to which he wrote to him to come to *Paris* much about the ſame time that the Cardinal diſpatched a Courier to oblige the Duke to come thither before the King's Departure toward

Conſpiracy of M. le Grand.

owards *Rouſſillon*, on purpoſe to receive his Orders, nd go and command his Army in *Italy*. *Bouillon* be- ng come accordingly to *Paris*, and having ſeen *Cinq-Mars*, they concluded it was abſolutely neceſſary to reat with *Spain*, that they might have an Army ſuf- icient to cover *Sedan*, and to give Battel as the Year efore. It was alſo agreed they ſhould treat with the *Spaniard* in *Monſieur*'s Name, who gave *Fontrailles* his nſtructions accordingly; which Perſon concluded a reaty with *Olivarez*, whereby the King of *Spain* romiſed to give *Monſieur* 12000 Foot and 5000 Horſe f old Troops, beſides 400000 Crowns in ready Mo- ey to raiſe more, while *Orleans* promiſed to be ready t a Place of Security, which was *Sedan*, to put him- elf at the Head of his Army, and enter *France* with a leſign to oblige the Cardinal to conſent to a Peace be- ween the two Crowns, which was pretended to be he end of this Treaty; but the Ruin of *Richlieu* eemed to be at the bottom of it.

The Cardinal therefore, ever ſuſpicious of ſome Deſigns gainſt him, reſolved not to loſe ſight of the King in is Expedition to *Rouſſillon*. It was reported that *Cinq-Mars* propoſed more than once to *Orleans* and *St. Thou* o kill the Cardinal, which they would by no means ive their Conſent to. But be this as it will, *Orleans* id all he could to engage the Duke of *Beaufort* now eturned from *England*, in his Intereſts, tho with little ucceſs; yet in the Camp before *Perpignan* things came o be ſo managed, that the whole Army was divided nto two Factions, the one of which was named *Roya-ſts*, and the other *Cardinaliſts*. Here the King fal- ng dangerouſly ill, as the Cardinal had ſickened be- ore, the Maſter of the Horſe made ſure of the Guards nd *Swiſs*, and got the Officers to promiſe to ſerve *Or-ans* in the Diſpute that would ariſe between him and he Cardinal concerning the Regency. In the mean me the Favour of the Maſter of the Horſe daily di- iniſhed, ſo that the King had no more of thoſe long onferences which he uſed to have with him when he as in his Bed.

In the *interim* the Cardinal being ſtill ſick at *Narbonne*, nd the King before *Perpignan*, the Miniſter received dvice from *Spain*, that a certain *French*-man was ſeen

in *Olivares* his Anti-chamber, and that the Report ran every where that the Cardinal's Enemies had made a Treaty with *Spain*, a Copy whereof could not then be got. This made him very uneasy, and the more, because he desired the King to leave *Perpignan*, and come to him to *Narbonne* in vain; so that not imagining himself safe where he was, he cunningly removes from thence to the Waters of *Tarescan*. Here he received a Copy of the Treaty of *Madrid*, which he sent forthwith to the King by *Chavigny*, desiring withal *Cinq-Mars* might be apprehended. *Chavigny*, and even *Simond* his Father Confessor, had all the difficulty imaginable to bring the King to comply with it; but having at length determined the Ruin of poor *Cinq-Mars*, he must needs leave the Army, where he was extremely beloved, and remove to *Narbonne*, as a more convenient Place to seize him, which was done accordingly on the 14th of *June*, and his Person secured in the Cittadel of *Montpelier*. *De Thou* and *Chavignac* were likewise secured. In the mean time *Offonville*, whom *Bouillon* had sent to the Master of the Horse, being informed of his Imprisonment, took Post to carry the News to the Duke; and having acquainted *Turenne* with it at *Monfrin*, he immediately gave the Cardinal notice of it, who took speedy care to secure *Offonville* at *Valence*, and to apprehend *Bouillon* at *Casal*, from whence some time after he was removed to *Lyons*.

Cinq-Mars, &c. seized.

Orleans receiving advice of this Discovery, relapsed to his usual Weakness, wrote to the King and Council, and confest all; upon which he pardoned him. This done, and the King continuing still indisposed, he resolved to return to *Paris*, and in his way to *Lyons* having seen the Cardinal at *Monfrin*, there past great Endearments between them, and the Cardinal was impowered to act with the same Authority in Matters of State wherever he was as before; wherefore he nominated some Commissioners to try the Criminals, in order to which *Cinq-Mars* was brought to *Lyons*, where both he and *St. Thou* were condemned and executed; but *Chavignac*, a *Hugonot* Gentleman who had served under the Duke of *Roan*, and had refused to be concerned in the matter, was freed and acquitted.

Executed.

But

But not to dwell any longer upon this Affair, while the Houſe of *Auſtria* were now both in *Germany* and *Spain* declining apace, an unhappy Civil War was broke out in *England* between the King and Parliament. *Charles* was ſuſpected in *France* to be inclined towards *Spain*, but in *England* to have a Leaning towards *France*; however it were the Ambaſſador of his laſt Crown, having addreſt himſelf to the Parliament, after the King had broke with them, this Prince was extremely offended at it, and ſent great Complaints of this Procedure to the Court of *France*. K. *Lewis* anſwered, it was without his Orders; and to convince the *Engliſh* Envoy that it was ſo, he promiſed to recal his Ambaſſador, which was done ſoon after: However ſeveral Perſons were of Opinion, he durſt never have appeared in a matter of that conſequence, at leaſt without an Order from the Chief Miniſter, who for his part was not ſorry to have thoſe Diſturbances laſt longer. However the *French* Ambaſſador proteſted to the King of *England*, that what he had done, was with a Deſign to induce the Parliament to a Peace; notwithſtanding we have good Reaſon to believe, *Richlieu* fomented underhand our Diviſions both in *England* and *Scotland*: But all his Intrigues and wicked Machinations are now drawing to an End; for not only the King's Health, which was extremely altered ſince the Death of *Cinq-Mars*, but alſo that of the Cardinal began ſenſibly to leſſen, who being ſeized towards the End of *Novemb.* with an exceeding pain in his Side, accompanied with a Feaver, he lingred out his Days to the 4*th* of *Decemb.* when he departed this Life in the 58*th* Year of his Age. *Armand* Cardinal Duke of *Richlieu*, was born of noble but ordinary Parents; and it happens that the beginning of our Lives, buried in utmoſt Darkneſs, give no Intimations whither the Laws of Deſtiny will be extended, he applies himſelf in his Youth to Studies, and afterwards to the Life of a Churchman. Aſpiring always to the greateſt things, he made it viſible, that from every Corner of Fortune the higheſt Degrees are to be attained to, provided a Man have the Confidence to promote and believe himſelf worthy of them. Having inſinuated to the Court, he intruded himſelf into the Factions,

C. Richlieu's *Death and Character.*

and ſucceeded either in ſowing Diſcords, or compoſing them after ſo excellent a manner, that Art never failed him, and he was ſeldom abandoned by Fortune: If he introduced himſelf into Favour, if he enjoyed it, it was generally thought to be againſt the Inclination of the Prince that raiſed him. He ſet the King at Enmity with his Mother, Brother, and it may be with himſelf, conſtraining him to give up his Authority to him, tho he denied him his Affection; he ballanced Favour againſt Envy, being ſupported by the King, but always hated by the Princes, execrated by the People, and ſought to be enſnared by Strangers: He never grew remiſs in Proſperity, nor deſpaired in the Croſſneſs of Affairs, wherein either Chance furniſhed him with Accidents, or his Wit ſuggeſted him Councils. Having diſarmed the Proteſtants in *France*, laid the great Ones low, weakned the People and the Parliaments, he eſtabliſhed the Vigour of Arbitrary Government: On the other ſide uſurping all Power to himſelf, fearing the Security of Peace, and thinking himſelf more ſafe amidſt the Revolutions of Arms, he was the Author of Wars, and of long and grievous Calamities, with ſo much Blood ſhed and Tears both within and without the Kingdom, that 'tis no wonder he has been cenſured for a Man falſe to his Word, cruel in his Hatred, and inflexible in Revenge, ſo that *Patin* calls him the *Jupiter Mactator* of *France*. But leaving to God the more exact Judgment of his Intentions and Actions, thoſe Endowments cannot certainly be denied him, which the World is wont to attribute to great Perſonages; his very Enemies agreed in a Confeſſion with his Friends, that he poſſeſt ſuch and ſo many of them, that whitherſoever he directed his Affairs he reaped Succeſs and Power. This may be ſaid of him, that having united *France*, ſuccoured *Italy*, confounded the Empire, divided *England*, and weakened *Spain*, he was the Inſtrument choſen by Divine Providence for the Ruin of *Europe*.

1643. But to ſay no more of this great Cardinal, nor at preſent of his Succeſſor *Mazarine*, who in a ſhort time ſucceeded him in the Prime Miniſtry, and was ſaid to be earneſtly recommended to the King by *Richlieu*, as the fitteſt Perſon in his Kingdom for ſo high a Station: We ſhall now come to cloſe this King's Reign, who di-

id not ſurvive his Favourite many Months. He lan-
uiſhed away continually, and was the more uneaſy
y reaſon of the tender Age of his Son; ſo that he
as exerciſed with many difficult Thoughts about the
irection of his Affairs; and the principal Miniſters,
he Reliques of *Richlieu*'s Faction were no leſs trou-
led, as fearing the Queen coming to be Regent,
hould for former Diſguſts be revenged upon them.
Wherefore *Mazarine*, *Bottillier*, and his Son *Chavigny*
ndeavoured to poſſeſs the King with the Danger to
hich he expoſed the Crown and the Heir of it, if
he Government ſhould fall to the Queen, who was
ot only unexperienced in Affairs, but offended by
aſt uſage, and of a ſtrange Nation, nay an Enemy,
owards whom ſhe had not at all loſt Inclination and
ffection. Nor did this Counſel ſucceed ill, for *Lewis*
y his Will left to his Wife the Name of Regent, but *K. Lewis*
he Power to the Miniſters. To his Brother he com- *his Will.*
itted the Lieutenancy of the Crown; to *Conde* the
hief Place in Council, but ſubordinate to *Orleans*;
Mazarine he made Prime Miniſter, and for Counſel-
ors added *Seguier*, *Bottillier* and *Chavigny*, with a
roviſo that they ſhould not be excluded but for Crimes,
r by Death. By this Council with Majority of Voi-
es, the moſt arduous Affairs were to be decided, Mi-
tary and Civil Offices diſpenſed, and as occaſion was,
he Members of the Council it ſelf to be ſupplied. As
or the conferring of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, he obli-
ed the Queen to follow Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Judg-
ent; he alſo required that *Chateauneuf* the Keeper of
he Seals, and the Dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe* ſhould not be
ermitted to return to the Kingdom; and as to other
xiles and Priſoners, he left them to the Pleaſure of
he Council: This Will was ſigned and ſworn to by
he Queen and Princes, and verified by the Parlia-
ent. The Queen having no Party, could not oppoſe
t, tho *Beaufort* declared in her Favour, and that at
t. *Germains* where the King lay ſick, Cabals were held
n order to the forming of Factions. But amidſt theſe
nd all the Commotions of Affections and Diſcourſes,
he King breathed his laſt on the 10*th* of *May*, in the *Dies.*
43*d* Year of his Age, and having juſt upon that Day
ompleated the 33*d* of his Reign. He was a Prince of a

King's Character.

comely and middle ſized Proportion, of a ſpare but good Make; and tho not robuſt, yet active: His Complexion was ſoft, tho his Hair was black, which turned grey before he ſaw Thirty: Seldom came any Humidity from his Mouth or Noſtrils; neither was he ſubject to ſweat, tho his Exerciſes were ſometimes very violent. *Lewis* having by his Arms enlarged the Power, Renown and Majeſty of his Kingdom, had certainly been numbred among the Princes of greateſt Fame, if the Glory of *Richlieu* had not interpoſed, to whom the World aſcribed the Counſel and Succeſs; but he lived and died without being capable of defending himſelf againſt the Arts of Favourites; he was indeed adorned with ſome good Virtues, but ſuffered the exceeding great Defects of his Miniſters; tho he diſarmed the Reformed in *France*, yet he countenanced and promoted thoſe of that Religion abroad: He was ſparing in his Diet, Clothing, and except it were in Hunting, abſtained from all ſorts of Pleaſures; abandoned the Wealth of his People as a Prey to the Profuſions of his Favourites. With the Title of *Juſt* he covered many ſevere Examples, filled the *Baſtile* often with innocent People, and managed the Sword of the Executioner to the private Revenge of his Confidents. His Brother was a Fugitive, and his Mother forced to fly; If then the Greatneſs of the Name of *Richlieu* in famous Acts obſcured the Glory of K. *Lewis*, it alſo rescued him from many Calumnies, ſaving only in this, that being jealous and avaritious of his own Authority towards his Kindred, he was ſuperfluouſly prodigal of it to his Miniſters.

CHAP

CHAP. IV.

The Reign of LEWIS XIV.

LEWIS XIV. who had not yet compleated the fifth Year of his Age, assumed the Name of King, and thereupon great Revolts were foretold, while to the Internal Confusions, which the Regency of a *Spanish* Woman, the Novelty of Government, the Affections of Ministers, and the Pretensions and Disgusts of Malecontents pointed out, Foreign Forces were quickly added: And the *Spanish* Army under *Melo*, which consisted of 17000 Foot, and 7 or 8000 Horse, appeared on the Frontiers, to give Invitation and Incouragement to those who should affect Novelties. He having, during the late King's Sickness, waited some Days without attempting any thing, resolved at last to invade *France*, the more powerfully to promote Disturbances, with an assured Hope of finding little Resistance: Whereupon the Army augmented with some additional Forces, having entred into *Tirasche*, and laying many Places wast with Fire and Sword, he laid Siege to *Rocroy*, a little Place on the Frontiers of *Champagne*; which alone he thought might hinder his March as far as *Rheims*, and from thence perhaps to *Paris*. But by this Action, Heaven seemed to shew it self partial in favour of *France*; for if *Melo* retarding his March, had maintained the Credit of his Army, or if his Design in taking the Place had succeeded, he might have been able to advance towards *Paris*, to countenance those that were for him, and to put the rest in Confusion; and there is not much doubt to be made, but that out of the Sepulchre of K. *Lewis*, would have been raised the Fortune of the *Spanish* Crown. 1643. *Siege of* Rocroy.

The Duke of *Enghien*, *Conde*'s Son, who was scarce out of his Childhood, commanded the *French* Army in those Parts, being assisted by the Mareschal *de la Hospital* and *M. Gassion*, upon notice of the Siege, speedily drew together as many Troops as he could, which

1643. amounted to no more than 14000 Foot and 6000 Horſe, and came near to the Place ſcituate in a Plain, and environed with low Grounds and Woods. Now *Melo* being perſuaded he could have taken it with Eaſe, erected only five Baſtions, which were yet unfiniſhed, with ſome Outworks, and a ſcant Gariſon, but thought a Line of Circumvallation needleſs; this gave *Gaſſion* an Opportunity to throw into the Place, thro the midſt of his Enemies Battalions, ſome Reinforcements, with which the Gariſon being ſtrengthned made a Sally, and recovering a half Moon, gave time for the main Army to come up; with which the Duke thereupon arrived with ſo much Reſolution, as to diſcover he would not refuſe a Battel. *Melo* ſuperior in Forces, rejoiced already with an Aſſurance of Victory; and therefore removing from the Siege to range himſelf in order for Battel, he loſt an exceeding great Advantage by ſo doing: For *Enghien* being not able to diſengage the Army ſo ſoon from certain narrow Paſſages between the Wood and the Mariſh Grounds, was by the Night overtaken with his Troops divided; but *Melo* did not care to attack him, pretending to ſtay for a Reinforcement under the Command of General *Beck*, who was coming with 4000 Men to overcome at one Blow, not only part but all the Enemy. On the other hand, the *French* during the Night quickly reunited themſelves; and the Generals receiving Advice of the King's Death, with expreſs Orders not to hazard a Battel in that Conjuncture, kept it ſecret, that they might not diſpirit their own Men, nor put more Confidence in the Enemy, ſince they found themſelves ſo far advanced, that they could not retire either with Safety or Honour. Here *Gaſſion* with the Right Wing pitched upon ſuch an advantageous Poſt, as that he could conveniently attack the *Spaniards* in Flank; while *Melo* not caring to ſtay any longer for *Beck*, readily accepted the Engagement, and in the beginning had the Succeſs to rout and purſue all the Left Wing, with the gaining of eight pieces of Cannon, the taking of *Senneterre* Priſoner, and the wounding of *Monſieur del Hoſpital*. But for all this *Enghien* with undaunted Courage acted his Part in the Action; and ſuggeſting to himſelf, if not from Experi-

Battel of Rocroy.

ence,

ence, at leaſt from his Birth, the Remembrances and Provocations of Glory, he reſtored the broken Troops to Courage and Order, and led on again thoſe that were more entire to the Fight. While *Gaſſion* ſhocked the Left Wing of the *Spaniards* in ſuch a manner, that the Cavalry could not withſtand him: Their General *Albequerque* being the firſt of them that betook himſelf to flight, wherein he was eaſily followed by the reſt; upon this *Gaſſion* fell on the Rear of the Left Wing of the *Spaniards*, who being hitherto victorious, and purſuing their Advantage, had ſcarce been put a little to the Stop by *Scirot*, who ſeaſonably with a Body of Reſerve was moving to encounter it, but ſuddenly ſeeing the Attack from the Rear, they turned off, and at laſt totally gave way. The Foot which conſiſted of the beſt *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Troops, reſiſted with admirable Courage as long as they were able, *de Fontaine* their General having by the Gout the uſe of his Feet taken from him, died in a Chair at the Head of the Battalions with a great many brave Soldiers, whoſe Bodies were ſeen lying in Ranks, ſo immoveably had they kept their Stations. Divers indeed fled, of which *Melo* himſelf proved at laſt to be one; but five other Squadrons cloſing themſelves together, withſtood a long time the Charge of *Gaſſion*, reſolving not to part with their Lives but at a dear Rate. However being at length hemmed in on all Sides by the *French*, who at laſt were bringing Cannon to force them, they gave up their Arms. The Priſoners amounted to 6000, which with the Cannon, Baggage, and a great Number of Colours remained in the Power of the *French*, who found not above 2000 wanting of their Number. Hereupon *Enghien* animated with the Battel, and fluſh'd with Victory, fell into the Enemies Country, not only recompenſing with Burning, the Miſchief done in the *Tiraſche*, but hoping in that Conſternation of Minds for ſome great Revolt; but finding nothing of that like to happen, he laid Siege to *Thionville*, which after divers bloody Rencounters was ſurrendered, and ſoon after *Sirch* run the ſame Fate. 1643. Thionville, *&c. taken by* Enghien.

The Queen Regent in the mean time, after her Husband's Deceaſe, went with her two Sons from *St. Germains* to *Paris*, amidſt long Files of the People in Arms;

1643. Arms; and entring with the new King into the Parliament, where *Orleans* and *Conde* aſſiſted, ſhe there delivered her Mind rather with Tears than Words, and ſhewing the Sons as Pledges of her Affection and the Kingdom's Felicity, referred herſelf to the late King's Diſpoſition of the Regency. *Orleans* and *Conde* declaring, they had only given their Conſent, that they might not defile with Reluctancy and Diſguſts, the Repoſe of the King's laſt Breath. The Will indeed to many of the Members of the Parliament ſeemed not conſonant, and to be received; and the ſame being at laſt aboliſhed with unanimous Votes, they decreed the Regency to the Queen-Mother alone, with an abſolute Power; but for the obtaining the Conſent of the two forementioned Princes, it was before concerted the Queen ſhould confirm them in the Charges the King had conferred upon them, and that the ſame Miniſters ſhould be continued in the Council. Now the Queen as the firſt Act of her Authority, and in order to the avoiding of inteſtine Broils, recalled the Exiled, and ſet the *Baſtile* open; and to gain Applauſe, beſtow'd Charges and Gifts upon thoſe ſhe knew ſhe could not wiſh better to, at the ſame time publiſhing that her Deſire was during her Regency to exert all the Virtues, but none of the Defects of the paſt Government. As for the Princes, who were Confederates and Friends to *France*, ſhe declared ſhe would perſevere in the Alliances and Affections of her deceaſed Husband; but for Miniſters in the Council, it quickly appeared, that ſhe deſired to bring into it Perſons that were more in her Confidence; they were indeed but few, and had outlived the Proſecutions of *Richlieu*, as being neglected rather than preſerved, by reaſon of the Opinion of their mean Abilities. However the other Miniſters beginning now to apprehend a Change, the Chancellor to ſupport himſelf, imployed as much Money as he could, and all the Artifice he was capable of for the gaining of thoſe, who being moſt converſant with the Queen, ſhould on all Occaſions remonſtrate to her his Ability in Imployments, and the Facility with which he ſuffered himſelf without reſerve to be ſubjected to the Supreme Will of the Government; a Quality not to be deſpiſed in a new Regency.

Acts of the Queen-Regent.

Now

Now *Bottillier* having the Keys of the Treaſury, as his Son managed the Pen for Secrets of State, but withal by ſuch eminent Charge and immenſe Riches provoked the Hatred of the People and Envy of the Court; he judged it would be proper for the Preſervation of the reſt, to give up the Superintendancy, which the Queen divided between *Bailleul* her Chancellor, and *d' Avo*: And a while after for all this Pace of the Father, *Chavigny* under the Title of Sale, was forced to yield up the Office of Secretary of State to the Count *de Brienne*, a Perſon of exemplary Integrity, and one of the Queen's oldeſt Servants. To the Charge of Prime-Miniſter, a matter as difficult to be diſpoſed of as to be undertaken, becauſe Confidence and Capacity were requiſite in an equal Degree, ſhe deſigned the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, who had been kept from Court as long as *Richlieu* lived: But this Perſon, tho at firſt he was believed to be a Man of Probity and Ability, yet was no ſooner come to Court, but in the Obſcurity of ſo many Affairs and Intereſts he found a new and obſcure Element, and paſſing from a private to a publick Life, ſeemed like a River, which in its own Channel running clear and quiet, when it enters into the Sea becomes troubled and fluctuant: He erred at firſt againſt his own Fortune, by not removing *Mazarine* from Court, as thinking he might detain him at his Pleaſure to be informed and inſtructed by him. But he quickly came to underſtand, that the Excellency of Parts will generally keep the predominancy in all Things and Places; for the Cardinal, tho in this Eclipſe of Fortune he were abandoned by all thoſe, who but a little before worſhipped him, was not amazed; but pretending to accommodate himſelf to the Times, with civil and ſubmiſſive Carriage moved Compaſſion and Affections. Leaving the Biſhop to loſe himſelf under the weight of Affairs, or grow vain with the Ambition of the Place; it is certain, that all thoſe who negotiated with him, were diſſatisfied with his Want of Experience; but above all the Miniſters of the *Italian* League were offended with him, for having with his being introduced into Favour, aſſumed the Ambition of adorning himſelf with the Purple. The King having now obtained him a Cardinal's Cap, he

1643.

Changes at Court.

ſhewed

1643. ſhewed himſelf more partial to the Court of *Rome*. Now *Mazarine* ſeeing him totter, cunningly began to abſent himſelf from Council, alledging, that being excluded from his former Poſt, he could no more appear there; whereupon the Government grew quickly ſenſible of the Weakneſs and Change of the Miniſtry; and the Queen, a greater Novice in Buſineſs than all, was much unreſolved upon it.

It's not to be doubted but there appeared in the Queen ſome Inclination towards the Cardinal, at which *Beauvais* growing jealous, he engaged as many as he could, who hoped to have a great ſhare in his Government, to form a Party to diſcard him; but perceiving at laſt he was not able to do it alone, it was publiſhed, that the Duke of *Beaufort* would take upon him to kill the Cardinal, and Papers with ſharp Invectives were ſcattered in the Apartments and private Cabinets of the Court. The Queen moved at it, cauſed the Duke to be ſeized, and commanded the Biſhop to retire to his See: The Dukes of *Vendoſme* and *Merceur*, *Beaufort's* Father and Brother, went out of *Paris*, and Madam *de Chevreuſe* left it alſo. Thus the Court changing its face in a moment, gave *Mazarine* opportunity to eſtabliſh himſelf: For want of other Capacities, and by the means of thoſe who took his part, he cauſed it to be divulged, that the Quality of a Stranger ought not to prejudice him, but was rather to be judged commodious for the publick Good, he being neither tied to the Factions of the Princes, nor expoſed to the Hatred of the Great Ones; that the Natives had Kindred, Riches and Parties, in which they were confident either to find Excuſes for their Overſights, or Pardon for their Faults; that himſelf being deſtitute of all Protection, could not hope for Support but in his Innocency; that he willingly expoſed himſelf to the Hatred of the turbulent, being always willing to deliver the Lovers of Peace out of Troubles.

Mazarine made Prime Miniſter.

All People applauded theſe Conceptions, ſome out of a deſign to beſpeak his Favour and to advance him, while others intended thereby to expoſe him to the publick Hatred, and ruin him; and many not being able to bear the Superiority of Equals, rather inclin'd to a Stranger. Thus the Cardinal was ſuddenly

denly ſet up in the heigth of Authority, which *Richlieu* in the Progreſs of many Years and with ſo many Difficulties ſcarce could arrive to. *Orleans* weary of his Baniſhments and former Troubles, and being of a Genius otherwiſe tractable, grew now ſatisfied with the Poſture wherein he was; and being deſirous to be imployed in the Armies, was pleaſed with the Submiſſions and Flatteries of *Mazarine*, who ſupplied him with Money, and deſigned him the next Year for the Command of the Army in *Flanders*. Then for *Conde*, he growing ſedate after the doubtfulneſs of the Regency, and intent upon heaping up Wealth, and conſequently a Friend to Favourites, from whom he received Advantage, was at preſent content with his Condition; the Cardinal ſerving him to obtain of the Queen all that which his Intereſts ſuggeſted him to pretend to: His Brave Son *Enghien*, who had happily taſted the firſt Glory of War, breathed nothing but a Martial Genius, profeſſed himſelf bound to the new Miniſter, who deſigning him for the Command of an Army, furniſhed him alſo with thoſe means for his Subſiſtance, which his Father's Patrimony ſparingly diſpenſed unto him. For the reſt, the Great Ones finding themſelves without Places and without Governments, and the People exhauſted both in their Wealth and Blood, they were ſo far from oppoſing, that all rather applauded the Cardinal, who in this beginning made it his Glory not to appropriate to himſelf Riches, Governments or Honours, but Labour and Toil only, with inflexible Rigour to keep his Kindred far diſtant, to refuſe the Queen's Favours and Benefits, and above all truſting in his Fidelity, and the Services which he propoſed to render to the Crown, to deteſt any Defence or Guards, but remained content with his own Houſe, and the Modeſty of a frugal Family. Theſe were the Initiations of the Cardinal's Miniſtry, where continually increaſing in Favour, he was notwithſtanding acceptable to all: But Strangers could not believe the Miniſtry durable, or the Peace of the Kingdom laſting; yet it quickly appeared that it was confirm'd, nay rather increaſed in Dominion and Glory, the Power and Authority being ſo enlarg'd, that the Change of the Miniſter, the King's Death, the Government of a Child,

1643.

The Diſpoſition of the Princes.

1643. Child, and the Direction of a Stranger had no power at all to ſhake it.

The Queen in theſe Beginnings ſhewed an Inclination to a Peace; and the Cardinal to keep the People contented with thoſe hopes, cauſed Paſsports to be diſpatched for the Miniſters of *Spain*, and was contented a Beginning ſhould be given to the Meetings, for which the Pope deputed the Biſhop of *Nardo* as his Nuncio to *Cologn*; the *Venetians* on their part about the ſame time diſpatching *Contarini* thither. But the *French* on their part thinking the beſt way for Peace was to be ready for a War, they would firſt agree with the States and the Prince of *Orange* how to imploy their Arms that Year; at which the *Spaniards* quarrel'd, and indeed there ſeemed to be no great Diſpoſitions as yet in any of the Parties to go ſincerely to work about the intended Peace.

But leaving this Treaty for a few Moments, and but juſt to mention, that beſides *Munſter*, the City of *Oſnabrug* was deputed for a Rendevouz for the Agents of the Proteſtant Princes and States, to the end that they might there diſcuſs between themſelves the Intereſts of the Crown of *Swedeland*, and of the Princes of their Religion, as was deſired by the *Swedes*, in point of Precedency, eſpecially ſince the Pope's Agents did interpoſe at *Munſter*. We are to obſerve, that before the Concluſion of this Year, the *Spaniards* beſides the Loſſes already mentioned, loſt *Trino* and *Pondeſtre* in *Italy*, and the Duke of *Breze* overcame the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and took ſix Ships from them.

1644. We ſhall paſs on to another Year, wherein the Treaty to be carried on at *Munſter* being ſtill in agitation with very little proſpect of Succeſs, we meet with nothing elſe within the compaſs of it that is very remarkable, only that the *Spaniards* in *July* retook *Lerida* in *Catalonia*, and forced *la Moth Houdancourt* to raiſe his Siege before *Tarragone*, which occaſioned that General to be re-called, and the Count of *Harcourt* to be ſent to command in his ſtead. And as for what was tranſacted on the ſide of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Orleans* beſieged *Graveling*, and the *Dutch* having blocked it up by Sea, it was ſurrendred after two months Siege.

The

The *Spaniards* alſo in the ſucceeding Year loſt *Roſes* in *Catalonia*, which was taken from them by the Count *du Pleſſis Praſlin*; after which happened the Battel of *Lorens*, wherein *Harcourt* overthrew them on the 21*ſt* of *July*, and killed 2000 Horſe and 3000 Foot, with 120 Officers. This Loſs was ſucceeded by the taking of *Balaguier* by the *French* on the 13*th* of *September*: They alſo ſecured *Barcelona* to themſelves by diſcovering a Plot of ſeveral eminent Perſons of that Town, who intended to deliver it to the *Spaniards*. On the other ſide, the *French* aſſiſted by the *Dutch* Fleet, became Maſters of the Fort of *Mardike* on the 10*th* of *July*. The Fort of *Link*, *Bourburg*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant* and *Armentiers* were likewiſe taken; after which the *French* joining with the Prince of *Orange*, aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt of the Country of *Waes*. But this was not all the Advantage they got; for they overthrew the Baron of *Bech* General of the *Spaniſh* Troops, and took all the Towns that ſtand upon the *Lys*, and under the Conduct of *Gaſſion* routed *Feuenſaldagne* and *Lamboy*. Indeed the *Spaniards* recovered ſomewhat of their Loſs, by re-taking *Mardike* with the loſs only of twenty Men. 1645. Spaniards Loſſes.

But a little to leave the Actions of the Field, and return to *Munſter*, where moſt of the Potentates of *Europe* ſent their Plenipotentiaries, and where *d' Avaux* and *Servient* appeared particularly for the *French*; we are here to obſerve, that the *French* being confederated with the *Swedes* and *Hollanders*, intended their Intereſts ſhould be treated jointly; but the *Swedes* declared they would have nothing to do with *Spain*, and the *Hollanders* intended not to meddle with any thing that concerned the Empire: So that *France* was obliged to alter her Form of Proceedings, the Princes with whom ſhe was to treat being divided into two Claſſes, one of which included the *Swedes*, Emperor and Empire, the other the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards*; and the *Dutch* inſiſted upon a Truce only, and not a Peace. The *French* inclined to a Peace, as being adjudged to be beſt for them in the preſent Conjuncture; neither were the *Spaniards*, as being weary of ſo many long and deſtructive Wars, leſs for it; but thinking to make their Terms the better, if they could break the Union between the *Negotiations at* Munſter.

1645. the *French* and *Dutch*, they endeavoured to make the Emperor treat with the *Hollanders* apart, not including the *French*; but the Queen of *Sweden* was more ſtedd to her Confederate. In the firſt Propoſals the *Frenc* projected the King of *Spain* ſhould no longer ſtile him- ſelf King of *Portugal*, nor of *Navarre*, nor Prince o *Catalonia*: That the Elector of *Treves* ſhould be ſet at liberty; and they together with the *Swedes* pre- tended that the Deputies of the Circles and States o the Empire ſhould aſſiſt in the Aſſembly. The Empe- ror and *Spaniards* would not hearken to theſe Terms, and the laſt inſiſted upon the Reſtitution of all that had been taken from them ſince the War; but the Emperor afterwards agreeing that the Elector ſhould be reſtored to his Liberty and Eſtates, and that the States of the Empire might be called at *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug*, the *French* put in their Propoſals, importing,

French *Propoſals.* That all their Confederates ſhould be ſatisfied, and have their Intereſts decided, together with thoſe of the Crown: That for the Affairs of *Italy*, the *French* were ready to conſent to what the Pope, *Venetians*, and other Potentates in that Country ſhould agree to, ſo long as they ſhould not be prejudicial to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and that the Princes and States of the Em- pire and *Italy* ſhould be bound for the Security of theſe Treaties: And when they came farther to propoſe, in reſpect to the Empire, That they would have *Alſatia*, *Sangovia*, *Briſcaw*, the four *Walſtadts* or Foreſt Towns, *Briſac* and *Philipsburg*, but this only in Protection; the reſt of the Plenipotentiaries were much amazed at it, and the *Swedes* themſelves grew jealous; in which Diſpoſition we muſt at preſent leave them, and take a- gain a ſhort View of the Actions of the Field in the Circumvolution of another Year.

1645. The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Enghien*, who commanded the Forces of *France* on the ſide of *Flanders*, laid ſiege to *Courtray*, and after ſome hot Diſpute forced it to yield upon Articles on the 28*th* of *June* in ſight of the Duke of *Lorain* and *Piccolomini*, who were come to relieve it. This Surrendry was followed by that of *Bergue St. Vinock*, by the Caſtle of *Mardike*, which the *French* took the ſecond time on the 24*th* of *Auguſt*, and by *Furnes*, which yielded on the 6*th* of *September*

d finally by *Dunkirk*, which *Enghien* beſieged by and, whilſt the *Dutch* under the Command of Admiral *Trump* blocked it up by Sea: The Siege laſted nly three Weeks, and the Capitulation was ſigned on e 10*th* of *October*. The *Spaniards* were in ſome mearе comforted for ſo many Loſſes by the raiſing of e Siege of *Lerida* in *Catalonia*, and driving *Harcourt* om thence: But they had not the ſame Succeſs before *rbitelle* upon the Coaſts of *Tuſcany*; the *Spaniards* ndeavouring to relieve it by their Naval Forces, were efeated by the Duke *de Breze*, who commanded the *rench* Fleet, and was killed with a Cannon-ball, hile he was too haſtily purſuing his Victory; but rince *Thomas* of *Savoy* was ſo far from receiving any enefit from this Victory, that he was forced to raiſe e Siege. However, the Mareſchals of *Meilleray* nd *Pralin* took off the Diſgrace of this ill Succeſs by king the Towns of *Piombini* on the 8*th* of *October*, nd of *Portolongo* in the Iſle of *Elbe* on the 29*th* of the me Month.

1646. French *take* Dunkirk, *&c.*

The *French* now ſpoke high at the Treaty, being elated ith the Proſperities of their own Arms and of their Conderates the *Swedes* the year before at the famous Battel f *Northlingen*; ſo that many Altercations hapned beween them and the *Spaniards* more particularly: But no they imagined the *Dutch* would by no Terms diſnite from them, yet their Plenipotentiaries inſinuated o thoſe of *Spain* (between whom by this time there was ſome tolerable Underſtanding) That the *French* verſeneſs to Peace was the only occaſion of rarding the Agreement: But before they would come o an entire Concluſion with them, they made new Offers to the *French* in the *Spaniards* Name, of the County of *Rouſillon*, of a Truce for 30 years in *Catania*, of all the Towns taken in the *Low Countries* and *Burgundy*, and of the recipocral Reſtitution of all that hey held in *Italy* appertaining to the Dukes of *Savoy* nd *Mantua*; to all which *Pignoranda* the *Spaniſh* Plepotentiary agreed, the Promiſe being kept, which s he alledged was made by the *French*, that nothing hould be ſaid of *Portugal*; that the Duke of *Lorain* hould be ſatisfied, as alſo the Emperor and the Empire. Wo of their Deputies went to ſignify this to the

1646. *French* Agents at *Osnabrug*, who were there to forward the Treaties with the Emperor and the Empire in conjunction with the *Swedes*, and to the exclusion of the *Spaniards*: They thought things were now in such a disposition as to hope for a speedy Peace; but upon their return to *Munster*, the *French* pretended that *Roses* and *Cadaches* were comprehended in the County of *Rousillon*, and not in *Catalonia*; and afterwards they presented another Writing, importing, that a Proviso must be made, that *Casal* must never return to any of the House of *Austria*; that the Portion of the *Infanta Donna Catherina* of *Savoy* should be paid; that the Treaty of *Chierasquo* should be observed and maintained by Arms; that the *Grisons* and *Valtelines* should return to the Condition they were in in 1617. that *Don Duarte* of *Portugal* should be set at liberty before the Treaty was ratified; that all the Goods formerly belonging to the House of *Aquavia* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, confiscated by *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, should be restored to *Signior de Anglier*, the pretended Duke of *Atria*; and that the Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Navarre* should be reserved to the King of *France*, notwithstanding the Peace. Some Disputes arose hereupon, and the *Spaniards* said they were new Additions; but for all that, they were contented they should be decided by the Mediators, by whom at last they were adjusted in the end of *February* this Year; and in this State we shall at present leave 'em.

If we look into the Camp, we shall find the *French* under the Conduct of the Duke of *Enghien*, newly become Prince of *Conde* by his Father's Death, laid
1647. siege to *Lerida* in *Catalonia* with as bad Success as the former Year; and on the other hand, the Arch-Duke *Leopold* the Emperor's Brother newly admitted Governor of the *Low Countries*, pretended to besiege *Courtray*, but he turned on a sudden towards *Armentiers*, which notwithstanding the stout Resistance of the Governour he forced to surrender: He also recovered *Landre*, which after a Siege of six weeks yielded to him on the 19*th* of *July*, while the *French* dividing their Army, conquered *Dixmude* on the 12*th* of the said Month under the Conduct of the Mareschal *de Rantzau*, but they lost it again in *October* following. On the other

1647.

ide, they maſtered *la Baſſee* on the 19*th* of *July* under he Command of *Gaſſion*, in ſpite of *Leopold*, who ttempting to force the *French* Lines, was obliged to etreat: But *Gaſſion* after this did not long ſurvive; for ndeavouring in perſon to pull up a Palliſade of a Half-noon at the Town of *Lens*, which he had blocked up n the 24*th* of *September*, he was wounded in the Head ith a Musket-ball, whereof he died four days after, ery much lamented for his Courage and Experience in he Art of War. It was obſerved he had a very great verſion to Women, which agrees not with the Notion f thoſe who maintain that Love is the ordinary Weak-eſs of ſtout Hearts. The *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which as much weakened by the great Damages it had ſu-ained, was likely now to have a very notable Loſs by e Rebellion of the *Neapolitans* under *Maſſianello*. I all not enter into a detail of the Particulars; it is fficient to obſerve, that after he and others were cut f, the *Neapolitans* ſent for *Henry* of *Lorain* Duke of *uiſe*, who was then at *Rome*, to come to their aſſiſt-ce. Upon his Arrival, he was proclaimed *Genera-imo* of all the Forces of the Country, and Defender their Liberties under the Protection of *France*. he Duke of *Richlieu* General of the *French* Gallies, o was come to the aſſiſtance of *Naples*, ſailed into e Gulph, and beat the *Spaniſh* Fleet; but a violent mpeſt drove him from thence, and he made the beſt his way for *France*. In the mean time *Guiſe*, to ſwer the Opinion which the *Neapolitans* had of his urage, beſieged the *Spaniards* in the Caſtles of *aples*; but the Succeſs was not anſwerable to his Ex-ctations, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

But to return now, and go thro with the Treaty of *unſter*, we are to obſerve, that the *Dutch*, after the *niards* had accepted of the Writing delivered in the *French*, as before mentioned, went yet farther, d brought them to accept of an Inſtrument of Peace m the *French*, which contained 76 Articles, amongſt ich they included *Portugal*; but the *Spaniards* would no means hear that Country mentioned: Wherefore Mediators, that the Treaty might not break off, d the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, that it would forward the ſineſs much, if they would admit of a new Inſtru-

1647. ment, which they propoſed to them; but that availing nothing, the *French* on the 8th of *September* declared, they had Orders not to treat any longer, unleſs *Spain* would totally abandon the Duke of *Lorain*: And indeed the *French* ſtood upon ſuch high Demands, that the *Dutch* their Confederates diſliking their Arrogance, and perhaps foreſeeing the ill Effects of their Succeſſes, concluded a Truce not much unlike to that of the Year 1612. with the *Spaniards*; and the ſame Truce they afterwards turned to a perpetual Peace, by which they were acknowledged a Free and Sovereign State: It was ſigned on the 30th of *January* this Year, without the Con-

1648. currence of the *French*, who thereupon proteſted a-

Peace of gainſt it; but this ſignified nothing, the buſineſs was

Munſter. done, and the two Crowns could by no means come to an Accommodation: However, the *French* having puſhed on the Peace between themſelves, *Swedes*, Emperor and Empire, excluſive to the *Spaniards*, they at laſt effected it much to their own advantage; for they had the Town of *Briſac*, the Landtgraveſhip of the Upper and Lower *Alſatia*, with *Langaw*, and the Provincial Juriſdiction of the ten Imperial Cities in *Alſatia*, which ſhould be for ever incorporated into the Kingdom of *France*, and the *French* King might keep a Gariſon perpetually in *Philipsburg*, he being to pay three Millions of *French* Livres in three Years, which were to commence when the King of *Spain* ſhould have ſubſcribed the Treaty: They had alſo *Pignerol* relinquiſh'd to them by this Peace.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guiſe* continued to make War upon the *Spaniards* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and beſieg'd 'em in *Niſita*; yet was no ſooner got out of the City, in order to this Deſign, but the *Spaniards* recovered the Command of the Town by ſome Friends: When *Guiſe* attempted in vain to return, he endeavoured to ſave himſelf in the Country of *Abruzzo*, but was taken Priſoner, and had it not been for *Don John* of *Auſtria*, would have loſt his Head. About the ſame time the Duke of *Modena* having caſt himſelf into the Arms of *France*, *Pralin* defeated *Caracena* Governour of *Milan*, but laid ſiege in vain to the City of *Cremona*. However, *Schomberg* Vice-Roy of *Catalonia* had better Succeſs, not only by taking *Tortoſa*, but relieving of

Flix

Ilix blocked up by *Melo*. On the other hand, 1648.
Arch-Duke *Leopold* recovered *Furnes*, *Courtray* and
Lens, and had even a deſign to march into *France*;
but *Conde*, who had taken *Ypres*, marched the ſame
day it was ſurrendred as far as *Lens*; yet failing to
relieve the Place, he on the 20*th* of *Auguſt* gave French
Battel to the *Spaniards*: The Encounter was fierce, the *defeat the*
Prince and *Grammond* who each of them led a Wing Spaniards.
of the *French* Army, defeated the two Wings of the
Spaniards commanded by the Prince of *Ligni* and *Bu-*
uoy, and then ſurrounded the whole Body of the Army,
which they forced to fly. The Arch-Duke made his
Eſcape with the loſs of 3000 ſlain, 5000 Priſoners,
200 Officers, with General *Bec*, *Ligni*, *St. Amour*,
18 Pieces of Cannon, his Baggage, Ammunition, and
120 Colours and Standards; after which Victory *Lens*
and *Furnes* ſurrendred to the *French*.

Theſe Succeſſes were not ſo conſiderable to *France* as
their inteſtine Broils were diſadvantageous to them,
of the Riſe and Progreſs of which we ſhall be a little
particular: And here you muſt underſtand, that the
Parliament of *Paris* conſiſted of three ſorts of Perſons,
the firſt were by way of Raillery named *Frondeurs*
or Slingers, who oppoſed the Court, and would re-
dreſs Grievances, tho they had alſo their ſiniſter Ends;
the ſecond were *Mazarinians*, and the third ſteered a
middle way between both. The firſt were the more
predominant Party by a great deal, and not liking at all
the Adminiſtration of the Cardinal, they beſtirred
themſelves ſo againſt him, that the Court thought fit to
confine divers of them. This inſtead of healing, made
the Breach much wider, in ſo much that they at length
ſent a ſolemn Invitation to *Orleans*, *Conde* and *Conti*
to join with them for the redreſs of the Grievances of
the State. Mens Minds were much agitated with this
Declaration, and the Court not a little concerned at
it; wherefore the King, Queen, *Orleans*, *Conde*, *Ma-* *King*, &c.
zarine, the Mareſchals *Meilleray* and *Villeroy*, the Ab- *leave* Pa-
bot *della Riviera*, and *Tilliere* Secretary of State, thought ris.
fit to retreat to *St. Germans*; whereupon there were 1649.
ſtrange Rumours ſpread abroad, and things began to
tend to the utmoſt Confuſion; ſo that the People being
now incited to mutiny, both ſides prepared for War,

1649. and the Siege of *Paris* being actually resolved on, they quickly seized on *St. Dennis* and *Corbeil*, which was a Place of great Importance to the *Parisians*; but they excused their possessing of it, by saying, they would not be the first that would break with the King. On the other hand, the Duke of *Elbeuf* and his three Sons, *Harcourt*, *Rieux*, and *Illabana*, took Service for the *Parisians*: *Conti* also fell in with them, and so did *Longueville*, the Mareschal *de la Motte*, and *Bouillon*. As for the distribution of their warlike Imployments, the Duke of *Beaufort*, who likewise sided with the *Parisians*, and *la Motte*, had the Charge of the Western part of the River towards *Orleans*; *Elbeuf*, *Bouillon*, and *Marsilliack* commanded the East-side towards *St. Dennis*, and *Noirmonstere* was made Lieutenant General: *Conti* was made *Generalissimo*, and *Longueville* was to go to *Normandy*, where *Roan* declared for him. The whole Province of *Poictou* seemed also to turn against the Court; however, there was now no looking back, wherefore the Royalists on the 16*th* of *Jan.* took *Lagne* upon the *Marne*, which alarmed the *Parisians* to see their Enemies so near *Paris*. And at the same time the Situation of *Corbeil*, by reason of the scarcity of Provisions, being grown considerable, they sent 4000 Men under *Beaufort* to seize it; but failing in the Attempt, the Avenues were now blocked up every where by the King's Men; and *Orleans* himself would head some Troops to attack *Charenton*, which was carried with great Vigour and Resolution; but tho the *Parisians* began to be straitned, and met with some other Mortifications, yet the King would send a Herald with Proposals to them; but they modestly rejecting that as being too mean for their Prince, answered, That upon Passports being granted them, they would send Deputies of their own to the King; which having been done accordingly, and they being returned again to *Paris*, and having made their Report to the Parliament, they thereupon no sooner began to treat, but *Arnolfini* came *incognito* to *Paris* from Archduke *Leopold*, with Letters to *Conti* and the Parliament, in order to disturb it: He offered to make such Advances as the Princes and Heads of the Party should please to have, and desired nothing but

Siege of Paris.

to

o free *Paris*, and procure a General Peace. Theſe 1649.
Offers, with many farther Particulars too long here to
e inſerted, were debated in the Parliament; and be-
g finally rejected, the Treaty went on, and a Peace
length was concluded on the 11*th* of *March* upon *Peace made.*
heſe Conditions: That all Hoſtilitys ſhould ceaſe, and
hat the Paſſes ſhould be opened; that the Parliament
hould go to *St. Germains*, where the King being ſea-
ed on his Throne of Juſtice, the Declaration and
rticles agreed on ſhould be verified, and that then
hey ſhould return to *Paris* to perform their Functions;
hat all the Chambers ſhould not meet this Year upon
ny pretence whatſoever, unleſs for the receiving ſome
ew Officers, and for Merchants Affairs, wherein
othing ſhould be treated of, but ſome ordinary things
ending to the Civil Government of the City; That
he Declarations of *May*, *July* and *Octob.* in 1648.
hich were made in Parliament, together with thoſe
f the 6*th* of *Jan.* this Year, ſhould be void and null,
ving what concerned Criminal Affairs between par-
cular Perſons; That all the Letters under the King's
eal, ſent upon the laſt Commotions of *Paris*, as alſo
he Declarations and Decrees made by the Privy Coun-
l upon that Head, from the 6*th* of *Jan.* to that In-
ant ſhould be aboliſhed; That all the Forces raiſed
Paris and out of it ſhould be caſhiered, when the
ing's Forces were retreated to the uſual Places upon
he Frontiers; that the Inhabitants ſhould lay down
heir Arms, and not re-aſſume them without the King's
eave; That the Archduke's Agent ſhould be diſmiſt
ithout any Anſwer; That all Writings and Moveа-
les ſhould be reſtored to thoſe, from whom they had
een taken; That the *Baſtile* and *Arſenal* ſhould be
ut into the King's Hands; That *Conti* and all the
eſt ſhould be reſtored to their *Statu quo*, and be never
ueſtioned for what was paſt; That thoſe who would
ot be included in this Treaty, ſhould receive no Fa-
our nor Aſſiſtance from *Paris*, or any others; That
he King ſhould return to *Paris*, as ſoon as his Occaſi-
ns would allow of it; That thoſe who had raiſed a-
y Money, Forces, ſold any Moveables, Warlike
mmunition or Proviſion, either out of the *Arſenal* of
aris, or elſewhere, ſhould not be obliged to give any

1649. Account of them; That the Election of *Nantes*, *Coignac*, *St. John de Angelis*, taken from the Court of *Aydes*, and attributed to the Court of *Aydes* at *Guyenne*, ſhould be reſtored to the Court of *Aydes* at *Paris*, where they were before the Edict; That in caſe the Parliament of *Roan* accepted of this Treaty within ten Days, the King would order the aboliſhing of the new ſix Months, and the re-uniting of all the Officers of the ſaid ſix Months, and of part of them to the Body of the ſaid Parliament; That the Treaty of the Parliament of *Provence* ſhould be put in Execution, according to the Form, Tenour and Letters ſent by the King, for the revoking and aboliſhing of the ſix Months of the Parliament of *Aix*, and Chamber of Requeſt, in conformity to the Articles agreed upon between the Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris*. As for the Diſcharge of the Taxes propounded by the Election of *Paris*, the King would be informed of the State of the ſaid Elections, as ſoon as the Forces were retreated, and would eaſe the Grievances of the ſaid Election, as he ſhould think fit: That when Deputies ſhould be ſent to treat of a Peace with *Spain*, the King would be pleaſed amongſt them to ſend ſome of the Parliament, who ſhould have the ſame Authority as the reſt.

This Peace being happily effected, there were other Motions made towards one with the *Spaniards*, who having now brought the Duke of *Modena* in *Italy* to accept of an Agreement, they yet fell to greater and more conſpicuous Enterprizes; for before *France* could be in a condition to withſtand them, and ſince there was no Place in *Flanders*, that did more incommode them than *Ypre*, ſituate between the *Lys* and the Sea, and backed by *Dunkirk* and *Gravelin*, *Fuenſaldagne* ſat down before it with the *Spaniſh* Army on the 12th of *April*, yet with the Appearance of no great Succeſs; for he was to make and guard a Line of Circumvallation of five *French* Leagues in Compaſs, to keep off the Sallies of a great many Defendants, who were very well fortified without, and in a perfect condition of Defence. Now the little Town of *St. Venant* near *Aire*, at the ſame time moleſting the adjacent Parts with its Gariſon, *Fuenſaldagne* having put

Spaniards take Ypre, &c.

ll things in good Order before *Ypre*, paſſed the *Lys* with part of the Army, attacked and forced it n ſix Days time to ſurrender, and then returned before *Ypre*; while the Archduke advanced to *Cominge*, from whence in conjunction with *Lamboy*, he went to join *Fuenſaldagne*, and attacked *Ypre* ſo vigorouſly, that the Gariſon in eight Days time was forced to ſurrender upon Honourable Terms. Now the Count of *Harcourt*, who was come with an Army into *Flanders* to ſtop the Proceedings of the Archduke, endeavoured in vain to take *Cambray*, but met with leſs Difficulty in ſurprizing *Conde*, which yet he quitted at the end of the Campagn, deſpairing of being able to keep it. The *Spaniards* were alſo more ſucceſsful this Year in *Catalonia* than before, by taking *Conſtantin*, *Salo* and *Sirges*; they endeavoured to recover *Barcelona* both by Sea and Land, but the Forces that *Marſin* Lieutenant General of the Province put into it, ſpoiled all their Deſigns. 1649.

To ſay no more at preſent of the Tranſactions of the Field, there were Jealouſies ſtill (notwithſtanding the late Agreement) between the Court and the Parliament of *Paris*; and the Court was ſo far from returning to that City forthwith upon the Concluſion of the Peace, that they ſojourned for ſome time in *Compeigne*; but being at laſt fully determined to reſide in the Capital City of the Kingdom, they actually went thither, where the more the King's Authority did increaſe, the more did that of the *Frondeurs* decreaſe, who notwithſtanding ceaſed not to be Enemies to the Cardinal, who was now very preſſing to have his Niece *Mancini* married to the Duke of *Mercœur*; and *Beaufort*, who was in great Reputation with, and as it were at the Head of the *Pariſians*, would, to ſhew his Zeal for the Party, viſit their Majeſties without ſeeing the Cardinal; and things began to grow ſo uneaſy with them, that notwithſtanding it was agreed on by Articles to the contrary, that the Chambers of Parliament ſhould not meet without the King's expreſs Leave, yet they ſaid theſe were unſufferable Errors, and inſiſted for a Meeting without it.

But while Things went thus at Court, the Emergencies that aroſe in other Provinces, were no leſs remarkable;

1649. kable; which will occaſion us to look back a little. Amongſt the ſeveral ways found out to raiſe Money, the Court had reſolved to introduce Semiſtry, which was an Addition of as many Officers as were before, to the end they might not exerciſe their Places as formerly for the whole Year, but by Turns from ſix Months to ſix Months, whereby not only Money might be raiſed, but the exorbitant Authority of Counſellors was thereby moderated. Now Orders being given for putting the Semiſtry in practice in *Provence*, as it was in *Normandy*, the Count *d' Alets* the Governor undertook the Work; but finding more Oppoſition than he expected, he got a Body of Men together, and took *Chaſteau-Regnande*, *Borba*, *la Roque*, *Maxſarques*, *St. Pole*, and other Towns, which had declared for the Parliament, and at length incamped before the City of *Aix*, the Capital of the Province; and when he had cut in pieces 200 of their Men in a Sally, he would have proceeded farther, had not a Gentleman arrived at that very time, and brought Peace and Pardon from the King.

Troubles of Provence.

Troubles of Guyenne. But tho a Peace was made in *Provence*, a War was kindled in *Guyenne*, between the Duke of *Eſpernon* the Governor General, and the Parliament and City of *Bourdeaux*; but this ariſing from a particular Quarrel rather than proving a Buſineſs of State, we ſhall not enter upon the Particulars of it: However the Court intereſting it ſelf more particularly in the compoſing of it, they at laſt came to this Agreement, That the Caſtle of *Trombette* near *Bourdeaux* ſhould be demoliſhed, till the King ſhould be of Years; That the City ſhould be eaſed of the Impoſition laid upon it of two Crowns upon every Tun of Wine that went out, and of a certain Proportion of Taxes; That the Troops ſhould be ſent farther off, and the Conſults of every City and Province might ſend their Propoſals to the Parliaments, without the Governour's Knowledg.

1650. This Year uſhered in great Broils in *France*, the Beginning of which was, that *Conde* pretending the Cardinal at the Conference touching the Peace at *Paris* had promiſed the Government of *Pont l' Arche* to his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Longueville*; and the other deny-

nying it, the Prince was ſo highly incenſed and diſ- 1650.
eted, that he declared he was reſolved to come no
re to Court whilſt the Cardinal was Miniſter of
te, or in the Kingdom; and accordingly in order
make his Party good, he joined in with the *Fron-*
ers; but then repenting of that again, he leaves
m, and thought fit to be reconciled to the Court:
reupon the Diſcontented Party endeavoured to raiſe
dition in *Paris*; and it being ſuſpected that ſome
dy had contrived to aſſaſſinate *Conde*, the *Fron-*
ers were accuſed of it; and the Prince reſented it
that degree, that he not only endeavoured to pro-
re the Guilty to be puniſhed, but accuſed the Duke
Beaufort and the Coadjutor of being privy to the
ſign, which Men of ſuch generous and haughty
irits muſt highly reſent. However having wiſely
deavoured to excuſe themſelves, and remove his
alouſies, tho in vain, they thereupon joined with the
verſe Party. To this if we add, that the Duke of
chlieu, having at this time married the Marchioneſs
Pons, a Widow and Daughter of the Baron *de Vi-*
r, under whoſe Care the Dutcheſs of *Aiguillon* the
ke's Aunt had put him; *Aiguillon* was outrageous at
and the Princeſs of *Chevreuſe*, to whom the Duke
d made Love, being diſappointed of a Husband, and
e of the richeſt in the Kingdom, as being Nephew
d Heir to the late Cardinal *Richlieu*: Theſe two
ining together, made not only loud Complaints, but
ew highly offended with *Conde*, as being the princi-
l Agent therein, and ſo in good earneſt plotted his
uin. This occaſioned new Commotions in *Paris*, and
laſt the Impriſonment of the Princes, of which we
all be a little more particular; the Princes I mean
ere *Conde*, *Conti*, and *Longueville*. The Court pre-
nded at leaſt to be under the Oppreſſion of *Conde*,
at he treated all Men with Contempt, took to himſelf
e whole Authority, and threatned all Perſons that
emed any way to oppoſe him; they were perſwaded
confine him by many important Conſiderations,
ore particularly from the Examples of his Grand-
ther and Great Grand-father, both Princes of *Conde*,
ho were impriſoned during the Regencies of Queens
ho were Foreigners; however the Difficulty of ef-

fecting

1650. fecting it becauſe of his great Power, kept the Cardi-
nal in ſuſpence, tho he were daily much preſſed to it
by the Dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe*; all the Queen's Fac-
tion was entirely for *Mazarine*, that of *Orleans* had
been gained to him by *Chevreuſe*; nay the *Frondeurs* at
laſt were brought over to the Party: It's obſervable
that *Longueville* knew, or would know nothing of the
Match of *Richlieu* aforementioned; and that in excu-
ſing himſelf to the Cardinal about it, *Mazarine*
ſhould anſwer him drollingly, *My Lord Duke, this
Marriage was like that of* Archeline *the Player, who
having the Bride in his Houſe, and a Feaſt ready, knew
not that he was to be married.*

However this matter were in reality, there was about
this time, which way ſoever it came about, much talk of
the Princes being to be committed; but *Conde* truſting
much to the Abbot *de la Riviera*'s Integrity, and *de
Tilliere* Secretary of State, would believe nothing of
it; yet he, his Brother *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longue-
ville*, had agreed among themſelves not to appear all
together at Court, and therefore one only of them
went to the Council at a time. Now the 18*th* of *Jan.*
being come, whereon the Council was to meet, and the
Queen and Cardinal pretending Buſineſs of Conſequence
to be then tranſacted, *Conde*, *Conti* and *Longueville*
were deſired to be preſent, whereas *Orleans* who was
deep in the Deſign, excuſed himſelf from appearing,
that he might be the better able to act any thing, that
might be neceſſary for compleating the Work. Indeed
they did not deſign at firſt to ſeize *Longueville* with
Conde, but having altered that Reſolution, and the
time being come, they all three by a ſtrange Fatality
actually appeared at Court, and going up the great
Stairs which led into the Hall, the Door was ſud-
denly clapt to, and all thoſe ſhut out who did attend
them. They went all three together to wait upon the
Queen, who being upon her Bed, and ſeeming to be
ſomewhat ill, they preſently retired; but before they
went into the Gallery before the Council-Chamber
the Queen prayed the King, who was with her, to go
ſoftly and ſhut the Chamber-Door againſt them. At
length the Princes going into the Gallery, where all
the Council and Miniſters of State were except the

Princes imprisoned.

Car-

rdinal, he preſently ordered the Officers of the 1650.
ards appointed for that purpoſe to ſeize 'em: Where-
on *Guitault* addreſſing himſelf to the Prince, told
m, *That he was troubled at the Orders he had received*
m the King and Queen to ſecure his Perſon, but that
Highneſs knew his part was to obey his Majeſty's Com-
nd. To this the Prince believing, or deſiring it
ould paſs for a Jeſt, turned to the reſt of the Coun-
llors there preſent, and ſaid, *Here is a pretty Trick,*
itault *ſays he has a Commiſſion to arreſt me. Guitault*
plied, *Indeed I have an Order ſo to do.* Whereup-
the Prince ſhrugging up his Shoulders anſwered,
hy what have I done, have I not always ſerved the
ing and Queen to the utmoſt of my Power? To parly
re ſignified nothing, and all three of them being ſe-
red, they were carried Priſoners to the Caſtle of
incennes; at which the City of *Paris* (where the
inces were now much hated) ſeemed greatly to re-
ice.

Soon after this *la Ferte Imbaul* was ſent with ſeveral
roops into *Nivers*, the Government of *Burgundy*
as given to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, *Normandy* to
Harcourt, *Compeigne* to the Mareſchal *de l' Hoſtel*, and
erry to the Count of *St. Aignon*; but the Princes who
d them for Life refuſed to reſign. *Richlieu* was per-
aded to give up the Fort of *Havre de Grace* into the
ing's Hands, as *Montigni* did the Caſtle of *Diep*:
aen was given to *de Quince*, *Beaumont* was ſettled in
ont l' Arache, and *Goville* had the Government of
herbourg and *Granville* ſettled upon him; at the ſame
me *St. Aignon* brought the Caſtle of *Bourges* to re-
eive him, and this was ſeconded by the ſurprize of
e Caſtle of *Clermont* in *Lorain*; *Damvilliers* retur-
ed under the King's Obedience, and *Vendoſme* regu-
ted the Affairs of *Burgundy* very well, as *Harcourt*
id *Normandy* and *Roan*; and the ſame Day that the
ing went for this City, there was a Declaration pub-
ſhed, whereby the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Prince of
Marzilliack, and the Mareſchals *de Breze* and *Turen-*
e, were commanded within the Space of fifteen
ays to come to Court, or elſe to be proſecuted as
Rebels. This done, *Semure* in *Burgundy*, which had
een ſecured for the Prince of *Conde*, was attacked
briskly

1650. briskly by the Cardinal in Perſon, and after ſome Re-ſiſtance forced to capitulate.

Treaty between D. of Longueville, &c. and the Spaniards.

In the mean time the Dutcheſs of *Longueville* and *Turenne* being come to *Stenay*, they there concluded a Treaty with the Archduke on the 30*th* of *April*, importing that they ſhould unite their Forces under the Protection of the King of *Spain*, and imploy them for the obtaining a juſt, equal, and ſincere Peace between the two Crowns, and for the procuring of the Princes Liberty, and not to lay down their Arms till both were done: That the *Spaniands* ſhould pay 200000 Crowns to the Dutcheſs and *Turenne*, one half in hand, and the other a Month after; That the Dutcheſs and *Turenne* for the maintenance of their Troops ſhould be paid 40000 Crowns every Month, and 60000 Crowns more yearly, to be paid at three Payments for their own Expences. The *Spaniard* was alſo to add 2000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, with the Ammunition neceſſary for the Army, which was to be commanded by *Turenne*, and march into *France*, to force the Cardinal to a Compliance with their Demands; That the Dutcheſs and Mareſchal ſhould put the *Spaniards* in poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong Places they held, except the Citadel of *Stenay*, till a Peace were concluded, when they were to be reſtored to the Princes; That the Places in *France*, which ſhould be taken on the Frontiers, ſhould be alſo kept by the *Spaniards*, till the Peace between the two Crowns, but thoſe within the Country ſhould be kept by the Princes. Theſe Articles with ſome others of leſs Conſideration being agreed on, the Princeſs of *Conde* in the mean time made the beſt of her way for *Bourdeaux*, where ſhe and her Followers were at laſt not only well received, but the Parliament of that City reſolved to take the Princes under their Protection, and to continue the War againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*: Hereupon *Eſpernon* had notice given him from Court, to draw what Force together he was able; and *Meilleray* then in *Poictou*, was alſo commanded to draw with his Men towards *Bourdeaux*. *Eſpernon* quickly ſurprized the Iſle of *St. George*, ſituate about three Leagues off; the Citizens not a little concern'd hereat, ſhew'd a more than ordinary Bravery in a Skirmiſh or two they had againſt

ainſt the Enemy, and *Bouillon* and *Rochefoucault* be- 1650.
g now ſenſible of their Forwardneſs, bravely reco-
red the ſaid Iſland.

In the *Interim* the King's Reſolution to go for *Guy-*
ne being divulged, *Orleans* and the *Frondeurs* appear-
diſſatisfied with the Cardinal about it; whilſt the
arliament of *Bourdeaux*, the better to ſtrengthen
eir Intereſt and juſtify their Conduct, wrote to
at of *Paris* the Reaſons upon which they would vin-
cate their Conduct: But tho this Affair was undoubt-
lly a great Perplexity to the Court, they were not
ſo a little concern'd that ſeveral Agents were now
me from the *Swiſs Cantons*, to ſollicite the Payment
their Troops in the King's Pay, the ſame amount-
g to a conſiderable Sum, upon occaſion whereof
any of the Officers and Soldiers had laid down their
rms in diſcontent; however this matter was at laſt
commodated, by paying them 40000 Dubloons in
nd, and 60000 more at three aſſigned Days of Pay-
ent, together with 1000 more for the Intereſt of
at Sum. Over and above this, the King was to pay
ſix years 250000 Dubloons more, by 50000 at each
yment, and 66000 more in 1656. all which Pay-
ents for the better ſecuring of them, ſhould be aſ-
gned upon the King's Revenues; beſides that there
ould be a Fund eſtabliſhed of 15000 Dubloons, to
paid the *Swiſs* Regiments monthly, till all was ſa-
fied.

This done, the King purſues his Journey for *Guy-*
ne, while the Cardinal by one and another means
deavoured all he could to bring the *Bourdelois* to an
greement, before things came to Extremity; but
ſignified little, and the Actions that hapned in thoſe
arts, tho not any ways conſiderable, yet muſt be ve-
troubleſom to the Court, who being not able to ſup-
y all Parts that required Defence, the *Spaniards* took
e advantage of the Conjuncture, and reſolving to
cover *Portolongo* in *Italy*, taken before by the
rench, and become as it were a Neſt for their Pirats, Spaniards
Don John of *Auſtria* on the 19*th* of *May* landed *ſucceſsful*
ear that Place, and having firſt taken *Piombine*, this *againſt the*
on facilitated the Reduction of *Portolongo*. This French.
eing happily effected, the *Catalonians* on their ſide
began

1650. began now to be weary of the *French*, and being inclined to return to their Duty, took up Arms ſuddenly, and put many of the *French* to the Sword. *Mortara* taking advantage hereof, quickly took the Town and Caſtle of *Miravet*; then on the 10*th* of *Octob.* ſat down before *Tortoſa*, and having continued the Siege with much Vigour, till *Albuquerque* General of the *Spaniſh* Gallies had defeated *Ligni*, as he was going with ſome Ships to relieve it, this haſtned the Surrendry of it, which the *Spaniards* entred into on the 3*d* of *Dec.* *Flix* was alſo reduced by them.

As for the Affairs on the ſide of *Flanders*, the Arch-Duke was not alſo unmindful of making his Advantages of the Civil Broils of *France*; wherefore he entred *Champagne* with an Army of 30000 Foot, and 18000 Horſe, burning and waſting all that Province, and took *Chatelet* on the Frontiers of *Flanders*, as he did afterwards on the 22*d* of *July la Chappelle*, beſides many other Places. Farther, *Turenne* about the beginning of *Septemb.* defeated *Hoquincourt*, killed 3000 of his Men, and took *Rocroy*, and *La Ferte*, *Milan*, with their Citadels; while the Archduke was ſtill advancing, and having fortified *Rethel*, *Dam* and *Rocroy*, laid Siege to *Muſſon*, which he took upon the 11*th* of *Novemb.* then put his Troops into Winter Quarters in *Champagne*.

But notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes on the *Spaniard* ſide, the Archduke ſent a Trumpeter to *Paris* to the Duke of *Orleans* in the *Interim*, to invite him to promote a General Peace; but this ſignified little, for *Orleans* and the *Frondeurs* were now intent upon defeating the Deſigns of the Court againſt *Bourdeaux*, leſt that Town were loſt, and the King's Forces ceaſe from being diverted in thoſe Parts, his Concerns ſhould proſper better in all other things to the deſtruction of their Ends; and indeed the Kingdom was now but in a very indifferent Condition. However there was now no looking back, and the *French* Army under *Meilleray* having attacked, and with much Oppoſition carried part of the Suburbs of *Bourdeaux*, two Batteries were made againſt the *Dolphin*'s-Gate with little effect; but divers other Works being carried on alſo, and the *Bourdelois* finding no Succours come from *Spain*, at laſt agreed upon

Bourdeaux ſubmits to the King.

upon theſe Articles without the knowledg of the Prince of *Conde*, or of the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rochefoucault*; That a General Amneſty ſhould be granted to all the Inhabitants and others in the City; That the Princeſs of *Conde* might retire with her Son, to one of his or her Houſes in *Anjou*, where ſhe might enjoy all her Eſtate; but ſhe was to renounce in Writing all Leagues and Confederacies made by her, as well within as without the Kingdom, and in purſuance thereunto give Orders for all Hoſtilities to ceaſe in her Name, or that of the Prince her Husband, in his Towns of *Berry*, *Turen*, and other parts on this ſide the *Loire*, and to withdraw Gariſons from divers Towns poſſeſt by them, which ſhould be put into the King's Hands: That ſhe might go to *Montraud*, provided ſhe reduced the Gariſon to 200 Foot and 60 Horſe, and that the ſame for the future ſhould be paid by the King; That all Priſoners of War ſhould be releaſed on both ſides; That all the Soldiers in *Bourdeaux* and the Confederate Towns ſhould be caſhiered; That all Orders made by the Parliament of *Bourdeaux* againſt *Eſpernon*, and by him againſt them, upon occaſion of theſe Commotions, ſhould be null, and all things put into the ſame condition as they were in before the War; and for the ſatisfaction of *Bourdeaux* and all *Guyenne*, the King agreed to remove *Eſpernon*, and to ſend them another Governor. 1650.

Theſe Art cles being thus concluded, the King and the whole Court entred *Bourdeaux* on the 5*th* of *Oct.* in great State; and from thence in a ſhort time returning to *Orleans*, and ſo to *Fontainbleau* inſtead of *Paris*, the Princes on the 15*th* of *Novemb.* were removed from the Caſtle of *Merconſy* to *Havre de Grace*, being conducted by *Harcourt* with a Body of Horſe and Foot, and there kept cloſe Priſoners. Their friends were much concerned at this, and left no Stone unturned to obtain their Liberty, tho all their Endeavours ſeemed to ſignify little; but to ſay no more of them at preſent, and having already told you of the Succeſſes of the *Spaniards*, and more particularly of their taking of *Muſſon*, the Cardinal hereupon conſidering he had done but little, if after having ſubdued *Normandy*, *Burgundy* and *Guyenne*, he ſhould not alſo

1650. have freed *Champagne* from the Enemy, he reſolved to go and force them, and *Turenne*'s Troops from *Rethel*; and having left *Paris* about the end of *Novemb.* he marched with the Mareſchal *de Praſlin*, who commanded under him, for *Flanders*, and ſo vigorouſly attacked *Rethel*, that on the 13*th* of *Novemb.* they forced it to ſurrender. In the mean time *Turenne* marching up to the Relief of the Place, and having drawn his Army in Battalia, reſolved to give the King's Army Battel. *Praſlin* on the other hand, having diſcovered a Valley that lay between the two Armies, divided his Army into two Battalions, as the Enemy had done before; and then advancing in good Order, *Turenne*, to keep the Foot from adjuſting themſelves between the Intervals of the Squadrons of Horſe, as they began to do, advanced himſelf in Perſon with his wonted Courage, and the *Lorainers* were ſo forward on the Left, that they gave only way to three Squadrons of the Enemies Horſe to oppoſe them; ſo that a furious Fight enſued here, as indeed it did preſently every other where with incredible Conduct and Bravery: But *Turenne*'s Right Wing, which conſiſted partly of *Dutch* Regiments, being routed and broke, his whole Army was beaten, and he himſelf with much ado made his Eſcape, with the loſs of 24 Colours, all the Drums, and 1800 ſlain, beſides 3500 made Priſoners; whereas on the other ſide, they had not above 480 Soldiers ſlain in all. The Conſequence of this Victory, was the Surrendry of *Chaſteau-Parcien*, and all the other Gariſons under *Turenne* in the Towns beyond the *Aine*. *Bel le duc* was alſo yielded by the *Lorainers*, and ſo was *Viſcerge*, *Miracourt* and *Gard* with the Gariſons of *Vic* and *Mongenuic*.

Turenne *defeated by* Praſlin.

1651. The Cardinal might indeed very much value himſelf upon the Reputation of this good Succeſs, but his Domeſtick Enemies did but grow ſtronger and ſtronger againſt him, for the Parliament of *Paris* being much fomented by *Orleans*, the *Frondeurs* and *Malecontents*, to ſay nothing of the impriſoned Princes dear Friends, who had petitioned them, and who was of more Importance than all, being frightned at the Rage of the People, who ran in great Numbers ſtorming to the Publick Places, after they had made humble Re-

monſtran-

monſtrances to the Queen for the Liberty of the Princes, and the Removal of the Cardinal; it was at length after many Conſultations, thought moſt adviſable for the Cardinal to withdraw to *Havre de Grace*, and the Noiſe thereof was no ſooner diſperſed in the City, but the *Frondeurs* manifeſted their Hatred againſt him; and the Parliament meeting next Day, ordered that humble Thanks ſhould be returned to the Queen, and that ſhe ſhould be again deſired to give Order for the Princes Liberty, and make a Declaration that all Foreigners ſhould for the future be excluded from the King's Council. The Queen gave a very favourable Anſwer, but the Populace would for all that be unruly; and all this while the Barricadoes were kept up, and a ſtricter Guard than ever ſet about the Court: The Duke of *Beaufort* going every Night on one ſide, *Tavanes* on another, and *de Chambois* on the third, with Troops of armed men to clear the Streets. In the mean while the Decree paſt againſt the Cardinal, whereby he, all his Kindred and Foreign Domeſticks, were obliged in fifteen Days to leave the Kingdom, and all other Places within the King's Obedience, and in caſe of Failure therein, the Diſobedient ſhould be extraordinarily proceeded againſt; That it ſhould be lawful for all Men to fall upon, and every body was forbid to entertain them. This Decree was approved of by almoſt all the Parliaments of *France*. The Princes were now releaſed without any Conditions; and it was ſo managed, that the Cardinal himſelf upon his Arrival at *Havre de Grace*, delivered the Meſſage to them in theſe Words: *I bring your Highneſs Orders from the Queen, for your own, the Liberty of your Brother and Brother-in-law freely without any Terms; but her Majeſty deſires you to love the State, Her, and Me alſo.* The Princes hereupon return in Glory to *Paris*, while the Cardinal thought fit to haſten for *Sedan*, from whence he retired to *Burles* in *Germany*; whereas the Dutcheſs of *Longueville* and *Turenne* are now reſtored to Court, and the Parliament grew daily more ſevere againſt the Cardinal and all his Adherents.

1651.

Mazarine *withdraws from Court.*

I ſhall in this Place but juſt mention the breaking off the Marriage between the Prince of *Conti* and *Made-*

1651. *moiſelle de Chevreuſe*, which offended the Dutcheſs t
that degree, that ſhe became an Enemy to *Cond*
who now loſeth many Friends. And after having to
you, that an Aſſembly of the Eccleſiaſticks met at th
time, and that another of the Nobility enſued, wh
inſiſted to have an Aſſembly of the States General, an
only could get a Promiſe from the King, they ſhou
be called another time; it is fit for me to obſerve no
that when the Cardinal left the Confines of *France*
Paris grew weary of keeping continual Guards at th
Gate, for which the Soldiers had no Pay; and there
fore thoſe Guards being removed, ſo as that the Cour
was at Liberty to go into the City and Country a
they pleaſed, this was another Lift towards th
weakening of the Prince's Party, ſo that now he be
gan to apprehend a ſecond Impriſonment, which h
ſaid he feared more than Death. But to be particula
in a word or two, concerning the different Affection
of the reſpective Parties, *Orleans* and his Daughte
Mademoiſelle, *Beaufort* and the Dutcheſs of *Montbaſo*
minded only their own Grandeur; *Conde* and hi
Adherents, cared not much for the Mutation of the Mi
niſtry, as being Adverſaries to *Chaſteauneuf*, an
Friends to the firſt Preſident; the Dutcheſs of *Chev*
reuſe and the Coadjutor, as Friends to *Chateaunef*
were more incenſed againſt the Queen-Mother than a
the reſt.

An Account of the Factions.

Indeed it would be an endleſs thing to particulariz
all the Humours, Factions and Intrigues of thoſe
Times; but in ſhort all things thro the different Hu
mours of the Parties, ſeemed to tend to a Rebellion.
The Queen-Mother brought the King to the Parliament
of *Paris*, to be recognized as their lawful Sovereign,
which they all offered to do, when things were di
poſed with the uſual Pomp for ſo great a Ceremony;
but as ſoon as they broke up, many of them fled to
Rochel. The Prince was retired already to *Berry*,
from whence he went to *Bourdeaux*; after which the
King with the Court went to *Berry*, and ſo to *Guyen*
ne, before which *Conde* had concluded his Treaty
with the *Spaniards*, importing that the Treaty of *Ste*
nay, between the Archduke, the Dutcheſs of *Longue*
ville and *Turenne*, ſhould be confirmed in all its Parts;

That

hat the Prince ſhould never treat of Peace without 1651.
e *Spaniards* Conſent, who alſo promiſed never to
ake Peace, without comprehending him upon ſuch *Treaty between Conde and Spain.*
erms as ſhould ſatisfy him; That the *Spaniard*
ould pay 500000 Crowns to raiſe Men, and keep a
leet in the River of *Bourdeaux*; That the Prince
ould abſolutely command all the Armies of *Spain*,
nd that all the Towns which ſhould be taken in *France*,
ould remain in his Hands, ſave one Haven which
ould be allowed the King of *Spain* for the Security
f his Fleets, and of the Towns which had been taken
om the *Spaniards* in this preſent War; That the
paniards ſhould add 8000 men to the Prince's Soldiers
at were in *Champagne*, to be ſolely under his Com-
and, and the King promiſed to pay yearly 600000
rowns for the Maintenance of the Forces; and the
rince having given hopes, that *Longueville* would en-
age in the ſame Intereſt, the *Spaniard* promiſed in
ch a caſe to aſſiſt him with Arms, Money, Men and
hipping, that he might wage War in *Normandy*.
his done, the Prince endeavoured in vain to engage
urenne to take upon him the Command of his Army
Champagne, but he was gone over to the other ſide,
s indeed the Proteſtants in general ſtuck cloſe to the
ing; while the *Spaniards*, to make uſe of this happy
Conjuncture, on the 10*th* of *Aug.* laid Siege to *Fur-*
es, and the ſame being delivered to them on the
6*th*, this facilitated their Enterprize upon *Berg St.*
Vinock. *D' Aumont* endeavoured to relieve it by
orcing their Lines, but in vain; ſo that on the 29*th* of
eptemb. it was given up to them upon Honourable
erms, and this made way for their attacking of *Dun-*
irk, *Gravelin* and *Mardike* in convenient time.

When the Court left *Paris*, the Tumults which
were almoſt ceaſed, grew greater than ever, as well
mong the People as in the Parliament, to impede the
King's Journey. But to leave them to their Janglings, *Civil War.*
we are here to note, that *Conti*, *Nemours*, the Dut-
heſs of *Longueville* and others, who were in the Caſtle
f *Montraud*, fearing to be cooped up in it, they got
afe to *Bourdeaux*, but loſt ſome of their Baggage;
while the King being come to *Burges*, and having per-
mitted the demoliſhing of its Tower, which belon-

1651. ged to *Conde*'s Government, this was interpreted to be the beginning of a Breach. On the other hand, *Conde* ſecured *Dordognia*, and put Gariſons into *St. Bergerack*, *St. Foy*, *Libourn* and *Perigren*; nay he ſecured all the Towns upon the *Garonne* as far as *Agen*; then treating with Count *Ognone* Governor of *Rochel*, *Brouage*, and the Iſles of *Oleron* and *Rhee*, and with much ado having drawn him over to his Party, he provided diligently for all Emergencies.

The *Spaniards* on their part, beſides their receiving of Count *Tavanes* with the Prince's Troops from *Stenay* into their Provinces in the *Netherlands*, and ſupporting of them, uſed their Endeavours to increaſe the Jealouſies and Diſtaſts, which the Parliament of *England* alledged they had received from *France*, as well for the Welcome K. *Charles* II. and his Followers met with there, as for Piracies committed by the *French* upon divers of their Merchant-Ships in the *Mediterranean*. Then to back *Conde* in *Guyenne*, they ſent *Batteville* with 13 Frigats and ſix Fireſhips to *Bourdeaux* with 1500 Foot, Money, and other Warlike Stores. The *Spaniards* were at firſt received into *Talmont* upon the *Garonne*, and then into *Bury*; and the Archduke on the ſide of *Flanders*, fomented the Diſcontents of the Princes all he could: So that the Queen ſeeing things come to this ill Poſture, ſhe found the beſt way was to recal *Mazarine* again to the Head of Affairs. Then the King and the whole Court with their Forces marched towards *Poictiers*, from whence he wrote to the Duke of *Orleans*, complaining grievouſly of the Prince's Proceedings. In the mean time the Prince ſecured *Agen*; and *St. Luke*, having fortified *Montauban* and *Cahors*, reſolved to go with *Rochefoucault* and the Prince of *Tarento* to *Xantes*, in order to keep the War from *Bourdeaux*, whoſe Inhabitants dreaded the King's Neighbourhood. After the taking of *Xantes*, they ſeized the Caſtle of *Taleburg* upon the *Charente*, then fell upon *Cognack*: Upon which the Prince went to *Bourdeaux*, to ſettle Affairs there with the *Spaniards* and *Ognone*, more particularly about ſecuring *Rochel*; but this laſt not agreeing to *Conde*'s Propoſals, the King found a way to make ſure of that City to himſelf; upon which *Harcourt* march-

ed

to the Relief of *Cognack*, and having happily effected it, a very brisk Action hapned between his Army and the Prince's at *Tonney-Buttone*, somewhat to the disadvantage of the latter. At the same time the Castle of *Dijon*, which till then had held for *Conde*, after twelve Days Siege surrendered to *Espernon*. The King had indeed all this while deferred his Declaration against *Conde*, as hoping he would accept of the Agreement managed by the Duke of *Orleans*, who proceeding slowly therein, the Court grew jealous that they held Intelligence together. But at last on the 16*th* of *Novemb.* the Declaration came out, and was presented by the first President, which made a great Noise in the City, and chiefly in the Duke of *Orleans* his Court, and among the *Frondeurs*. The Import of it was, that the Prince was become Guilty of High Treason, for having taken up Arms against his Sovereign; That he confederated with the *Spaniards*, intending by his Ambition to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom: His Adherents, as *Conti*, Dutchess of *Longueville*, *Nemours*, *Rochefoucault*, &c. were contained therein. The Parliament could not choose but verify this Declaration, which the *Frondeurs* endeavoured all they could to oppose; however they made another Decree against the Cardinal upon Information of his raising Men to return to *France*, but it signified little, for the Cardinal failing to get a Pass of the *Spaniards*, he stole one Night from *Dinant*, and with much danger got to *Bouillon*, from whence passing to *Sedan*, he resolved to march straight with the 4000 men he had raised for *France*. This News much alarmed the Parliament of *Paris*, who would now on the 29*th* of *Decemb.* make a Declaration, That he had incurred High Treason, for having offered to return contrary to their Prohibitions. But the Cardinal not fearing this, advanced not only as far as *Sedan*, but at length went with about 6000 men to serve the King to *Poictiers*. On the other hand, *Conde* being refused the Assistance of *Turenne*, gave the Command of his Forces in *Flanders* to *Nemours*, while the King with his Council of State on the 26*th* of *Jan.* annulled the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* against the Cardinal, and expresly forbad all Men to obey it, or to attempt any thing against *Mazarine* upon pain of Death.

1651.

King's Declaration against Conde.

1651. The Prince of *Conde* having by this time put h Troops into Winter Quarters, and garison'd dive Places, the King on his part held divers Counc about the present Affairs; and the same having be reduced to two Heads, the one was to march wi all the Forces to *Guyenne*, and reduce *Bourdeau* which was espoused by the Queen and Cardinal; a the other was to march towards *Paris* with most of th Forces, to dissipate *Orleans* his Men, to countenan the well affected Citizens, and to keep out *Nemou* his Troops; but the first Opinion prevailing, t Army was ordered to march and attack *Anger* which was besieged and surrendred by Capitulation After which *Ponte de Ce* was reduced, and *Turen* now became such a Favourite, that he was constitute General of the King's Forces, and the Cardinal no seemed to be sole Arbitrator of Affairs as formerl There hapned now divers Traverses of War betwe the Prince and King's Armies, but mostly in sma Parties, and divers Places (tho of no great Consider tion) were taken and lost. *Xantes* at length surrendre to the King, and so did *Faileburg*, whereby the whol River of *Charente* was reduced under his Obedienc except *Bourages*. But while the Royal Forces we imployed about *Angers*, *Nemours* with about 8000 M marched into *Picardy*, and from thence to the *Vexi* and lastly having passed the *Seine*, quartered his Ar my about *Hadam*, which lies between *Castres* an *Paris*. Now while the King's Party was preparin to oppose them, the Army of the Princes (for so w are now to call them) marched into *Beaux*, the Pro vince wherein *Orleans* stands. The Citizens being i a Quandary what to do, resolved to stand Neuters *Beaufort* acquainted the Duke of *Orleans* therewith and desiring him to go thither in Person, the other did not think fit to leave *Paris*, where the People were wavering, but resolved to send *Mademoiselle* his Daughter thither. This Princess assuming a generous and manly Spirit, cheerfully embraced the Proposal; but upon her Arrival she found the Gates shut, and the People in Arms; but some Boatmen observing her walking by the River side, broke open a little Gate, and carryed her triumphantly into the City: Where-

King takes Angers.

fore

re the King not being able to go by *Orleans* nor 1651.
artres, which *Orleans* had ſecured by *la Fretta*,
e Court reſolved to go by *Gergeau*, where finding
e Bridg broken by the violent Current of the Water,
ey went to *Sully*, and the Army to *Sandilon*; but as
ey marched towards *Guyenne*, the Prince's Forces
aſted the other ſide of the River to prevent their
eſigns. The Princes had about 10000 Men, 4000
ing old Soldiers of *Orleans*, commanded by *Beau-*
rt; the reſt were under *Nemours*. Soon after the
ief Commanders held a Council of War in the
burbs of *Orleans*, where *Mademoiſelle* was preſent
d where *Beaufort*'s Opinion prevailing, to un-
rtake the Siege of *Montargis*, whereas *Nemours*
al Inclinations were firſt to raiſe the Siege of *Mon-*
aud, there aroſe ſome difference between them,
hich muſt be no Advantage to the Intereſt of *Conde*,
ho having quartered his Men about *Agen*, could
t now tarry long in that Country; and therefore
inking to go to *Nemours* his Army, he would firſt
t a Gariſon into that City, to withſtand *Harcourt*'s
ttempts, and the Intelligence held therein by the
ng's Party: But the People did ſo diſlike this, that
length they took up Arms to oppoſe it; whereupon
e Prince preſently mounting, rid through the Streets, *Tumult of*
d made thoſe that had made any Works pull them Agen.
own; but not being able to be every where at once,
was no ſooner gone from one place, but Diſorders
ew there again: Wherefore he brought in *Conti*'s
rigade, but this inſtead of terrifying did but the
ore augment the Tumult, ſo that in a few Hours
me there were above 100 Barricadoes made. How-
er the Prince with his wonted Reſolution kept on
orſeback in the Streets, together with his Brother
onti, *Rochefoucault*, *Marſilliack*, *Marſino*, *Monteſpan*,
Force, and divers others; but all that ever he could
o, could not bring the Citizens to admit of any
orces: However they made a ſhew of begging Par-
on, and took a new Oath of Fidelity, obliging them-
lves to raiſe a Regiment at their own Charge for the
efence of their City.

Now the Prince finding his Affairs but in an indiffe-
ent condition in *Guyenne*, he with much difficulty and
danger

1651. danger of being taken, got safe to *Nemours* Army, and soon after laid *Siege* to *Montargis*. Now the King's Generals lay betwixt the *Loire* and the Channel *Briara*; *Turenne* at *Briara*, and *Oquincourt* at *Blenau*. *Turenne* visiting *Oquincourt*'s Quarters, told him what Advantage they gave to the Enemy; and at his Return he met with a Letter from the Inhabitants of *Chastillon*, assuring him that the Prince having left his Cannon and 200 men at *Montargis*, was marched towards *Chasteaurenaut*; the same Night *Oquincourt* writ to *Turenne* that *Conde* was marching towards him, and desired him to march speedily and join him; but the brave Prince advanced with that Celerity, that he first routed the Enemies Horse, and took their Baggage, then falling upon the Dragoons, sacked their Quarters: *Oquincourt* hereupon drew his Men in Battalia on the Banks of the River, to oppose the Prince his Passage; but *Nemours* having already got over with some Men, *Conde* passed over at the head of 100 Horse, and falling upon *Oquincourt*'s hindmost Quarter, took it, as he had done the rest; but his Men falling to Plunder, and the Mareschal by the light of the Fire which burnt the Houses, observing the smallness of the Number, fell upon them with 700 Horse: And here the Prince, *Nemours*, *Beaufort*, &c. were forced to draw together, and to do the Duty of ordinary Gentlemen, but being overpowered they were forced to give way: *Nemours* was wounded, and had his Horse slain under him; but the Prince being presently reinforced with a small Squadron of Horse, he so defeated *Oquincourt*, that he was not able to rally his Men again, but retreated to join *Turenne*, whose dexterous Management upon this occasion, by his feigning to fight the Prince, when he had the least Thoughts of it, saved the whole Army; and the Prince himself was so sensible of it, that he declared none but Mareschal *Turenne* could have kept him from an entire Victory; and of all the Friends he had ever lost, he was grieved for none so much as for him. The Prince after this went for *Paris*, being sent for thither by his Confidents, to interrupt the Treaties which were then in hand between the Inhabitants, Parliament and *Orleans*, by such as were partial to the Court, and for the

Conde *defeates* Oquincourt.

Jealouſy he had of the Coadjutor: He was at- 1651.
ed by *Beaufort*, and divers other Lords went with
; and this was the cauſe of the Prejudice that
rwards befel him. As for Affairs without the
gdom, there are but few things worth mentioning,
therefore I ſhall take notice only that Archduke
pold took *Bergue* this Year; he alſo made Prepara-
s to take *Dunkirk*, but the Aſſiſtance which the
reſchal *de Aumont* brought to it made him alter his
ign; yet the *Spaniards* became Maſters of ſome
y places in *Catalonia*. After which *Don John* of
ſtria laid Siege to *Barcelona* both by Sea and Land,
which more hereafter.

We ſhall now a little purſue the Civil Broils of 1652.
nce: While the Armies, as already related, were
gitation in the Field, all *Paris* was full of Libels
Satyrical Verſes; the Princes were highly ex-
ed, and the Cardinal and his Party as much rallied
buffooned; inſomuch that the Parliament ſent
puties to the King at *Sully*, to repreſent to him how
eſſary it was to put him out of his Council, ac-
ding to his former Promiſes; but not prevailing
ein, it was ordered that a General Aſſembly ſhould
et at the *Palazo dela Communita*, wherein the
ding of the Cardinal away, and the general Peace,
well within as without *France*, might be reſolved
and that in the *Interim* all Decrees made againſt
Cardinal ſhould be fully executed. In the mean
e *Gonde* the Coadjutor got himſelf made a Cardi-
, and was afterwards called the Cardinal of *Retz*;
now continuing his Intrigues more than ever,
made it his buſineſs, as well to abaſe *Mazarine* as
ruin *Conde*, being very careful that Diſcord between
Prince and *Orleans* might not prejudice his partial
eſigns; for he knew if he could by their means ſup-
eſs *Mazarine*, he might the more eaſily quell *Conde*,
hoſe Sword he did not fear ſo much as the others
ead-piece.

Now the more theſe Differences and particular In-
reſts prejudice *France*, the more they redounded
the Advantage of *Spain*; and therefore to purſue
this place the Affairs of that Kingdom, ſo far as they
terfere with *France*, without any Interruption, we
ſhall

1652. shall here begin with the Siege of *Barcelona*, whe
Don John of *Auſtria*, the Marquiſs of *Mortara*, a
Barcelona *taken by the* Spaniards. Conſtable of *Caſtile* ſignalized themſelves with adm
rable Conduct, which tho it encloſed a vaſt Tract
Ground, was managed only by 8000 Men. I w
not mention the Particulars of this Siege, only th
after many Actions it was actually ſurrendred on t
17*th* of *October*: But this was not all their Succe
for the Marquiſs of *Caracena* Governor of *Mil*
having laid Siege to *Trin*, the Marqueſs of *Vill*
drew together about 2000 men to relieve it; a
thinking to break through the others Quarters, he w
not only moſt vigorouſly repulſed, but the Place ſu
rendred ſoon after. *Caracena* incouraged with th
Succeſs, reſolved to attempt *Caſal*, which he inveſte
about the middle of *September*: The *French* thoug
to have put in 400 men into the Place, but failing
that, and for preventing the like Attempts for t
Spaniards *take* Caſal. future, the Marquiſs poſſeſſed himſelf of the adjace
Hill, and other neceſſary Poſts, and after 14 Da
began his Mines, and overthrew two Towers of t
Cittadel; and making an Aſſault, entred the Plac
upon which the *French* entred into the City, a
had at laſt honourable Conditions granted them.

If from *Italy* we ſhould paſs into *Flanders*, w
ſhould there alſo find things but in an indiffere
Poſture with the *French*, for here they firſt loſt *Gra*
ling: The Duke of *Orleans* had taken this Place fro
the *Spaniards* in 1644. but now the Archduke a
Fuenſaldagne, thinking it a fit opportunity to reco
it, eſpecially that Count *de Grave* the Governor w
abſent, they reſolved upon the Siege of it, and havi
in the Month of *April* actually inveſted the Plac
400 men from *Bologn* and *Calais* attempted to thro
themſelves in, but were ſo received that only 50 co
paſſed it; but 200 out of three from *Dunkirk* ha
better Succeſs, and bravely made their way into t
Place: Yet the Gariſon for all this deſpairing of fa
ther Relief, on the 17*th* of *April* ſurrendred upo
honourable Terms. This was not all the Misfo
tunes of *France* from without; for in *September* follo
ing *Fuenſaldagne* laid Siege to *Dunkirk*, and t
Works were carried on againſt it with great Appl
cap

tion and Diligence. The *French* indeed endeavoured 1652.
several Veſſels from *Calais* to put Relief into the
ace, but the *Spaniards* being aware of this took care
prevent it: Whereupon the Attacks were ſtill car-
ed on; and the Lines of Communication between
em being perfected, the *Spaniards* made a Lodgment
the Foot of the Paliſados, and another that ſecured
eir Paſſage to the Channel: So that now the Gover-
r hapning to be wounded, the Town Major ſick,
e King's Lieutenant dead, the Town ſickly, and the
ldiers mutinous, they beat a Parley on the 10*th* of
ptember, and capitulated. At the ſame time the Duke *Take* Dun-
Merceur having got together 18 Men of War and kirk.
ur Fireſhips in *Bretagne*, with 3000 Landmen on
ard, for the Relief of the Place, as they were
ming into the *Downs*, the *Engliſh* Admiral *Blake*
th 7 Sail utterly defeated them, took 10 of their
ips, while four more fell into the Hands of the
aniards. The Beſieged being informed of this,
formed the Articles before agreed on, and on the
th of *September* marched out 2000 ſtrong, and
re with their Baggage conducted to *Calais*.

In the mean time ſome things ſeemed to be done
t of pure Gratitude to the Reformed, for their
od Services to the Crown; for beſides their being
eſtabliſhed at *Pamiers*, from whence they had been
pelled by the Prince of *Conde* about 1625. their
ng reſtored to the Conſulate of *Montpelier* and
ets, and the Redreſs of Grievances put upon them
der pretence of *Annexes*, they had on the 18*th*
March a Declaration put forth in their Favour,
hereby the Edicts were more ſolemnly confirmed than
y had ever been. None of the deceaſed King's
icts were cited, but that of the 25*th* of *May* 1610.
d that of the 20*th* of *November* 1615. whereby
e Edict of *Nantes* was confirmed at large: And
hen the King had mentioned the Declaration
had put forth himſelf upon that occaſion, on the
h of *July* 1643. he added theſe Words, *Our ſaid*
bjects of the pretended Reformed Religion have giv-
us certain Proofs of their Affection, particularly upon
e preſent Occaſions, wherewith we are well ſatisfied.
t the Caſe has ſince been quite altered.

Now

1652. Now to return again to the Domeſtick Imbroy
of *France*: All things were ſtill confuſed at
and the King reſolving to go from *Guyenne* to
and from thence to *St. Germains*, to be nearer
he ſent to acquaint the Citizens, that no Aſſem
ſhould be held (as already mentioned) before
Arrival, for he intended to be there in Perſon:
there appeared little likelihood yet of their accord
and therefore *Conde* cauſed two Arches of the
of *St. Clou* to be broken, and all the reſt that
upon the *Seine* from *Paris* to *St. Germains*, and
good Gariſon into *St. Clou* and *Neally*, but at the
the Princes; for the *Pariſians* could never be
to lay out any Money for them in this War,
Troops had taken *Eſtampes*; and pretending to
themſelves there, they hoped by that means to
Paris and *Orleans* tite to them, which was their
Buſineſs. In the mean time Mareſchal *Turenne*
ly ſurprized *St. Martino* the Suburbs of *Eſtampes*,
moſt of it after being plundered was reduced to
But while the King ſtaid at *St. Germains*, *Chavi*
Goulas and *Roan* were deputed to him from *Orl*
and *Conde*. The firſt of whom propoſed to the
dinal from the Prince, that if the Count *d' Og*
ſhould be made a Duke and Peer of *France*,
Marſin Mareſchal of *France*, Prince of *Conti*
vernor of *Provence*, and *Conde* himſelf Plenipo
tiary of the General Peace, all things ſhould be
agreed on. The two firſt would have been dige
well enough, but the other did not reliſh at all:
the Effect indeed of this Deputation was much in
to the Princes, ſince the ſame was made at a time
the Parliament and *Pariſians* were moſt incen
againſt the Cardinal, and when all the chief Com
nies had reſolved to deſire he might be ſent awa
when the Commonalty of *Paris* began to be of
ſame Mind, and when *Orleans* and *Conde* had decla
in Parliament, That they demanded no other Sa
faction, than that the Cardinal might be expell
The Prince's Deputies being returned from Court,
Parliament Commiſſioners went thither, with Remo
ſtrances for ſending away the Cardinal: And the K
anſwered, *That he was very well informed of his P*
liamen

rliament's good meaning, and wiſhed that they were ſo him; that he would conſult his Privy Council thereup- and declare himſelf within three Days. Other urts made alſo the like Remonſtrances, and the hambers of the Parliament were already met to know hat Anſwer their Commiſſioners brought from Court, hen News came that the King's Troops aſſaulted the idg of *St. Clou.* Whereupon *Conde* preſently mount- , crying aloud as he rid along the Streets, *Let us go relieve our Friends*; which cauſed ſuch a hurly bur- in *Paris*, that above 8000 Men in Arms ran on foot wards the Wood of *Bullonia*, not far from *St. Clou.* he Prince with about 300 Volunteers appear'd at the ead of the Bridg, and the Cannon Shot which the ing's Men made at them, ſhewed that they themſelves ere not come to conquer, but rather to retreat, as ey did: The Day was fair, and the *Pariſians* were glad ſee themſelves under the famous *Conde*, and their ell-beloved *Beaufort*, who drew them out into Squa- ons. Now the King's Troops being retreated from . *Clou*, the Prince went to *Madrid* (a Palace built *Francis* I. to keep his Word with the King of *Spain*, at he would not go from *Madrid*, when being taken iſoner, his Ranſom was treated of) then having re- lved to fall upon *St. Dennis*, he carried the Place; o afterwards neither Party being able to keep it, a eutrality was agreed on about it, and the Princes ere to quit *St. Clou*, *Neully*, *Charenton*, and *St. Maur.* While things went thus in theſe Parts, *Harcourt* as not idle in *Guyenne*, but reduced the City of *Con- nne* and *Port St. Marie*: Then *Agen*, *Marmanda*, *airack*, and *Aiguillon* ſubmitted to him, and *Mas Agenois* he took by *Scalado*; and had a ſharp Diſ- ute with the *Burdelois*, as ſuppoſing he might be able carry that City, but *Conti*'s Preſence and the Oppo- tion they made put him by. On the other hand, *Tu- nne* with the King's Army beſieges *Eſtampes*, where e Princes finding their Army could not long ſubſiſt, ey prevailed with the *Spaniards* that the Army of the uke of *Lorain* ſhould come to ſuccour them. The uke accordingly marched to *Paris*, where falling in- new Projects with the Dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe*, ſhe old him it would be ill in him to aſſiſt the Princes;

1652.

Divers warlike Exploits.

Lorain *enters* France.

and

1652. and in ſhort his fickle Temper was ſo wrought upon, that all that the Princes could get of him was a Declaration in writing, wherein he engaged to tarry a while in his Quarters upon the *Seine*, during which the Princes might withdraw their Forces from *Eſtampes*, and bring them nearer *Paris*; and ſo he was forced as ſoon as he could to retreat out of the Kingdom, according to a private Treaty he had made with *Chaſteauneuf* for that purpoſe.

In the mean time the Parliament (now *Lorain* was come) thinking they had hit the Nail on the head, ſent Preſident *Neſmond* to Court, to inſiſt upon ſending away of the Cardinal; and *Neſmond* not receiving a direct Anſwer thereupon, replied that the only way to ſatisfy all the Subjects, as was pretended, was to ſend away the Cardinal: But the King with a ſerious Aſpect interrupted him, and ſaid, *You have heard my Pleaſure, no more Words.* Other Propoſals and Anſwers paſs'd between them to little purpoſe, and Diſcontents grew higher and higher at *Paris*, ſo that many of the more moderate Members of the Parliament ran the Danger of their Lives from the Rabble. In the *Interim*, *Conde* brought his Army, which was about 5000 Men, to incamp near the City; and things were in as much Confuſion at *Bourdeaux* about this time as in *Paris*, but we cannot enter upon the Particulars of them. Wherefore tho the Court ceaſed not all this while to treat of Peace, eſpecially with *Conde*, which was all ſpoiled by the ſelf-deſigning Cardinal *de Retz*, they went about the End of *May* to *St. Dennis* within a League of *Paris*, to incourage what the King's Friends might undertake there. The King's Army under *Turenne* followed him thither, and on the 29*th* of *June* having paſs'd the *Seine* at *Eſpinay*, that he might attack the Enemies Camp at *St. Clou*, the Prince being aware of the Deſign, marched his Troops towards *Paris*; but finding Orders given at all the Gates, that no Soldiers whatſoever ſhould be ſuffered to paſs, he made his Men march along the Ditch *Richlieu*, and continued his March towards *Charenton*. The Cardinal having notice hereof about half an Hour after Midnight, and immediately acquainting *Turenne* with it, he without loſs of time mounted, and about five a clock next Morning

ning, overtook the Prince's Rear as they were entring, and were so briskly charged by the Count *de Navailles*, that *Conti*'s Regiment suffered much, and a Squadron of *Conde*'s that was with him, fared no better. *Conde* being come to *Paris*, after he had confer'd with *Orleans*, went presently to *St. Martin*'s Gate, and sent out divers Parties for Intelligence. *Fornemont* discovered the Enemy from the Top of *Mountmarter*, putting themselves in Battel Array; so that the Prince seeing his Design was discovered, and that consequently whether he should advance or retreat his Loss would be irreparable, ordered *Beauveau* with a Squadron of Men to the Top of *Mountfaulon*, and the rest to go to *Pickepuse* and the Suburbs of *St. Antony*. On the other hand, the King's Camp and all the Court was already on horseback, being resolved either to conquer that day or end the War, not only in respect to the superiority of their Numbers, but by reason of the long way the Prince was to go with his Baggage; nay the Cardinal was so confident of it, that he brought the King to the Top of the *Sarone*, to be an Eye-witness of so famous an Action. 1652.

Now the King's Army being come to *Vilette*, within half a League of *Paris*; *Turenne* on the left pass'd by the Hills of *Sarone*, and came into the Plain, where he drew all his Troops in order, while the rest staid on the right with the Mareschal *Fertesenetre*. The Prince on the other hand wholly, undaunted in this Exigency of his Affairs, placed his own Brigade on the left of the Suburbs of *St. Antony*, as also that of *Burgundy*'s, and those of *Languedoc*, *Valois*, and *Ligueron* on the right; and wanting Foot to supply all the Posts, he order'd some of the Horse to back the Infantry, while the Artillery was placed at the Heads of the Streets of the Suburbs, and all the Avenues were trenched and barricadoed. Things being thus disposed, while the Prince was giving Order how his Men should defend themselves, the King's Troops came on, and charged them furiously in two Places, but were valiantly withstood, and for a while repulsed; but the Brigades of *Languedoc*, *Valois*, and *Ligueron* being not able to resist any longer, retired with Loss towards the Market Place: To whose Relief the Prince coming in Person at the *The Battel at St. Antony.*

1652. Head of his own Regiment of Horſe, that of *Enghien*, accompanied by *Nemours*, *Harento*, and *Vallon*; the Fight here grew very hot, and the Prince gave incredible Proofs of his Conduct and Valour, by killing many with his own Hands, and bravely replaced thoſe Brigades in their former Poſts. But *Tavanes* and *Langu* did not act their parts ſo well; for here *St. Magrin* fell on furiouſly at the Head of ſome Volunteers, and was like to have utterly broke the Prince's Forces, had not his Death cool'd the Courage of his Men; upon which the King's Forces were repulſed, but not without much Blood of the Prince's Men, who received here the greateſt Loſs. In the *Interim*, *Navailles* had taken *Rambulliet*-Street, with ſome Houſes and two Barricadoes, tho vigorouſly defended by the Adverſary, to whoſe Succour came *Landes* with a *Dutch* Brigade of the Prince's, who made good the Street that lead from the Gate to a large Piazza, where the King's Men had ſeiz'd upon ſome Houſes. *Nemours* and *Beaufort* came juſt then to the Prince, and reſolved to attack the Barricado taken by *Navailles*, to which *Conde* tho he foreſaw the great Difficulty, aſſented: Whereforbeing join'd by others of Quality, they fell to the Aſſault, but the Soldiers now weary and timorous marched along the Wall to ſhelve themſelves from the Enemies Shot; ſo that the brave Commanders alighting from their Horſes, and unaſſiſted by the Foot who ſtood behind, advanced with Sword in hand againſt the Barricado with ſo much Intrepidity of Spirit, as aſtoniſhed the Royaliſts, and made them forſake their Poſt; but it being impoſſible to hold, the Princes retired again. *Nemours* received 13 Musket-ſhot on his Armour, *Rochefoucault* was wounded between the Eyes, and indeed the Wounded might eaſily have been taken Priſoners here, had not *Conde* with his wonted Reſolution at the Head of ſome Gentlemen afforded them timely Succour.

At the ſame time that they were fighting without the *Pariſians* were at as much ſtrife in Words within; ſome were for the going out of ſuch Citizens as had Arms to help the Aſſaulted, and opening the Gates to let them in, others vigorouſly oppoſed; but *Mademoiſelle* accompanied by the Dutcheſſes of *Roan*, *Montba*

n, and *Chaſtillion*, uſed ſuch Arguments at the Town- 1652.
houſe to the Citizens in favour of the Princes, that
rſt about 300 of the Inhabitants were ordered to go
ut, who being poſted to guard ſome Stations by the
rince, *Roan* cauſed ſome of the Baggage to march in
y the Temple Gate, and *Beaufort* brought in the reſt
y *St. Antony*'s Gate. Now the Prince being inform'd
at the King's Army was divided into two Parts, and
dered to march by the way of *Saronne* and *Neully*,
d thinking this might be a Deſign to keep his Men
t between the Suburbs and the Gate; he poſted *Hol-*
k with his *Germans* at the End of the *Saronne*-Street,
d ſent word to *Lovieres*, who then commanded in
e *Baſtile*, to fire the Cannon upon the King's Army;
t he forbearing that as a thing unbecoming a Subject,
ademoiſelle went preſently thither, and getting upon
e Walls with more than a Man-like Spirit, as if ſhe her
f would ſhare in the Glory and Danger, made the Guns
be fired in her preſence upon them: Then Orders be-
g given for the Retreat, the Horſe and Foot marched
edily with the Cannon, the *Burgundian* Brigade
eping in the Rear; ſo that the Royaliſts aſtoniſhed
reat, were defrauded of their Hopes in the very
k of Victory. The Prince's Army not without won-
r paſt through *Paris*, and *Mademoiſelle* would needs
them, cauſed Money to be given to the wounded
ldiers; *Chavigny* gave them ſtore of Victuals, and
cauſe it had been always a Cuſtom in military Actions
have ſome Token whereby to diſcern Friends from
emies, *Madamoiſelle* put a Straw upon her Head,
erein being followed by all that would not be ac-
unted *Mazarinians*, you might ſee in a moment not
y all the Inhabitants, but Foreigners of every Na-
n, nay the very Fryars and Agents of foreign Prin-
do the ſame, to avoid the Inſolencies offer'd by the
bble to ſuch as bore not this Badg. Thus ended
s memorable Action on the ſecond of *July*, wherein
Quality was more conſiderable than the Number
t was ſlain. The Prince of *Conde* not valuing his
n Life, but flying like Lightning every where to
moſt dangerous and bloody Poſts, performed the
fice of a common Soldier as well as of a General,
s often upon the very brink of the Grave, his Horſe

1652. was killed under him, his Clothes ſhot through in divers Places, his Feathers and Hair burnt, yet he was miraculouſly preſerv'd unhurt. *Turenne* behaved himſelf no leſs valiantly, who by his Preſence gave great Proofs of his Valour and Experience every where; and he was heard to ſay, That he had that day met with above ſix Princes of *Conde*, for whereſoever he turn'd himſelf he found the Prince at the Head of the Enemy with his Sword in his Hand. But tho the Prince gained ſo much Reputation by this day's Action, yet he could never bring the *Pariſians* to his bow, which in reality was to lend Money, and come to an open Breach with the Court; and the proſecuting of this Deſign even with too much Heat occaſion'd a new Sedition in the City, wherein the Palace of the Commonalty was fired, and the ſame attended with much Confuſion and Diſorder. Wherefore the Prince having loſt his aim, ſollicited the *Spaniards* for Support; but their Motions proving very ſlow and ambiguous, there were Treaties ſet on foot between the contending Parties; and the King did finally declare, That *tho he had always believed, and did ſo ſtill, that their Deſire of having the Cardinal removed, were only Pretence wherewith to colour their own Ends, yet he was willing to gratify the Cardinal by giving him leave to retire, but not till the Affairs of* France *were better eſtabliſhed.* The Princes and Parliament returned the King Thanks for this Meſſage. But however it hapned to come about, the King at this time having reſolved to go from *St. Dennis* to *Pontois*, and the Cardinal by his expreſs Command remaining ſtill in the Adminiſtration, the oppoſite Party were much nettled, and redoubled their Detractions both in publick and private againſt *Mazarine*. The Parliament's Commiſſioners alſo refuſed to follow the King to *Pontois* from *St. Dennis*; whither *Conde*, *Orleans*, and *Beaufort* repairing with no leſs than 200000 common People, they brought them back to the Parliament. After which the Parliament made choice of *Orleans* to be Lieutenant General of the Crown, *Conde* to be General of the Forces under him, and ſet 50000 Crowns upon the Cardinal's Head. But for all theſe things matters did not go right with the Princes; a Duel fought between *Nemours*

urs and *Beaufort* proved fatal to the former, who 1652.
ed without Heirs Male: And the Duke of *Valois* a-
ut this time was no ſmall Mortification to *Orleans*;
d the King to do all he could to weaken them, by a
ecree on the 6*th* of *Auguſt*, removed the Parliament *King removes the Parliament to* Pontois.
Pontois, and made void all their Decrees, prohibit-
all People to acknowledg *Orleans* for Lieutenant
eneral of the Crown, or *Conde* as General of the
rces: He alſo charged the Counſellors and Officers of
e Parliament to go to *Pontois*, wherewith many of them
ving complied, the Cardinal hereupon thought in good
rneſt of retiring, his Preſence ſeeming no longer neceſ-
y to the King; but before his Departure, he gave his
ajeſty in writing particular Inſtructions concerning
overnment, and amongſt the reſt that he ſhould ne-
r agree with the Parliament of *Paris*, without they
ſt rendred Obedience to him by coming to *Pontois*.
on after which the King put forth an Act of Am- *A General Amneſty.*
ſty, wherein after a ſhort Recapitulation of all that
d paſt ſince 1648. he granted a general Pardon and
olition of all that had been done againſt his Ser-
ce, nulling whatever had been done by his Decrees
on occaſion of the preſent Troubles, from the firſt of
bruary 1651 till then, all his Declarations of *Septem-*
r and the 8*th* of *October* that year, upon condition
at *Orleans*, *Conde*, *Conti*, and their whole Party ſhould
y down their Arms within three days after the Publi-
tion of the ſaid Amneſty; and to that purpoſe *Orleans*
ould in that time ſend a Writing to the King ſubſcri-
d by himſelf, wherein he ſhould renounce all Treaties,
onfederacies, and Leagues with any Foreigner what-
ever, made without his Majeſty's leave; that *Conde*
d *Conti* ſhould do the like, and that they within the ſame
me ſhould put neceſſary Orders into the King's Hands,
make the *Spaniards* who were in *Stenay*, *Bourg*, or any
her Places go from thence, as alſo to make the Enemies
ips depart from the Coaſt of *France*; that *Orleans*
nd *Conde* ſhould cauſe the foreign Troops that were
out *Paris*, to march directly towards the Coaſt of
anders, and join their Forces to thoſe of *Turenne* and
erteſenetre, and alſo all Forces that were farther off
ithin fifteen Days; declaring that they who ſhould
ot comply with what was contain'd in this Amneſty in

1652. three days ſhould not have the Benefit of it; wherein the King only excepted ſuch Crimes as had been committed between particular Perſons of the ſame Party, which he left to due Courſe of Law.

Many Cavils were raiſed againſt this Amneſty, and the Princes were at laſt ſo far from complying with it, that they got the *Spaniards* under the Duke of *Lorain* and Prince of *Wirtemburg* to march to their Succour. They joined Forces together, and in a manner beſieged *Turenne* in *Villeneuf St. George*, between whom there paſſed ſeveral Skirmiſhes with reciprocal Succeſs. But *Paris* being as it were beſieged now by its own Friends becauſe of the Nearneſs of the Army, the King was daily importuned to return thither; but his Anſwer was, That they muſt firſt get *Orleans* to cauſe *Conde* to retire to his Government of *Guyenne*, and *Beaufort* to *Annet*. Whereupon *Rets*, *Chevreuſe*, and *Chaſteauneuf*, all Enemies to *Conde*, made uſe of the favourable Conjuncture, and were not wanting to diſjoin *Orleans* from the Prince, and reunite him to the Court. In the mean time *Montrond* falling into the King's Hands, his Affairs began daily to look with a better Aſpect; and indeed the *Pariſians* by this time beginning in earneſt to reſent the Miſeries of War, wiſhed heartily for the King's Return, and having held divers Meetings in the Palace Royal and Town-houſe, they ſent ſeveral times to him to deſire him to come and reſide amongſt them, but things were not yet rightly attempered for it.

As for the King's Army they were ſtill at *Villeneuf*, and much ſtraitned by the Princes Troops and Confederates, ſo that many of their Horſes periſhed for want of Victuals and Forage. The Princes knew well enough the Importance of ruining this Army, but the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, and the Sickneſs of *Conde*, *Wirtemburg*, and many more of their principal Commanders, cauſed the Ruin of their own Party: For beſides this *Lorain* and *Beaufort* and almoſt all the chief Commanders being gone to *Paris* with a conſiderable Number of their beſt Soldiers, for fear of ſome Conſpiracy among the Inhabitants; *Turenne*, a no leſs wiſe than valiant Commander, after a ſhort Conſultation with *Ferteſenetre*, reſolved to decamp; wherefore having

Turenne marches towards the Marn.

g on the 4*th* of *October* pass'd his Baggage and Ar- 1652.
ery by night over the *Seine* by a Bridg of Boats,
Army by break of Day marched off in such Or-
r and Silence, that they past undiscovered by the
nemies Sentinels, and went to quarter about the
Marne, at which *Conde* stormed mightily, highly com-
aining of the Carelesness of his Officers, saying,
hat had he been well, he would not have lost so fa-
urable an Opportunity. The Prince not long after
d *Lorain* marched with their Forces towards *Cham-*
gne, while the King and the *Parisians* were now at
ll Liberty to compleat a Reconciliation in order to
s Return amongst them; and having at length af-
cted the same, he went thither on the 21*st* of *Octob.*
companied by *Charles* II. King of *England*, Prince
homas of *Savoy*, and a vast Number of Princes, Dukes,
nd Mareschals of *France*, and other Persons of Quality;
t the Duke of *Orleans* would not see the King, and
erefore leaving *Paris*, he went first to *Limours*, and
om thence to *Blois*.

While Affairs went thus at *Paris*, Extravagancies
ontinued at *Bourdeaux*, where the *Olmeira*, which
as a Faction of the Scum of the People, strangely
redominated; but it will not fall within our Compass
o enter upon the Particulars of the Proceedings of
hese Men; and therefore we are here now to observe,
hat *Mazarine* (tho absent) having negotiated in vain
o bring *Conde* to a Reconciliation, he cunningly en-
eavoured to divide his Brother *Conti* from him: But
ho *Conti* was not a Friend to his Brother, and that
is Mind was much more susceptible of Satisfaction,
et he was so fixed not to disoblige his Sister the Dutch-
ss of *Longueville*, that without her he would resolve
pon nothing, and she remained firm in the good In-
elligence she held with *Conde*.

I shall but just mention here the Imprisonment of
he Cardinal of *Retz*, wherein *Mazarine* was suspected
o have had a hand (tho outwardly it appeared o-
herwise) the other it was thought aiming to dispossess
im of his Authority; and therefore we shall look in-
o *Guyenne* now, where we find the King's Arms be-
gin to prosper, as those of the *Bardelois* grew weaker,
who were divided amongst themselves, and governed

1652. by particular Intereſts and Paſſions. The Duke of *Candale* commanded the Royal Forces there inſtead of *Harcourt*, who preſently took the Caſtle of *Pinol* and ſeized upon *Marmanda* and *Aiguillon*, ſituate beyond *Bourdeaux*, and *Agen* on this ſide the *Garonne*, and being afterwards informed that Count *Marſin* had cauſed *Baltaſſor* to paſs the *Garonne*, to gain ſome advantage by the diviſion of *Aubeterre's* Troops placed in Gariſon there, and that he had cauſed *Diſſus* to march towards *Granado*, he ordered *Aubeterre* to be on his Guard, who having paſſed the *Douſe* near St. *Mauritio*, ſurprized and beat a Body of the Enemy, and had many other petty Succeſſes, too minute to relate. And therefore but juſt to mention the War that happened at this time between the Rump-Parliament of *England* and the *Dutch*, the *French* were very intent ſtill upon the Reduction of *Bourdeaux* and *Guienne*, and *Conde* being as ſollicitous for the Preſervation of it, preſſed the *Spaniards* very much for Aſſiſtance. The *Spaniards* knew well enough of what Importance it was to keep up that Faction; and therefore as by other means, ſo more particularly by their Ambaſſador at *London*, they did all they could to engage the *Engliſh* againſt the *French*; tho in their Propoſitions for ſending Men into *Guyenne*, they moved very warily ſo as if they deſigned to have footing there themſelves and not the *Engliſh*, whoſe Neighbourhood they liked not, and whoſe mighty Power at Sea was a great Terror to them.

1653. We proceed now to another Year, towards the beginning of which, *viz.* on the 3*d* of *Feb. Mazarin* returned to *Paris*, being ſo far honoured by the King himſelf, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the whole Court that they went to meet him two Leagues out of the City. Now the King ſince his Return, having done nothing in the Diſtribution of Offices either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, he did the Cardinal the Honour to diſtribute them: He had notwithſtanding of himſelf paſſed the Edicts for new Impoſitions, and done all other things which were like to prove diſpleaſing to the People. *Servient* was now made Superintendant of the Finances, Cardinal *Barberini* Grand Almoner as alſo Biſhop of *Poictiers*; *Villeroy* Brother to the Mareſc-

A Diſtribution of Offices.

hal of that Name, was created Archbiſhop of *Ly-* 1653.
; but the Cardinal reſerving many other Benefices
iſpoſed of, and feeding the Sollicitations of his
ends only with Hopes, it gave them occaſion to ſay,
t the Cardinal was like him, who gave not the
dicine till the Patient was dead. About the ſame
e *Guiſe*, *Turenne* and *Gramont* were made Mini-
rs of State.

In the mean time things were not quiet in the
ld, where *Beauvais* the King's Lieutenant General
Champagne, having notice that *Conde* being come to
nay, had lodged about 1400 Horſe and Foot in the
llage of *Therme*; he marched privately thither,
d about an Hour after Midnight fell ſo furiouſly up-
them, that above 300 Foot and 200 Horſe were ta-
n Priſoners, while *Briol* with the reſt made his E-
pe. This Military Rencounter was attended with the
mmitment of *M. Croiſſy Fouquet*, a Counſellor of
Parliament, one of the Prince of *Conde*'s Party,
d who had been a great Stickler amongſt the Facti-
of the *Frondeurs* raiſed againſt the Cardinal: He
s taken in *Paris*, not ſo much as an exiled Perſon,
becauſe he held private Intelligence with *Conde*; but
t being able after all to prove the matter clearly a-
inſt him, he was at laſt ſet at Liberty, upon Con-
tion he ſhould remain in *Italy*, till the Prince had
ade his Peace, or that the King ſhould recal him.

Preparations were made all this while for the Cam-
gn, and divers Sums of Money were delivered by
e Cardinal to Colonels and Captains of the old
roops to recruit them, and to others to make new
evies; he treated alſo for a Body of *German* Horſe:
nd for as much as *Piedmont* ſeemed to be much
reatned by the Loſs of *Caſal*, and the Warlike Pre-
rations made by the *Spaniards* in the *Milaneſe*; and
at the Duke of *Savoy* reiterated his Deſire, he
ight be aſſiſted either with a good body of Men, or
rmitted to agree to a Neutrality with *Spain*; the
rench ſent 4500 Foot and 1500 Horſe in the Month
May into *Piedmont*, to reinforce *du Quince*, who
as their Commander in chief in thoſe Parts; but the
egotiations carried on in *Italy* by *Du Pleſſis Beſanſon*
ame to nothing.

French *aſſiſt the* Savoyard.

On

1653. On the other ſide *Turenne* was to command in *Flanders* againſt the *Spaniards*; but the Cardinal being in great pain about getting *Briſac* out of the Count *Harcourt*'s Hand, and the other ſhewing himſelf not very forward in complying, the Mareſchal *de la Ferté Senneterre* was ordered to march with the King's Forces into *Alſatia*, and make War upon thoſe Places that held for the Count, to enforce him to come to ſuch Terms as the King thought fit to grant him. The Mareſchal quickly took *Belford* and ſome other Places; then entring into a Treaty with the Count, that he ſhould receive 40000 Dubloons for the paying of the Gariſon of *Briſac* and *Charlevois*, and that he ſhould have 100000 for himſelf, in caſe he gave up *Briſac*; he agreed to it, but the Cardinal not ſtanding to the Bargain, *Harcourt* at laſt was forced to ſubmit without this Money, and all the Satisfaction he was like to have, was that the Cardinal ſhould declare to the Duke of *Elbeuf*, that he was ſufficiently ſatisfied of *Harcourt's* Ingenuity, and had the ſame Eſteem for him as formerly, and that in caſe he would leave the Care thereof to him, he would find a fit Opportunity to procure the Count entire Satisfaction. But to leave this part of the Country for the preſent, we are to obſerve, that the Mareſchal *de Hoquincourt*, being to command this Campaign in *Catalonia*, when he could do but little good with the States of *Languedoc*, who had met at *Pezenas*, he left that Place on the 25*th* of *May*, and appointed the General Rendevouz of all the Troops to be at *Bellon*, from whence he marched on the 16*th* of *June* to paſs the Hill of *Pertus*. His Army conſiſted of 2500 Horſe, and about 4000 Foot, all experienced Soldiers; but tho that of the *Spaniard* was ſomewhat ſtronger, yet they would not diſpute the Paſs; but having placed a Guard in the Tower of *Della Jonquiera*, they thought the ſame might have ſtopped the *French*, till they might march up to charge them with Advantage; but the Tower quickly ſurrendring, and the *French* boldly advancing under *Pleſſis Belliere* towards the *Spaniſh* Army near *Chaſtillon*, the other having left 1200 Men in that Place, drew off in the Night. The *French* hereupon attacked the Place, which was ſoon ſurrendred to them, as were alſo *Empouriers* and *Torne de Medal*

Affairs of Catalonia.

The

is done, and the General being informed that the E- 1653.
ny was retired to *Gironne*, he immediately marched
ther with a Design to fight them; but they found
Spaniards so well and regularly intrenched, that it
s impracticable to attempt it: However they resolved *Siege of*
beſiege *Gironne*, which being not ſtrong, and but Gironne.
garisoned, they thought they ſhould ſoon maſter;
the Marqueſs *de Serra*, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, and
Baron of *Gala* threw themſelves into it. The *Spa-*
rds conſulted hereupon how they might confer
th *Don John* of *Auſtria*; and it was propoſed *de*
rra ſhould go in the Habit of a Peaſant to him, but
reſolving like a Gentleman to go with his Sword in
nd, 150 choice Horſe were appointed to attend him;
defeated 200 of the Miquelets by the way, but
s hardly purſued by 800 *French* Horſe, which
de him have recourſe to the Protection of the Can-
n of *Palamos*. Here he found 500 Marines, with
om the Marqueſs ſet out again towards the Enemy,
om they totally routed, moſt of the Commanders
ing either killed or taken Priſoners, whereby the
arqueſs got ſafe to *Barcelona*. In the mean time 200
iſh having ſeized the Caſtle of *Oſtralic*, agreed for
Sum of Money to ſell it to the *French*, but an Enſign
theirs having prevailed with them to accept of the
me Sum from the Town, this ſaved it. The other
iſh who were in the *Spaniſh* Service in *Catalonia*, be-
g offended at the Perfidiouſneſs of their Country-
en, poſted them for Traitors, and challenged them
fight either Man for Man, or in ſuch Numbers, and
ith ſuch Arms, as they ſhould agree upon; and when
ey had done this, they took an Oath of Fidelity to
e King of *Spain*, to the no ſmall Mortification of the
rench, who expected great things from them.

It would be an endleſs matter to particularize every
ction that hapned this Year within *France* it ſelf;
owever we muſt obſerve, that the War in *Guyenne*
ill continued, and that the King's Troops in the ſmall
encounters and Actions that hapned there, had gene-
ally the better of it, and ſo much the more becauſe
the many new Diviſions and Factions that aroſe at
Bourdeaux; and things looked with ſo evil an Eye up-
n the Princes, that many of the *French* quitted *Con-*

de's

1653. *de*'s Party, while *Espernon* took *Bellegard* for the King, whose Army also reduced *Retell.* In the mean time *Conde* and the *Spaniards* taking the Field, entered with a good Army into *France*, but were observed so narrowly by *Turenne*, that they could do no great good there. On the other hand, the King's Forces in *Guienne* being now recruited, they took *Bourg*, *Libourne* and other Places; and straitning *Bourdeaux* it self, this caused the Citizens to have divers Meetings, and desire Peace; and the Malevolent having raised fresh Tumults amongst them, they are at length quieted by *Conti*, and the Treaty went on; and being at last finally concluded, notwithstanding all the Intrigues of the *Spaniards* and others to the contrary, there was a general Amnesty granted, and the *Bourdelois* on their part renounced all Leagues and Confederacies with Foreigners, and returned under the King's Obedience; and the *Spanish* Fleet now come to the Mouth of the *Garonne*, and hearing of the Peace concluded, cast Anchor, and proceeded no farther, but some time after returned to their own Coast, as the Princess of *Conde* with her Son the Duke of *Enghien* and their Domesticks left *Bourdeaux*, and went by Sea for *Flanders.*

Bourdeaux *makes Peace.*

But to the side of *Flanders* again, on the 24*th* of *July* the *French* King, Cardinal, and the whole Court went for the Army; but making no long stay there, the *Spaniards* soon after decamped and passed the *Somme* between *Ham* and *St. Quintin*; while the *French* Army at the same time marching towards *Ham*, passed the River by Night, and incamped on the other side, where having notice that the Count *de Maile* with a great Convoy of Ammunition and Provision from *Cambray*, was marching to reinforce the *Spanish* Camp before any Place they should besiege, *Turenne* at break of Day with a great body of Horse and Foot went out to intercept them; but the Prince being aware of it, had regulated his March, that the Mareschal saw his Design was discovered. The Prince soon after this, made such a hasty March towards the Enemy, that he might both surprize and defeat them in all Probability, but that *Fuensaldagne* jealous that the *Lorainers* had been corrupted by *Mazarine*, and so would betray the

ſed to give Battel; ſo that nothing fell out till the 1653.
h of *Aug.* then a great Skirmiſh hapned between
e Parties, and next day the Prince marched towards
Quintin, with a Deſign to inveſt *Guiſe*; but being
eated in this Project alſo by the great Vigilance and
ll of his Adverſary, he was bent upon making a-
her Trial; and advancing the Army within a League
Ham, and extending it in length all along a little
er which there falls into the *Somme*, with a Reſo-
on to attack it, or in caſe the King's Forces ſhould
ne to relieve it, to fall upon them; he was no ſoon-
come to the deſigned Poſt, but he ſaw all the
nch Army in his Flank, and Count *Beaujeu* on his
ar, who having repaſſed the *Oyſe*, had taken up
Poſt at *Fargny*, to be ready at hand upon all acci-
nts. Here the Armies reſted, looking upon one ano-
r for three Weeks without making any attempt;
ength the Prince by many Warlike and Political
guments, brought the ſuſpicious and ſelf-intereſted
niards to reſolve upon the Siege of *Rocroy*; to
ich purpoſe it was on the 5*th* of *Septemb.* inveſted
denly by *Ligueville* with 3000 Horſe, and the reſt
the Generals quickly took their Poſts about it.
e *French* Commanders were ſomewhat ſurprized at
Attempt, however to compenſate the ſame, they
way of Diverſion or rather Reprizal ſat down be-
Mouſon; it's needleſs to give the Particulars of
reſpective Sieges, and ſufficient to obſerve that
h Armies carried their Points, tho the *French* will
e the *Spaniards* Loſs to have been much more conſi-
able in the taking of *Rocroy*, than theirs at the o-
r Place.

At the ſame time that the Affairs in *Catalonia*, *Guy-*
e and *Champagne* paſſed in the manner before rela-
, the *French* Army in *Piedmont* having joined the
oops of *Savoy*, continually infeſted the Country of
exandria; after which they went to incamp at *Creſ-*
tino, to obſerve the Marqueſs of *Caracena*, who ha-
g taken the Field with 8000 men, was marched to
tant and *Palazzuolo*, where having ſtaid ſome days,
ince the *French* General ſent to defy him to a Bat-
in the Plain of *Bertola*, but marching from thence
o *Montferat* again, *Caracena* came at laſt to *Roque-*

ta

1653. ta *de Tanar* on the 23*d* of *Septemb.* where hav
ſtaid two Hours for Boats to make a Bridg, he in t
mean time ſent a Company of Muſketeers over t
Ford to diſcover the Enemy, becauſe he had no c
tain Advice of their March; but having Intelligen
ſoon after, that the *French* were incamped at *A*
and intended to muſter at *Berſa*, the Marqueſs paſſ
his Foot over the Bridg, while the Horſe forded t
River. As they began to paſs, a Countryman brou
word that the *French* marched towards *Anon*, ſo
after which came in a body of Scouts, retiring bef
a body of the *French*, after which followed the wh
Army with a Reſolution to attack the *Spaniards*; he
upon *Caracena* conſidering there were ſo many p
already, that he could not avoid fighting, haſten
thoſe that were behind, and poſted himſelf in a Pl
where the River fetches a Compaſs in the Form of t
Letter *C*, in the narrow of which he drew up his M
placing three Regiments on a riſing Ground on t
Left, and as many on the Right, which becauſe it w
not ſo advantageous a Poſt as the other, he fortified
well as the time would permit; now it being imp
ſible by reaſon of the River to attack him any way b
in the Front, he drew up the Foot before the Hor
This done, he advanced himſelf to view the Enem
whom he diſcovered drawing up his Army in Batt
array about a Cannon-ſhot from him, and leaving t
Companies to give him notice of their Motion, he r
turned to the Army, where he was ſcarce come, wh
he perceived the two Companies retire, the *Fren*
advancing with all ſpeed to attack them; they brave
charged the Right and Left of the *Spaniards* thr
times, but more fiercely on the Right as being t
weakeſt; but the *Spaniſh* Foot behaved themſelves
well, that *Quince* was forced to retire with the Loſs
600 men, beſides Priſoners. Next day the *Fren*
marched away towards *Montferrat*, and the *Spania*
kept cloſe to them, and ſome days after the Marqu
perceiving their Deſign was to get Quarters in the ri
Country up the Upper *Novara*, he prevented them o
ly by two Hours, and at laſt the Floods Riſing, g
the *French* a good pretence to retire out of the Co
try, which the *Spaniards* were very glad of.

Battel between the French *and* Spaniards.

might here in my Return to *France* again, en- 1654.
upon the Particulars of the Siege of *Menhaud*,
ich was the Projection and Management of *Ma-*
ine, to the Advantage of the King, and who now
riſhing more and more in the good Opinion of his
nce, affected all that he deſired, and upon the
nce of *Conti*'s Reconciliation to the Court, procu-
a Match between him and his own Niece the
unteſs of *Martinozzi*. But to look a little towards
Coaſt of *Catalonia*, the *French* this Year having
t the Mountains, entred the County of *Pucerdan*, French
l laid Siege to the City of that Name, which was *paſs the*
that time well provided; here they under- Pyrenees.
od that the *Spaniſh* Horſe had blocked up *Roſes* in
er to beſiege it, whereupon they raiſed the Siege,
in three days reached *Lampurdan*, which was ex-
mely expeditious, ſince the ſame is uſually ſeven
s march. The *Spaniſh* Foot to the number of 500
red upon their Approach, but 400 Horſe poſted
re ſtood upon their Guard, and were charged by
o *French* Horſe, who were repulſed; but their
in Body coming up, the *Spaniards* retired. At
ſame time 3500 Foot and ſome Horſe of the *Spani-*
ds coming from *Gironne*, and perceiving the
ench went for *Roſes*, turned back. The Queen's Re-
ent of 1000 men, with a body of 1300 Horſe,
ning out of *France* to recruit their Army, and en-
g by the way of *Cabſir*, they were ſet upon by
nales and *Valeumela*, defeated, above 600 taken
ſoners, as were moſt of the Horſe, and all their
ggage, which the *French* affirmed to be worth 8000
cats. On the 2*d* of *June* the Prince of *Conti* went
Perpignan, and having there as Governor taken the
al Oath to the *French* King, he on the 28*th* laid Conti
ge to *Villa Franca*, and in about eight days time *takes* Vil-
it ſurrendered to him. Here having ſtaid till the la Franca.
d of *July*, and *Marin* Lieutenant-General of the
ot having joined him, they attempted *Lampurdan*
ain; after which *Conti* marched to *St. George*, and
other Forces to the Towns along the *Ter*: He ſent
Foot to *Perpignan*, and 600 Foot and 1000
rſe to *Roſes*; after which he marched with 1000
rſe to *Pucerdan*; *D'Joſeph Margerit* and the Duke of
Can-

1654. *Candale* at the ſame time directing their Courſe *Zardana*, with the reſt of the Army, by the way *Banalos*. Now theſe Commanders leading 1400 Ho and 1500 Foot on the Top of Mount *Ribas*, were a tacked by the *Spaniſh* Forces, who ſlew 600 of th Foot, and 400 Horſe, without any great Loſs to the ſelves. In the mean time *Conti* went by the way *Villa Franca*, and *Col. de Pera* to *Hibra*, expecti there ſome Cannon from *Caragut*. On the other han *Valeumela* having Intelligence that 500 of the Enem Foot, and 1000 Horſe lay at *Lapſirt*, he put Gariſons to *Villor* and other Places in the way to *Conflans*; ſo th 300 *French* Horſe and 400 Foot marching towar *Conflans*, and plundring the open Towns, were up their Return ſet upon by *Rodrigues*, who ſlew t Commander and took ſome Booty. About the ſam time *Valeumela* ſending a Detatchment to nail the fo pieces of Cannon that lay at *Carugat*, they ſet out the 26*th* of *Septemb.* at Night, lay in a Wood all t next day, and marched again at Night; ſo that the 28*th* by break of day they ſurprized 500 Fo and 50 Horſe that guarded that Cannon, burnt t Houſes where any Oppoſition was made, took *Vi gue* General of the Artillery Priſoner, nailed the C non, carried away 100 Mules belonging to the Tra and retiring in time got ſafe to *Pucerdan*. *Don Jo* of *Auſtria* advanced with his Army as far as *Vi* but the great Snows obliged him to return to *Barcelo* leaving ſix Regiments at *Vique*, who defended th Place with incredible Bravery.

As for the Affairs on the ſide of *Flanders*, we have ſo merly ſhewed how the Duke of *Lorain* was outed his Dominions by the *Spaniards*; after which he re red into *Flanders*, and having ſerved there for ſo years with conſiderable Reputation, was of late gro very ſlow in the Service, and in reality as little b burdenſom to the Country of his Friends, as he w to that of his Enemies; for which reaſon the *Spania* projected to remove him out of his Command, yet as it might rather ſeem done to honour, than to d fend him. The Count *de Garces* was appointed manage this Affair, and having ſecured his Perſon w ſingular Dexterity, he was firſt conducted to *Antwe* fro

n whence he was ſent into *Spain*, where he was in- 1654.
d received and entertained in the Caſtle of *Toledo*
all Princely Grandeur and Magnificence; and Spaniards
ſplendid Entertainment was the Cauſe that many *impriſon*
d not penetrate into the Reaſons of his Removal; *the D. of*
the moſt ſharp-ſighted believed, he held Correſ- Lorain.
dence with *France*, in order to be reſtored to his
inions, as in reality he did frequently to his Detri-
t, as being a Man of a very fickle and unſteady
nour. Then for the Tranſactions on the ſide of
, we ſhould have mentioned before the Releaſ-
t of the Duke of *Guiſe* in 1550. from his Confine-
t in *Spain*, on account of the Troubles raiſed by
in *Naples*; before which having taken a Solemn
h never to bear Arms againſt *Spain*, when he re-
ed into *France*, he got leave of the King, notwith-
ding his Oath, to fit out a Fleet at his own Charge
errify the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *Italy*, wherein he
promiſed to be aſſiſted by ſome of the King's Men
War: Wherefore going away for *Marſeilles*, he
e uſed ſuch Expedition, that the Fleet by the mid-
of *Octob.* was ready to ſail, the ſame conſiſting of
Great Ships, ſix Gallies, and other ſmall Veſſels
manned and ſtored with all Neceſſaries. About
beginning of *Novemb.* they appeared before *Sardi-*
but being by ſtreſs of Weather driven to *Corſica*,
nos gave notice of it to the Viceroy of *Naples*;
the Weather clearing up, *Guiſe* ſcoured all the
ſt of *Naples*, till the Wind carried him again to
, to the Iſle of *Fabiana* near *Trepano*, where
took 300 Head of large Cattle, 1000 ſmall,
Barrels of Tunny-Fiſh, and all the fiſhing Tac-
At length the Duke entred the Gulph of *Venice*,
came before *Caſtelamar*, where he landed his Men,
began from the Fleet furiouſly to canonade the
n, which was at the ſame time aſſaulted by thoſe
were got on ſhoar in three ſeveral Places. It was Guiſe's
grown Night, and the *Calabrian* Foot Regiment *Expedition*
eiving a great Number of *French* come down the *to* Naples.
ntains, fled, which made the Governor capitulate.
ing taken the Town, the *French* plundered it,
ping off all the Booty, which *Guiſe* afterwards ex-
d, as if done without his Order. After this the

1654. Vice-Roy uſing all imaginable Diligence, encountred the *French* in ſeveral Places, and having put them to the worſt, they were at length forced to abandon the Place, and loſt ſome of their Ships and Men by Mis-adventures at Sea; and thus ended the Duke's Expedition.

If we look into the Bowels of *France* it ſelf, more particularly as to the State of Religion at this time, we find no great Difference with the Reformed; this indeed we muſt take notice in this place, that a Spirit of Perſecution ſeemed plainly to reign in the Hearts of the Catholicks againſt them, and nothing in all probability could have prevented it, but *Oliver Cromwel* aſſuming the Protectorſhip now in *England*, and entring into an Alliance with *France*. And here tho it may ſeem ſomewhat Foreign to our Deſign, we muſt not paſs over the Maſſacre of the Reformed in the
1655. Vallies of *Piedmont* under the Duke of *Savoy*. The Soldiers killed all they met with, and made no Diſtinction of Age or Sex. The Women and Maidens endured the greateſt Indignities and Cruelties imaginable: There were ſome *French* Troops in this Expedition, and it was reported that the greateſt Outrages were committed. The Reformed in *France* were much alarmed at this Male-Adventure, and that rather becauſe Things looked as if all the *Popish* Princes conſpired againſt their Proteſtant Subjects; but having at length reſumed ſome Courage, when they ſaw how the Council took this Accident, that the King diſavowed this Action, and ſeverely reprimanded thoſe that were engaged therein, and at the ſame time writ very ſharply to the Duke of *Savoy* about it. He allowed his Proteſtant Subjects to make Collections for the Relief of thoſe in the Vallies; many of whom retired fugiated themſelves in *France*, and at length became the Inſtruments of bringing the Duke of *Savoy* to grant the poor *Vaudois* a Peace, tho indeed it was the Menaces and powerful Offices of *Cromwel*, and not the good Diſpoſition of the Council of *France* (as they would have the World believe) that effected it.

French ſucceſsful againſt the Spaniards.

But for the Affairs of the Field within the Compaſs of this Year, we find the *French* attended with good Succeſs on the ſide of *Flanders*, where *Landreci*, *Mar-* being

ge, *Conde* and *St. Guillain* fell into their Hands, 1655.
y being much incouraged to go thro with their En-
prizes by their King's Preſence: And becauſe the
niſh Generals ſeemed only to be Spectators of the
vantages the *French* obtained upon them, Prince
ncis, the Duke of *Lorain*'s Brother, and Com-
nder in Chief over thoſe Forces in the *Spaniſh* Ser-
e, left them, and joined with the *French*.

As for their Enterprizes in *Catalonia*, *Conti* and
erceur who commanded in the County of *Rouſſillon*
Catalonia, took *le Col du Pertius*, *le Cap do Quiers*,
the Town of *Chaſtillon*. They had taken the
wn of *Berga* the preceding Year from the *Spani-*
ds; but now *Pinos* Governor of *Wich*, marched
ther with ſome Force on the 29th of *Septemb.* ſcaled
plundred the Town next day; then laying Siege to
Fort and Caſtle, the Beſieged ſurrendered, not
owing they had Relief within two Hours march of
m. The *French* nettled at this, attempted to
over it on the tenth of *October*, and having
ung a Mine, carried the Caſtle, while the Gari-
retired into the Church. In the *Interim*, *Pi-*
having come thither with 1400 Horſe and 1000
ot, attacked the *French* in a Plain ſurrounded with
raſſes, and guarded by a Chappel wherein were
e Foot; he drove their Foot from all their Poſts
from the Caſtle, making his way to the Church.
the mean while the *Spaniſh* Horſe charging that of
French, drove them into the Town, whither being
ſued by the *Spaniards*, moſt of the Foot threw
wn their Arms and took Quarter, as many of the
rſe did; about 600 *French* fled to the Mountains,
from thence to *Borreda*, leaving all their Baggage
ind them, and 1500 men killed or taken. This
ne, *Monteſarcho* and *Salamanques* took *las Medas*,
the Tower of *Bagur* abandoned by the *French*,
o had nailed the Cannon. Fluſh'd with theſe Suc-
ſes, *Don John* of *Auſtria* reſolved to reduce *Salſo-*
to which end having cauſed 2000 *Spaniſh* Foot to
landed out of the Fleet, and making in all 4000
ot and 2000 Horſe, he ſat down before the Place on the
h of *Nov.* and preſently fell to work with his Tren-
s. During the Siege, which laſted 11 days, the Beſieged

Berga *and* Salſona *recovered by the* Spaniards.

1655. defending themſelves with great Reſolution, made ſeveral brave Sallies, and the rather as expecting Relief from the Prince of *Conti*; however ſeeing themſelves diſappointed, and that all things were prepared for an Aſſault, the *French* excluding the Townſmen, capitulated for themſelves, and marched out accordingly 400 ſtrong.

There was but little Action towards *Italy*; only we find there, that the Duke of *Modena* pretending the Governor of *Milan* had undertaken ſome Deſign to the prejudice of his Government, return'd again to the Party of *France*, which obliged *Caracena* to beſiege him in *Regio*. In the mean time the Succours which the *French* had ſent him being arrived, he in conjunction with Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, *St. Andrew Montbrun* and *Broglio*, on the 25*th* of *July* laid Siege to *Pavia*, tho they were forced to break up in *Septemb.* following for want of Neceſſaries; and ſo we'll leave
1656. them and return to *Flanders*, to ſee what this Year's Campagn does produce there. We find *Don John* of *Auſtria* now Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, who finding the *French* had laid Siege to *Valenciennes*, he ſet out from *Bruſſels* about the middle of *June* with *Conde* and *Caracena* in order to relieve it; the *French* had already gained the Town-Ditch and a half Moon, and lay ſo ſecurely intrenched, that it ſeemed not practicable to force their Lines: However the Danger the Place was in, and the great conſequence of loſing it, animating the *Spaniards* to ſurmount all Difficulties; they on the 16*th* of *July* fell on the *French* Camp with ſuch Succeſs, that they forced their Lines with conſiderable Slaughter, took their Baggage, ſeveral Colours, and many Priſoners of Quality. Hereupon *Turenne* with the Forces that lay on the other ſide, and had not ſuffered, retired to an advantageous Poſt near *Quenay*, whither the diſperſed Troops went and drew together again; the *Spaniſh* Army incamping cloſe by, in expectation he ſhould decamp, as he needs muſt very ſoon for want of Forage. The Conſequence of the Relief of *Valenciennes*, was the Surrender of *Conde*, tho gariſoned by 4000 *French* who would not defend it; however the wary *Turenne* found a way to retire under the Cannon of *Arras*, and with 4000 Horſe

French *beaten at* Valenciennes.

and

and ſome Foot drawn out of Gariſons, marched towards *St. Venant*, thinking to ſurprize that Place; but failing in that attempt, he did however become Maſter of *la Chappelle*. 1656.

The Time for Winter-Quarters was not over, when *Caracena* marched towards *St. Guillain*, and on the 14th of *March Don John* and *Conde* followed him, the Army being there before according to order; the Deſign of the *French* for the preſent, was to throw ſome Succours into the Place, and if the *Spaniards* as they deſigned could not prevent it, their Reſolution was to carry the Place by main Force. On the 17th the Redoubts and Horn-works which covered the Sluices were attacked, the Inhabitants having already drowned the Country round, ſo as that there was no approaching, but along a narrow Dike; however in a little time, the *Spaniards* maſtered all theſe Poſts, and having on the 21ſt at Night gained the Paliſadoes, the Gariſon capitulated the next day, and on the 24th gave up the Place. This ill Succeſs of the *French* moved them to procure the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, who having ſent ſome Troops to their Service, they were reviewed by the *French* King at *Albeville*; and *Turenne* at the ſame time made a Shew as if he intended to march that way, his Army conſiſting of 18000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe, with which on a ſudden he turned and marched fifteen Leagues to *Cambray*, without halting any more than a League or two to refreſh his Men. At four in the Morning, on the 29th of *May*, his Horſe inveſted the Place, and about 11 the Foot took their Poſts before it, puſhing on the Works with great Vigour; the Place was not very well provided, however *Conde*, who had before Orders to go to *Valenciennes*, in order to cover *Cambray*, *Bouchain* and *Douay*, immediately marched for *Bouchain*, from whence he ſet out at ten at Night, and at twelve came to the *French* Lines, which had been haſtily thrown up: Here he drew up his Men, and ordering the Governor of *Bouchain* to make a falſe Attack at a Place far diſtant, and upon pain of Death forbidding any Man to fire a Piſtol or take a Priſoner; he gallantly aſſaulted *Turenne*'s Quarters at one, and by two had got 4000 Horſe into the Place, which obliged the Ma- 1657.

French loſe St. Guillain.

1657. reſchal to draw off and incamp between *Cambray* and *Chaſtelet*. The *French* having been forced from their Deſign upon *Cambray*, marched and laid Siege to *Montmedy*, in the Province of *Luxemburgh*; it was inveſted by the Mareſchal *de la Ferte* on the 10*th* of *June*, and the *Spaniards* being unable to relieve it, it was ſurrendered on the 3*d* of *July* following.

French take Montmedy.

The *French* King had in *Feb.* this Year, voluntarily cauſed the Citadel of *Turin* to be delivered up to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*; but ſoon after the Differences between the Duke of *Mantua* and the *Spaniards* having been made up by the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. upon condition the Duke ſhould admit a Gariſon of *Germans* into *Caſal*, to be paid by the King of *Spain*, the *French* grew ſo jealous that this might be deſtructive to their Affairs in *Italy*, that they attempted again to recover *Turin*; but this Deſign was ſo unſucceſsfully managed by *Eſcalado* in the Night, that they were forced to deſiſt with the loſs of 800 men. However having joined in League with the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Modena*, they took the Field about the middle of *July*, under the Command of the Prince of *Conti* as their General, while *Picolomini* commanded the *Savoyards*, and *Modena* his own Troops. They entred the *Milaneſe* altogether to the number of 11000 Horſe, and 7000 Foot, with all Neceſſaries to beſiege *Alexandria*, which they inveſted on the 17*th* of *July*, and carried on their Attacks with much Vigour. *Rabanal* the Governor made a ſtout Defence, while *Fuenſaldagna* coming up with his Army to the Relief of the Place, tho the Enemies Horſe forced him at firſt to retire, yet he made his Approaches ſo regularly to their Works, that they thought fit at laſt to ſend their Baggage over the *Tanor*, and drew off themſelves in the Night to *Aſte*; and all they could do was to ſupply *Valentia* with Proviſions; yet the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia* raiſed the Siege of *Urgel*.

They quit the Siege of Alexandria.

But to conclude the Military Affairs of this Year, *Turenne* being joined by the *Engliſh* Forces, beſieged *St. Venant*, where the brave *Engliſh* having by main Force taken a half Moon, the Town ſoon ſurrendered. From hence they removed before *Mardike*, and having by continual Battery drove the Defendants out

of

of the Wooden Fort, the Place was given up on the 23*d* of *Septemb.* upon Diſcretion. Now *Don John* conſidering how great a Check it was upon the Gariſon of *Dunkirk*, reſolved to attempt the recovery of it by *Eſcalado* in the Night; in order to which 4000 *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* with ſome *Spaniards*, commanded by the Duke of *York* and *Caracena* in the dead of the Night, gave the Aſſault, and having paſſed the Ditch, laid their ſcaling Ladders to the Wall; but the *Engliſh* within being in a readineſs to receive them, and the Guns from the Fleet firing directly upon them, as being directed by four Torches ſet upon the Angles of the Fort, the Aſſailants were repulſed with great Loſs. However about four they renewed the Aſſault with greater Fury, but no better Succeſs; and the day approaching, they retreated, carrying off their Dead in Carts, ſo that their Number was not known. 1657. French *take* Mardike.

But how ſucceſsful ſoever the *French* Affairs went abroad, the Reformed received divers Mortifications the laſt Year; and in the beginning of this at home there was an Order of Council publiſhed, which forbad their Miniſters from uſing the Name of Paſtors, and confined them only to that of Miniſters. Indeed it did not hinder them from calling their Congregations Churches, but it obliged them to add the Words *Pretended Reformed* thereunto: They were alſo forbid to ſpeak irreverently of the Myſteries of the *Roman* Religion, and to give the Papiſts any other Name than *Catholicks*, to call any Perſons but the Elders into their Conſiſtories, to hold any Aſſemblies of Notables without expreſs leave from the King; to raiſe any Money, no not ſo much as under the Name of Collections, either within or without the Kingdom, and to ſend it to the diſtreſſed Reformed, as was allowed them by the Edict; to preach any where but in the uſual Places allowed them, and to bury their dead in the Churches or Church-yards of the Catholicks, under a pretence that their Predeceſſors had been buried, or where they had ſome Lordſhip or Impropriations. It was not long before they were oppreſt with another Order, which imported, That the Churches which had been built by the Lords of the Reformed *Affairs of the Reformed.*

1657. Religion in their Seigniories ſhould be demoliſhed, and the Exerciſe of that Religion ceaſe there, when that Eſtate fell into the Hands of a Catholick; That thoſe of them who for the future ſhould have any Mortgage upon ſome Demeſne of the Crown, ſhould not eſtabliſh the Exerciſe of their Religion there. The *Romaniſts* did indeed now daily encroach upon the Privileges of the Reformed; but not to be altogether wanting to themſelves, the Synod of lower *Languedoc* drew up an Act upon account of the Declaration made by the King, which revoked that of 1652. they appointed a General Faſt to be celebrated on the 6*th* of *June* thro all the Churches of the Province, with which the Synods of the Neighbouring Provinces were deſired to concur; they reſolved to ſend a Deputation to the King, to preſs him to revoke his new Declaration; they enjoined all their Paſtors to continue to preach in the annexed Places, and threatned them with Deprivation in caſe of Non-compliance.

1658. It's very eaſy to diſcern how illy affected the Court was towards thoſe of the Reformed Religion; nay *Mazarine*, notwithſtanding the Services he had done him by them, had a Deſign to deſtroy them; and when he ſpoke of the Edict of *Nantes*, he often expreſt himſelf ſo, as if he ſhould make no Scruple of Conſcience to have it revoked. However there were ſome things that put a ſtop to theſe Proceedings. *Cromwell* was ſtill alive, and took upon him to be the Support of the Proteſtant Intereſt every where; and in a Letter of his to *Mazarine* inſinuated, That his Alliance with *France* did preſuppoſe a ſincere Obſervation of the Edicts, ſaying, There is nothing has inſpired her Neighbours who profeſs the Reformed Religion, with a greater Affection for *France*, than the Liberty and Privileges granted to Proteſtants by the Edicts.

In the mean time, the Reformed having no more political Aſſemblies, wherein they might draw up the Cahiers of their Grievances, endeavoured to get leave to hold a National Synod; but this being refuſed for the preſent, they held Provincial Ones, where they formed the Complaints of their Churches; and having ſent Deputies with them to *Paris*, they concer-

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ted with the Deputy-General, to draw out of all these Petitions one General One, and they reduced the most important Concessions of the Edict to five Articles: The first of which spake of the Liberty which the Edict allowed to the Reformed, to continue in any part of the Kingdom, as they pleased, without being debarred of their Religion, or forced to do any thing contrary to the Dictates of their Consciences. The second regarded the Right they had for the Publick Exercises of their Religion in certain Places, and more particularly to practise the same in their Houses, unmolested. The third referred to the Power, which Parents had to educate their Children, as they thought fit. In the fourth they insisted upon their Privilege of being admitted into all Offices as well as Catholicks. And lastly, that they had a Right to transfer their Causes to the Courts of the Edict, or the Party-Courts erected in their Favour. 1658.

These Heads being laid down, they complained that the Edict had been violated in all these Points divers ways: It was observed that neither the Catholicks nor the Clergy could receive any Prejudice by these Liberties, tho they were allowed to the Reformed without any Contradiction; whereas the least Contravention of them would put the Reformed under great Oppression. The first Complaint was, that the Clergy had adjudged that the Reformed, who had been accused of Treason, should be deprived of having a Review of their Cases in the Courts, and could not decline the Jurisdiction of the Parliaments. 2*ly*. That the Inhabitants of the Country, under pretence of Annexes, were deprived of the Exercise of their Religion, who since the retrenching of the Money given in compensation for the Tenths, could no longer, by reason of their Poverty, maintain a Minister, without uniting their Church with some other in the Neighbourhood; to which it was added, That Gentlemen, by reason of their Religion, were excluded from those Rewards which they had merited by their Services, and could not be admitted into Offices: That it was enough for any one to be a Protestant, to be cruelly surcharged with Taxes and quartering of Soldiers: That the Missionaries were dispersed up and down every where,

1658. where, and there exerciſed a kind of an Inquiſition: That they took their Children away upon the leaſt Sham-pretences, after they had condemned the Parents to pay them great Sums of Money. It was urged farther, That the King after having often heard the Complaints of the Reformed, had redreſs'd them by his Declaration in 1652. but that the Clergy had not reſted till they had obtained another in 1656. wherein by a ſtrange Surprize he had authorized all the Infractions made in the Edict till then, by Expreſſions that ſeemed to confirm it. Afterwards they refuted the Pretences, which the Clergy were wont to make, in order to diveſt the Reformed of the Right, which they had acquired purſuant to the Edict: They more particularly inſiſted upon the Squabbles that did ariſe from the Capitulations made for the Places taken by the King's Troops during the War, whereby they pretended the Reformed had loſt the greateſt part of their Privileges: They ſhewed the nullity of theſe and other Pretenſions by the Edict of *Niſmes*, which was properly an Amneſty of all the paſt Troubles, and extended to all, ſaving two or three Places: And here by the way, they recommended the ſaid Places to the King's Goodneſs; and for the reſt they inſiſted, that where the Exerciſe of their Religion and Rights was as yet in being, it might be continued, and that where it was taken away, it might be reſtored. Laſtly, they did not forget to ſeaſon this Diſcourſe with a Word concerning the Fidelity of the Reformed during all the laſt Wars, in ſpite of the Sollicitations and Promiſes that had been made to corrupt them; and they concluded in deſiring the Edict might be obſerved, and in order thereunto, that it might be regiſtred in all the Parliaments, Chambers of Edict, Courts of Aid, Chambers of Accounts, and that all Officers ſhould ſwear to the Obſervance of it. They had much ado to get Audience of the King, but when they were admitted, his Anſwer was, he would examine their Cahier, and do them Juſtice. It was generally reputed by the Proteſtants of theſe days, that he was well enough affected towards 'em; but Proceſs of time made it appear quite otherwiſe, when he was perſuaded to imitate his Grandfather and Father in their Conduct towards

wards them, ſince he ſhould ſay, *The King my Grand-father loved you and did not fear you, the King my Father feared you and did not love you, but I neither fear nor love you.* 1658.

But to leave the domeſtick Difficulties the Reformed laboured under, and take another ſtep into *Flanders*; we find the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, who thought to have taken *Oſtend* by Treachery, was himſelf betrayed and taken Priſoner with all that accompanied him in this ill-concerted Plot, which was worſe executed; and wherein *Cromwel*, in concert with *Mazarine*, was deeply concerned, and as cunning as they were, happened to be outwitted here by the *Spaniard*. However this Diſgrace was ſoon repaired by the taking of *Dunkirk*; the *French* and the *Engliſh* under *Turenne* inveſted it, at which *Don John* was extremely alarmed, and therefore with the Duke of *York* and the *Engliſh* that followed him and his Brother's Fortune, reſolved at any rate to relieve it. Having therefore drawn together about 20000 men, they marched with all poſſible ſpeed thro *Furnes*, and incamped on the ſandy Hills about a Mile and a half from the Enemy; whereupon the *Engliſh* and *French* Officers having met in a Council of War, thro the Perſuaſions chiefly of the brave General *Morgan*, they reſolved to give them Battel next Morning; and therefore having left a ſufficient Force to guard their Works, moſt of the *Engliſh* were drawn out, and were joined by the *French* Horſe: *Don John* kept his Men upon the Defenſive, as having the advantage of the Ground; but the *Engliſh* bravely and haſtily advancing, with a Deſign to come to the But-end of their Muskets, the *Spaniards* at firſt fired ſo ſmartly upon them, that thoſe firſt Battalions were forced to make a Halt; but a freſh Reſerve coming up, they ſoon gained the Hills, and falling in with Club-musket, put the *Spaniſh* Foot to flight: The *French* Horſe who hitherto had ſtood ſtill and not ſtruck a Stroke, ſeeing the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, charged the *Spaniſh* Cavalry, who being diſpirited upon the flight of their Infantry, took to their Heels, the *French* furiouſly purſuing them: Beſides the Slain which were above 1000, there were about 3000 made Priſoners of War, beſides 800 Officers, *Fight of* Dunkirk.

1658. cers, all the Artillery and Baggage. The *French* refuſed to ranſom the Priſoners, becauſe the Number of the Officers were ſo great, that *Don John* would be at a Loſs to recruit his Army. After this Victory, the *Engliſh* and *French* returned to *Dunkirk*, where the Marqueſs *de Lede* Governor of the Place, making a deſperate Sally, was killed with a Musket-ball; and the Gariſon being diſheartened at his Death, immediately capitulated; and the *French* King coming from the Fort of *Mardike*, to make his Entry into the Place, it was according to Agreement put into the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*.

Dunkirk ſurrendered.

A little after this, the King having been infected with a peſtilential Air during his abode in *Mardike*, fell dangerouſly ill at *Calais* on the 1*ſt* of *July*, and was almoſt paſt hopes of Recovery, had it not been for the Hemetick Wine, which reſtored him to his Health. *Gravelin* followed the Example of *Dunkirk*, the ſame being beſieged by and ſurrendred up to the Mareſchal *de la Ferte* on the 28*th* of *Auguſt*; and this Torrent of Proſperity drew along with it into the *French* Dominions, the Towns of *Furnes*, *Bergue St. Vinock*, *Dixmude*, and *Ypres*, which *Turenne* forced to ſubmit to *France* on the 26*th* of *Septemb.* after he had defeated 6000 men commanded by the Prince of *Ligny*. The ſame Succeſs attended the *French* in *Italy*, where they took *Mortara*; and for the Affairs of *Catalonia*, the Marqueſs of *Mortara*, Vice-Roy of that Kingdom, underſtanding the *French* had laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Canderan*, marched from *Vich* with 1800 Horſe and above 1000 Foot, and incamped on a Hill not far from the ſaid Place, in ſight of the Enemy; who ſeeing him, puſhed on their Attacks, and at the ſame time in a ſmall Plain drew out 2300 Horſe and about 4000 Foot, leaving enough to ſecure their Works; and at the ſame time the Governor of the Caſtle, *Joſeph de Tapic*, having made a Sign to the Vice-Roy, that he could not hold out above two days longer, he ſent *Cavallero* with the beſt of his Forces to ford the *Ter*, while he himſelf drew up the reſt of his Troops, and marched down on the Right, oppoſite to the Enemies Left Wing. *Cavallero* unadviſedly ta-

The Succeſſes of the French.

otice of ſome *French* that were poſted in a

king no n

Tower

Tower which ſtood in the way, but paſſing by it, charged and forced the Enemy to recoil, as *Borro* fell upon the other Flank; then *Cavallero* advancing to their Works, and finding they kept cloſe within them, he ſent *Morera* and *Villar* to diſlodg them, which they did with much Bravery, aud took two pieces of Cannon that battered the Caſtle. The *Spaniſh* Foot on the Left advanced and routed the Regiment of *Champagne*, and *Cavallero* purſued them, took ſeveral Priſoners to the number of 1600 beſides the ſlain; but he could not cut off their Retreat, becauſe of the little uſe the Horſe was of in the Mountains. 1658.

But not to be ever dwelling upon Military Affairs, we proceed now to another Year, and come in the firſt place to take notice, that the Reformed at laſt after long Sollicitations, got leave, as the laſt Inſtance of the King's Good Will towards them, to hold a National Synod at *Loudun*, where the Deputies of the Provinces met on the 10*th* of *November*, and continu'd two Months before their Affairs were terminated. The King's Commiſſioner was *la Madelain* a Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, for whom the Court had great reſpect: He in his Speech to them highly extolled the King and Cardinal's Goodneſs, exhorted the Reformed to Unity and Concord, and to look for their Support from no other than the Soveraign Authority of the King: He tacitly reproached them for the Confidence they had had formerly in the Forces which they loſt; but he ſweetned it with the hopes that the King would make them partake of the Benefit of the Peace he had concluded, and even with a poſitive Promiſe drawn from the Inſtructions of the Commiſſioner, that the King would maintain them in their Rights by the Edicts made in favour of them. Laſtly he acquainted them, that the Marqueſs of *Ruvigni* was nominated to be their Deputy General inſtead of *Arziller* deceas'd; yet declared, that the King was not for conſtraining the Reformed blindly to follow his Choice, if they had any ſolid Reaſons for the rejecting of him; but inſinuated, that the King would be pleaſed, that they ſhould confirm *Ruvigni*'s Election. To which he added, that tho the King were againſt the Deputy General's being at the laſt Synod, becauſe nothing that was political 1659. *Synod of* Loudun.

was

1659. was to be handled in such an Assembly, yet he allowed *Ruvigni* to be here, and also to give his Vote when he pleased. Then coming to that which he was ordered to propose to the Assembly, which was chiefly that they had nothing to do with the Government, Courts of Judicature, Temporal and Political Affairs; that they were to hold neither small nor great Assemblies, either by Night or Day, but in his Presence, and to name no Deputies to constitute Provincial Councils; That particular Synods should not appoint Publick Fasts; That their Ministers should be modest in their Sermons, and forbear mentioning the Word Antichrist and Idolaters, when they spoke of the Pope and the Catholicks; and finally, he forbad them to admit into the Synod any foreign Ministers, or such as had been bred at *Geneva*, *Switzerland*, *England* and *Holland*. These Prohibitions, as I may call them, were seconded with Complaints, wherein the King charged the Reformed with having contraven'd his Orders; and they were the same in effect with those made at the Synod of *Charenton*, for they were accused with having attempted after the Death of the late King to set up by open Force the Exercise of their Religion in the Province of *Languedoc*; to have usurp'd Places that had not been allow'd them; to have hindred Parents from partaking of the Sacrament, who had sent their Children into the Colleges of the Catholicks; to have writ injuriously in Matters of Controversy against those of the *Romish* Communion; to have applied the Poors Mony to the use of their Ministers; and last of all, the Commissioner told them, that in consideration of the Charge that did attend National Synods, he had Instructions to propose the holding of no such for the future, but that all the Power should be transferred to the Provincial ones, to determine their Affairs in each Province, and that the King would reserve to himself the appointing a National Synod when he thought convenient.

The Commissioner having done, *Ruvigni* produced his Commission, and the Assembly thought fit, in consideration of the Difficulty of the Times, to allow of it: However, they were willing to put the General Deputation upon its antient foot, by naming three Persons to sollicite their Affairs with *Ruvigny*; but it had no effect.

After

fter which, they by the Mouth of their Moderator 1659.
gaged to treat of nothing but Eccleſiaſtical Affairs,
conſtitute no other Aſſembly, and to name no Pro-
ncial Councils: He juſtified the Practice of leaving to
e Province, that had a Right to call the National Sy-
od, the liberty of appointing General Faſts; and far-
her promiſed no opprobrious Terms ſhould be uſed by
hem againſt the Catholicks; but at the ſame time in-
ſted that the King ſhould cauſe the ſame to be obſerved
n their part, with much more to that purpoſe: That
s for foreign Miniſters they had invited none, ſince
he King had forbid it; but they pray'd him not to
omprehend under that Head thoſe that were under
is Protection: That the Parliaments in the Affairs of
ucceſſion, and other Privileges, made them equal to
atural-born *French*-men; and tho they had been born
n Commonwealths, yet they had teſtified a particular
ſteem for Monarchy, as it was their Intereſt ſo to
o. Having enlarged farther upon this and ſome other
eſs conſiderable things, which we paſs over, they came
o anſwer the Complaints made by the Commiſſioner,
nd teſtified how ſorrowful they were, that whereas the
Reformed had been violently diſpoſſeſt in divers Places
f the Right of exerciſing their Religion, they were
ow given to underſtand from the King, that they had
et up the ſame by Force; and that it was made a
Crime in them to hinder their Children from being
ent to the Colleges of the Jeſuits, and other declared
Enemies of their Religion, who uſed all ſorts of Arti-
ices to ſeduce them. They diſapproved the Conduct
f thoſe who caſt Reproaches upon new Converts, if
here were any that did it; but they complained of
he Violences and Outrages every where offered to
he Catholicks that were diſpoſed to change their Re-
ligion. They excuſed that matter of taking the Poors
Mony, and applying it to the uſe of the Miniſters,
nd prayed the Commiſſioner to let the King know,
hat their Miniſters had taken even leſs than a Compe-
ency, rather than ſuffer the Poor to want any thing.
They teſtified that the neceſſity there was of holding
National Synods made them ſupport with pleaſure the
Fatigue and Expence that did attend it: That they
hoped the King's Bounty would aſſiſt them to defray
the

1659. the Charge, and that their Deputy General might be allowed to ſollicit for Leave for them to meet, when the Neceſſities of the Churches did require it. They farther inſiſted they ſhould be held every three years, the Affairs to be treated of therein being of ſuch a nature, that without overturning all Order of Diſcipline, it would be impoſſible to terminate them in each Province: Other Nations allowed of Synods, and they prayed the ſame might not be denied them, but that alſo their Students might have liberty to viſit foreign Univerſities, they being well aſſured they would return home with never a whit the leſs Affection for the Service of their Prince, and the good of their Country. They promiſed to receive none of the Writings of Strangers, but ſuch as the Commiſſioner ſhould approve of; and as for the Continuance of the Synod, they repreſented, that the Multitude of Affairs that had hapned in the Compaſs of 15 years now paſt, obliged 'em, in ſpite of all they could do, to hold it longer than ordinary.

This done, the Synod wrote to the King, Queen and Cardinal, and deputed *Euſtache* and *Mirabel* to go to Court: They did not forget, in their Letter to *Mazarine*, to ask him for the uſual Teſtimonies of the King's Bounty. They received very obliging Anſwers; and the King's Letter aſſured them, he was ſatisfied with the Conduct of the Reformed, exhorted them to continue the Inſtances of their Affection and Fidelity to him, promiſed they ſhould have a good and favourable Treatment, and declared he would take pleaſure to preſerve them under the benefit of his Edicts, as (he ſaid) he had hitherto done. The Cardinal made a farther Step, and ſaid, That he could not but do good Offices to the Reformed, ſince his Majeſty was aſſured of their inviolable Fidelity and Zeal for his Service, and expreſt himſelf in ſuch farther Terms as intimated he had an Eſteem for their Letters, as coming from the King's good Subjects and Servants. The Directions of the King's Letter were remarkable enough, the ſame running in theſe Words: *To our dear and well-beloved the Paſtors and antient Deputies of the Aſſembly of the National Synod of our Subjects, making profeſſion of the Pretended Reformed Religion at* Loudun. The Synod alſo got the Sum of 16000 Livres allowed them for the defraying of their Charge.

There

There could be but little of Political Matters transacted in this Assembly. We find that a Provincial Synod had Power to appoint a General Fast, when they had first consulted with the other Provinces, and the Commissioner made no Opposition against it: They were forbid to lend their Names to the Catholicks, in order to draw Business to the Edict Chambers: They deputed *Galesnieres* constantly to attend the Privy Council, that so they might have no farther need of particular Deputations; and having regulated some other particular Matters, they at last drew up their *Cahier* of Complaints, wrote to the King and the Cardinal, and having deputed *Dize* and *Foissat* to present their Letters and Request, they put an end to their Sitting, and every one departed to his respective Habitation. 1659. *Synod breaks up.*

But to say no more of this Synod of the Reformed; this Spring seemed to threaten great Destruction in *Flanders: Don John* of *Austria* was indeed gone into *Spain*; but *Conde* prepared to take the Field with a powerful Army, and took care in the mean while to keep in the *French* Garisons from making Incursions towards *Ghent*, *Bruges* and *Brussels*. Most of the Horse were in Quarters towards *Germany*, to meet Archduke *Sigismund* the new Governour of the *Low Countries*, who brought with him 12000 Foot. *Caracena* had taken the Field with 6000 Foot and 7000 Horse. *Conde* had 4000 Horse and 5000 Foot, and the *Spaniards* valued themselves that they had at that time in *France* the Towns of *Rocroy*, *Hedin*, *Linchen* and *Chastelet*; and in this Posture Affairs stood, when the *French* on their part began to advance and take the Field with above 20000 Men. However, there was now a Work of quite another nature in agitation; and indeed all *Europe* was in suspence, expecting the Event of so many Treaties and Overtures for Peace that had been made between the two Nations, and were still delayed, and broke off on account of some Interest or other; but at length about the middle of May, a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon by Consent of both Kings for two Months, and Expresses were dispatched into all Parts to forbid any Hostilities during that time. The News was received with General Joy and Satisfaction, and the same was increased upon the Prolongation of the said Trûce, and assu- *Pyrenean Treaty.*

1659. assured Hope of an ensuing Peace. The Isle of *Pheasants*, since called the Isle of Conference, which is made by the River of *Bidassoa* upon the Borders of *France* and *Spain*, was the Place agreed on for the Treaty. The *French* King deputed called *Mazarine* to be his Plenipotentiary upon this occasion; while K. *Philip* pitched upon *Don Luis Mendiz de Haro*, his Prime-Minister and Favourite, for the same end. I will not enter upon the particular Steps of the Treaty; I know *Mazarine* in his Letters does from time to time magnify his own Conduct, and what Advantages he had over his Opponent, tho in reality the other seemed to have the better of it: However when the 8*th* Conference was held on the 2*d* of *Septemb.* the Duke of *Agremont* went Ambassador Extraordinary from *France* to *Spain*, and being arrived at *Madrid* on the 16*th* of *Octob.* he demanded the *Infanta Maria Theresa* in Marriage for the King his Master. In the mean time the Treaty of Peace went on slowly, but was however concluded on the 7*th* of *Novemb.* and the Marriage of the *French* King with the Infanta, was the Bond designed to make the Agreement firm and lasting. In this Treaty great Care was taken by the *Spaniards*, that the *Infanta* should renounce all manner of Pretensions to the Dominions of *Spain* both for herself and Issue by that Marriage, and the *French* King was not only to swear to the same, but to have it confirmed by the Parliament of *Paris*; and in short, nothing was omitted herein, that might demonstrate the real Intentions of both Parties to be, that *France* and *Spain* should never be united by that Match; but how the *French* have since prevaricated in this matter, will appear in the Sequel of this History. I had almost forgot to take notice, that *Charles* II. King of *England* being yet in Exile, endeavoured all he could to have some Measures taken at this Treaty for his Restoration; and therefore he not only got Sir *Henry Bennet* to be admitted as his Ambassador Extraordinary into the Conference, as was also *de Lein*, a Gentleman from the Prince of *Conde*; but the King himself went thither thro *France incognito*, and to prevent any Suspicion, entred *Spain* by the way of *Arragon*, from whence he came thro *Navarre* to the Treaty. It was ob-

bſerved *Mazarine* took little notice of him, but *Don* 1659.
uis de Haro ſhewed him as much Reſpect, as if he
ad been actually poſſeſt of the Dominions of his
nceſtors, he being ſerved by the King of *Spain*'s im-
ediate Servants and Officers, for which the *Spaniards*
ere afterwards but ill requited. Beſides the foremen-
oned Marriage, and the Surrendry, Exchange or
eſtitution of Places, K. *Philip* had a ſpecial Regard
the reſtoring of the Prince of *Conde*, becauſe of the
reat Fidelity and Bravery, wherewith he had ſerved
ain for many Years; whereupon the Prince returning
Court, was graciouſly received by the *French* King,
d admitted again into Favour.

Both Parties ſeemed now forward enough to com- 1660.
eat the Marriage of the *French* King and the *Infan-*
, in order to which King *Philip* reſolved to go in
erſon to the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, to be there pre-
nt at the Solemnization of it, as alſo at the ſame
me to viſit his only Siſter the Queen-Mother of
rance, who that ſhe might obtain a Sight of him, had
rneſtly ſollicited an Interview between the two Kings.
When K. *Philip* and the Princes in great State and
agnificence were arrived at *Burgos*, there came two
entlemen thither from the *French* King, to comple-
ent and acquaint him with the Death of *John Bap-*
ſt Gaſton Duke of *Orleans*, commonly called in
rance the Great Uncle, becauſe he was ſo in *France*
the *French* King, to the Princeſs he was going
marry, to the King of *England*, Duke of *Savoy*,
e Dutcheſs of *Bavaria* and *Parma*, and the Prin-
ſs Dowager of *Orange*. From thence *Philip* and
e *Infanta* proceeding for *los Paſſages*, two little
owns upon a Creek, that runs into the Bay of *Biſ-*
y; here it was the *Infanta* on the 2*d* of *June* made
r Solemn Renunciation, and next day their Majeſ-
s having heard Maſs in the Church, the Biſhop of
mplona, who officiated, turned to the *Infanta*, and
ked her, if ſhe would have to her Husband, *Lewis*
Bourbon, King of *France*: She then kneeling before
r Father, asked his Conſent, which granted ſhe
ood up, and the Biſhop repeated the ſame Words;
t ſhe anſwered not till he asked the Queſtion the Fr. *King's*
ird time, and then gave her Conſent. This done, *Marriage.*

Interview between the Courts of France *and* Spain.

1660. ſhe laid her Hand upon one ſide of a great Golden Baſon, and *Don Lewis de Haro* placing his Hand on the oppoſite part, and being asked by the Biſhop, whether by virtue of the Commiſſion he had of the moſt Chriſtian King, he would in his Name take to Wife, the Lady *Thereſa* of *Auſtria*, Princeſs of *Spain*, he anſwered he would; and taking a Ring of an ineſtimable value, he ſtretched it towards the new Queen's Hand, without touching her, which her Majeſty took upon the 3*d* Finger of her Hand. On the 5*th* of *June* the Queen-Mother of *France* privately ſaw her Brother, the King of *Spain*; and on the 6*th*, both the Kings met in the Houſe built on the Iſland made in the River, that parts *France* and *Spain*; and having each of them in a Solemn manner taken the Oaths for the Obſervation of the Peace, all the Company voided the Room, and the two Kings remained alone for four Hours together; in the Afternoon they rode out along the Banks of the River, and then ſent very rich Preſents to one another. On the 7*th* they met again in the Houſe of the Conference, and having been there about an Hour in private, the Doors were ſet open, and all the Great Men of both Kingdoms admitted in to kiſs their Hands; after which taking leave of each other, the Marriage between the *French* King and the *Infanta* was celebrated at *St. John de Luz* on the 9*th* of *Auguſt*, and on the 12*th* they gave Audience to the Ambaſſadors of *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Venice*, *Genua*, and *Savoy*, who came to congratulate their happy Conjunction; and the ſame day came the Count *de Fuenſaldagne*, as Ambaſſador Extraordinary from *Spain* thither.

Theſe Things being over, and the Court being now intent upon its return to *Paris*, every thing was prepared accordingly for it, and the Queen was all along the Road received with mighty Demonſtrations of Honour and Reſpect; but the Triumphs in the Provinces, thro which they paſſed, were only the Forerunners of what they were to ſee in *Paris*, where the Streets thro which they paſſed, were covered with rich Tapiſtries, the Gates adorned with Greens and Flowers, the Windows and Balconies on each ſide with the fineſt Carpets; in the Squares and Market Pla-

ces

es were erected Triumphal Arches, beautified with 1660.
tatues and Paintings; beſides this there was a vaſt
Number of People flocked hither from all Parts, ran-
ed on both ſides the Streets, upon Scaffolds built for
hat purpoſe before the Houſes. The Princes and others
f Quality ſpared no Coſt, not only in their own
pparel, but alſo in their Equipages and Servants, to
he higheſt Degree of Profuſion. The Queen herſelf
ppeared in a Chariot, the King with all the Lords of
is Court on Horſeback in a very magnificent Equi-
age; and it was computed the Charges beſtowed up-
n this occaſion by particular Perſons, amounted to
oooooo of Livres.

But to ſay no more of this Solemnity, we proceed 1661.
ow to a new Year, in the Spring whereof, I mean
pon the 9th of *March*, died Cardinal *Mazarine*, who Mazarine
hey ſaid, aſpired to the Papacy, and would have *his Death*
nade uſe of the Forces and Money of *France* to that *and Cha-*
urpoſe, but was by a Superior Power called to an Ac- *racter.*
ount for all his Actions; he being ſnatched away by
Death on the 15th of *March*, leaving the Character
ehind him of being a moſt able Miniſter of State,
nd tho none of the beſt of Men, yet allowed to be
etter and leſs vindictive, than *Richlieu* his Predeceſſor.
He was a *Sicilian* by De cent, but born at *Rome*, with
oble, tho ſlender Beginnings of Fortune; how-
ver ſcorning his firſt Beginning, and paſſing from the
rmy, wherein he commanded a Company of Foot
n the *Valtoline*, to the Treaty of *Piedmont*, from
hat to Prelacy and the Nunciature of *France*, and from
hence to the ſtrict Confidence of that Crown; by
er Nomination he got a Cardinal's Cap, to which his
wn Hopes had not ſo much as pointed him the way;
ut not ſtopping here, he attained to the Chief Miniſtry
pon *Richlieu*'s Death, and held it with equal Glory
o him, and Advantage to *France*, for near 20 Years,
ill his Death, which was preceded by this Advice he
ave his Maſter, That he ſhould govern himſelf, and
ot entirely truſt to any Favourite.

By the Death of the Cardinal, Things ſeemed to be Fr. *King*
eft in ſuch Confuſion, that the People could ſcarce *takes the*
magine, that a Prince then hardly two and twenty *Admini-*
Years old, would venture to take upon him the ſole *ſtration.*

1661. Adminiſtration; but they found it quite otherwiſe, and *Lewis* complying with the deceaſed Cardinal's Advice, began to act vigorouſly himſelf, and many times ſpent five or ſix Hours a day with his Miniſters, who were to give him an Account of every particular Tranſaction that paſſed in the Government; he conſtantly once or twice a Week, gave Audience to every body, was preſent at all the Councils; and if any thing of great Moment was to be debated there, he would retire into his Cloſet, to ruminate ſo long upon the matter, till he had choſen what he judged moſt adviſable to be done. But it was a foul Preſage of his future Ambitions and oppreſſive Diſpoſition, that he ſhould ſully the beginning of his Adminiſtration, with unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſing a near Kinſman and a Minor of his Principality of *Orange*; to cover which he made a Progreſs as far as *Lyons*, under pretence of viſiting the Court of *Savoy*.

French *ſeize* Orange.

I might enlarge upon the Injuſtice of this Action, but the ſame being unneceſſary and ſomewhat digreſſive, we are to obſerve here in reſpect to the Civil Government, that amongſt other Abuſes that had crept into it, the miſmanagement of the King's Revenues, as it was moſt likely to draw very fatal Conſequences after it, ſo it wanted a ſpeedy Redreſs: There had been for 15 or 16 years paſt, prodigious Sums raiſed in the Kingdom; but for all that, the Government was overcharged with Debt, the People exhauſted with Taxes, the King's Revenues anticipated, and beſides he owed the Bankers above 30000000 of Livres. It muſt be owned that beſides the ordinary Charges, there had been an abſolute Neceſſity of keeping five Armies on foot at a time, and the Civil War required a more than ordinary Expence; however the principal Cauſe of theſe Diſorders, proceeded from the Managers and Farmers of the Revenues, who keeping the reſt from the knowledg of the true value of them, farmed them at half, or a fourth part of what they were worth: beſides that, if they were to advance any Money before it was due, to ſupply the Exigency of the State, they were ſure to make their own Market, at ſo dear a rate, that it has been computed, that ſometimes out of 1000000 of Livres of the King's ordinary Revenue, there

here was not brought above 2 or 300000 into the Ex- 1661.
hequer. But this was not all, for the Superintendant f the Finances was more mindful of his Pleaſures han his Truſt, whereby great Opportunities were iven for defrauding the King; the ſame Perſon ha- ing alſo cauſed a Seat to be fortified that belonged to imſelf, without asking any Leave for ſo doing, and aving by the Profuſions of great Sums, made himſelf riends, and entred into Cabals to avoid Puniſhment. The King reſolved to ſtrike at the very Root, and aving cauſed him to be taken up and examined concer- ing ſuch matters as were alledged againſt him, he was ound Guilty by his Judges; and *Monſieur Colbert*, Perſon of extraordinary Qualifications, put into his Place, who proceeding vigorouſly in his Charge, a uſt Account was at laſt made of the Extortions and rauds committed by the Managers of the Revenue, whereby it was found, that inſtead of the King's be- ng indebted to the Bankers and Receivers, they owed im vaſt Sums; and therefore the King having reſol- ved to proceed againſt them, a Court of Juſtice was eſtabliſhed by his Order, compoſed of certain Judges choſen out of the ſeveral Parliaments of *France*, who were to take cognizance of all the Abuſes committed in the Management of the King's Revenues, and to puniſh the Guilty according to the hainouſneſs of their Crimes.

Dauphin born

We ſhall but juſt mention the Birth of the Dauphin in this Place, which hapned on the *1ſt* of *Novemb.* but proceed to obſerve, that while they were buſy in put- ting the aforeſaid Commiſſion in Execution, there hapned an unforeſeen Accident, which was like to have proved the ſource of a moſt cruel War. The matter was briefly thus: The Count *de Brahe* being come Ambaſſador from *Sweden* to *London*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Baron *de Batteville*, preſently cauſed it to be ſpread abroad, that to ſhew all imaginable Reſpect to the *Swede*, he intended to ſend his Coaches and Domeſticks to attend him at his Publick Entry; the Count *d' Eſtrades*, the *French* Ambaſſador, had got timely notice of it, but conſidering that the Pre- deceſſor of *Batteville*, *Alfonſo de Cardenas*, a Perſon of great Abilities, had never made any Motion of this kind during his Reſidence at the Court of *Eng-*

French and Spaniards diſpute about Precedency.

1661. *land*, he took it for a flying Rumour, or at leaſtwiſe ſome Rodomontado of the Baron's Domeſticks; and therefore he ſent his Coaches and Attendants to meet the Ambaſſador, without any other Guard than his own Servants, and without taking the leaſt Precaution againſt any Aſſault, which the *French* alledg was premeditated by *Batteville*: And therefore when the *French* Ambaſſador's Coaches appeared at the Publick Entry, they were preſently ſurrounded by divers Soldiers and the *Spaniards* Domeſticks, who furiouſly fell upon *d' Eſtrades*, and his Attendants; and having killed ſome of the Horſes, and two or three of his Servants, ſo that they could proceed no farther, the *Spaniards* triumphantly accompanied the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador home.

The *French* King no ſooner had Intelligence of what hapned, but he ſent immediate Orders to the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, his Ambaſſador then at *Madrid*, to demand Satisfaction for what was paſt, and in caſe of Refuſal to leave that Court and return home; the King of *Spain* hereupon made Anſwer, That he would make the *French* King his Son-in-law due Reparation, and recal *Batteville* out of *England*. This was a fair Step towards the demanded Satisfaction, tho not altogether ſufficient; and moſt of the other Princes of *Europe*, having now underhand egg'd on the *Spaniſh* Court not to part with the Prerogative, they inſiſted till two or three Months were elapſed, before the Council of *Spain* would take a final Reſolution in the matter; a great many of them being rather for hazarding all than parting with it: But having recollected a better Temper, and having no Inclination at all for War at this time, they found this Expedient, That the King of *Spain* ſhould give his Word, that the Marqueſs *de la Fuenta*, nominated to go Ambaſſador from that Court to *France*, ſhould in his firſt Audience give Satisfaction to the *French* King, both in reſpect to what was paſt, and for the time to come. And the *French*, to heighten the Solemnity of this Audience, and to have a conſiderable Number of illuſtrious Perſons preſent, who might teſtify to the World what they had heard the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſay upon this occaſion, invited all the Foreign Miniſters to the number

of

of thirty thither, and were placed on the Right Side of the Throne, as the Princes of the Blood were on the Left, with the Miniſters of State, and other Officers of the Court. In the preſence of this Auguſt Aſſembly, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador told the King, that the King of *Spain* his Maſter, had been extremely diſſatisfied at what had hapned in *London* on the 10*th* of *Octob.* laſt Year; That as ſoon as he had notice of it, he recalled the Baron *de Batteville*, with expreſs Orders to return forthwith to *Spain*, where he intended to give him ſuch ſevere Proofs of his Diſpleaſure, as ſo extravagant an Undertaking did deſerve; That he had ſent Orders to all his Ambaſſadors abroad, not to appear at any Publick Ceremonies, where there might be the leaſt likelihood of Conteſt about Precedency, and not to ſtand in competition for the future upon that Score with the Ambaſſadors and other Miniſters of *France*. Hereupon the four *French* Secretaries of State there preſent ordered an Inſtrument in Writing to be drawn up, containing the ſame Words of this Declaration, which they valued themſelves upon very much, as being a conſiderable Point gained; tho in reality the Thing was ſo cautiouſly worded, and of ſo little Conſideration, that if a Revolution had hapned, the *Spaniards* might have alledged, they had granted nothing. 1662.

French and the Pope at variance.

Scarce was this Difference compoſed, but there aroſe another betwixt the Pope and the *French* King, occaſioned by an Aſſault made upon the Duke of *Crequi*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *Rome*. Two or three unknown Perſons being purſued by ten Soldiers of the Pope's Guard, had ſought for ſhelter in the Stables belonging to the Palace of *Farneſe*, where the ſaid *French* Ambaſſador reſided at that time; and ſome of his Domeſticks being come out at the Noiſe and claſhing of the Swords, had driven the Soldiers back; but they being reinforced by ſome of their Comrades, in their Turn beat the Ambaſſador's Attendants, whom they purſued and forced to retreat within the very Gates of the Palace. The Duke in the mean while coming home thro another Gate, and having underſtood the occaſion of the Tumult, ordered his Servants immediately to deſiſt and withdraw within his Palace; but this Precaution

1662. caution, which he ſuppoſed might be a proper means for ſuppreſſiug the Inſolence of the Soldiers, ſerved only to augment it; for in a little while after he ſaw them marching with their Drums beating, and their Officers at the Head of them towards the Palace, which they inveſted on all ſides, and put Corps du Guards on all the Avenues leading to it; and not contented herewith, they proceeded to other Outrages, fired with Ball for an Hour together at the Gates and Windows of the Palace, and hardly ſpared the Ambaſſador's Perſon, who came out into a Balcony to ſee what paſſed among them. He was no ſooner obliged to retire, but they attacked the Ambaſſadreſs, who being ignorant of what had paſſed near her Palace, was returning home in her Coach, and was in no ſmall danger of having been killed by ſeveral Muſket-balls that paſſed near her; but ſhe had the good Fortune to eſcape, without any other hurt than what was occaſioned by the Fright. There was one of her Pages killed juſt by her Coach-ſide, and one of the Footmen ſorely wounded; and at the ſame time the *Schirri*, who never uſe any Fire-Arms, followed cloſely the Footſteps of the Soldiers, knocking down all the *Frenchmen* they met with in the Streets of *Rome*. The *French* aſſert the Government countenanced this Action, ſince they gave Opportunity to the Ring-Leaders, and ſuch as were known to be moſt concerned in the Slaughter of the *French*, to ſlip away, eight or nine Days being paſt before they made any Enquiry after thoſe Aſſaſſins; and to add farther to the ſuppoſed Provocation, the Cardinal *Imperiale* Governor of *Rome*, ſometime after blocked up afreſh the Palace of *Farneſe*, alledging that it had been taken notice of, that the Ambaſſador ever ſince the laſt Affront was offered, did appear abroad with a more numerous Attendance than he had been uſed to do before; ſo that the Duke ſeeing himſelf thus treated, left *Rome* and retired to a Place belonging to the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*.

The News of a thing ſo extraordinary being communicated to moſt Courts in *Europe*, there were few who could perſuade themſelves, that the Court of *Rome* could be ſo much overſeen, as to come to thoſe Extremities, without great Provocation given on the Am-

mbaſſador's ſide. They charged him with having 1662.
elayed for ſome days to pay the firſt Viſit to ſome of
he Pope's Kindred, who were not of the Eccleſiaſtical
Order; the Duke being willing to receive firſt the
King's Inſtructions, concerning a Punctilio which hi-
herto had remained undecided. They complained that
e being of an haughty Temper, had diſſwaded the
King from allowing annual Penſions to theſe new Prin-
es, which was ſuppoſed in reality to have been the
main occaſion of their Hatred, that at length broke
out in the manner already related. The Court of
Rome would have engaged the *Spaniards* on their ſide
n this Quarrel; but they from political Intereſts abſo-
utely declining that, and the *French* King at laſt, find-
ng a whole Twelvemonth elapſed without any man-
ner of Satisfaction received, ordered his Troops to
march towards *Italy*, and having ſeized upon *Avignon*,
every thing was put into a Readineſs to paſs the *Alps*;
but *Alexander* VII. being unwilling to let Things come
to the laſt Extremity, a Treaty was agreed on to be
ſet on foot at *Piſa* (for the *French* King refuſed to ac-
cept of *Rome* for that purpoſe) and the ſame was ſoon
concluded upon the following Articles: That the Pope *Treaty be-*
ſhould be obliged to ſend the Cardinal Patroon, in *tween*
quality of his Legate, into *France*, to diſown the *them.*
whole Action of the *Corſick* Guards.

That the Legate himſelf ſhould make his Proteſtati-
on before the King, that neither he nor any of his
Family had the leaſt Hand in that Attempt; and
that for the time to come, they would give ample
Demonſtrations of their real Submiſſion and Fidelity
to the King.

That the Pope's Brother ſhould be obliged to make
the ſame Proteſtation in Writing, and to leave *Rome*,
till ſuch time as the Legate had given the promiſed
Satisfaction to the King.

That the Cardinal *Imperiale* ſhould likewiſe come
in Perſon into *France*, to juſtify himſelf, and to ſub-
mit his Cauſe, if required, to the Deciſion of the
King.

That the whole *Corſick* Nation ſhould for the future
be declared incapable of ſerving in the Eccleſiaſtical
State; and to brand with everlaſting Infamy ſo inſolent
an

1662. an Action, a Pyramid ſhould be erected, juſt oppoſite to the Corps du Guard, on which ſhould be engraven the reaſon of this Baniſhment.

By virtue of the ſame Treaty, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*, beſides ſeveral other of the *Roman* Lords that were in the *French* Intereſt, obtained conſiderable Advantages. The Treaty was executed accordingly, I mean in 1664; the Legate came into *France*, the Pyramid was erected and ſtood till the Year 1667. when by the Interceſſion of *Clement* IX. Pope *Alexander* VII's Succeſſor, the King conſented to have it broken down.

You have heard before of the taking of *Dunkirk* by the *French* and *Engliſh*, and the Surrendry of it to the latter according to Agreement: But now tho by the Fortifications ordered to be added to it by *Cromwel*, it was become a Place of very great Conſequence, yet ſo weak was our Government in *England*, as to ſell it now to the *French* for 400000 *l.* whereof one Moiety was detained for the Portion of our King's Siſter, the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, married to the Duke of *Orleans*. In Juſtification of our then King and Miniſtry, I have heard it confidently aſſerted, that the thing was very juſt in K. *Charles* II. ſince it was an Agreement between *Cromwel* and *Mazarine*, the *French* ſhould have it upon their paying of ſo much Money. I ſhould be glad to ſee the Authority they have for it; I do not find the *French* themſelves pretend any ſuch thing, but plainly ſay it was a preſent Bargain that had no regard to any previous Conditions; and if K. *Charles* was ſo tender-conſcienced in the matter, it would have looked much better in him to have accepted of the advantageous Offers made him for it by the *Spaniards*, who were the Original Proprietors; to ſay nothing of the *Dutch*, who bid ſo very fair alſo for this Bargain; ſo well did our Neighbours know the Importance of this Place, and ſo little was it underſtood or conſidered by us, that we have Reaſon to be aſhamed of it, as long as we are a Nation.

K. Charles *ſells* Dunkirk.

The *French* King having gained this Point, and ordered the Fortifications to be improved and compleated at a vaſt Expence, he applies himſelf to diſcipline his Army,

Army; as those that were in Pay, were Men pretty well chosen, he took care to augment them from time to time, and the better to train them up to the Wars, he ordered every Year Encampments to be made in one Place or another, where they performed all the Exercises belonging to Sieges or Battels; and the Marquess of *Louvois* was a great Instrument in forwarding of it. 1662.

Whether such a number of Disciplined Forces was necessary for *France*, or really useful to the State, I will not dispute at this time; but what they say of their King in respect to the Administration of Justice, is certainly very praise-worthy, since he gave particular Marks of his Esteem and Favour to such of the Judges as he knew to be Proof against Corruption; and in order to banish for ever from among his Subjects, all vexatious Suits, or at least to retrench the Extravagancy of litigious Persons and Superfluities in the Law, he caused a new Codex or Law-book to be compiled by the Advice of the most understanding Lawyers in the Kingdom, and would frequently put the Chancellor in mind to keep a strict Hand and a watchful Eye over the Judges and Magistrates, and without Partiality to punish Transgressors, without respect of Persons, especially in what related to the maintaining of the Publick Tranquillity. All which Actions, tho indeed they might be very good in themselves, yet they are manifest Indications of the Increase of the absolute Power, which seldom or never fails at length to degenerate into a perfect Tyranny. *K. Lewis incourages Justice, Arts, &c.*

But to proceed, this Prince was also the Prime-Instrument of introducing many useful Arts and Sciences amongst his Subjects; and knowing there is nothing tends more to the Honour of a Prince, and the Benefit of a State, than to give due Incouragement to Liberal Arts, he by his Liberality drew into *France* the most excellent almost in all Professions from all Parts of *Europe*, with which Foreigners as well as Natives, he filled up the several Academies erected by his Order for the Improvement of all manner of Sciences, as Painting, Carving, Architecture and Musick; while others were imployed in making rich Furnitures, *&c.* for whom he erected noble Structures in several Parts, but 1663.

1663. but especially made use of their Skill in the *Louvre*, the Front of which is accounted one of the finest pieces of Architecture in the World.

The Subjects encouraged by the Example of their Prince, began every where to apply themselves to Building, especially in the City of *Paris*, which increased every day by the addition of many goodly Structures; so that the Streets were made wider, the Crossways adorned with Fountains, the Channels and Rivers fac'd with free Stone; but what was most commendable of all, was the great Incouragement the King gave to Foreign Trade. Indeed it was observable, that all manner of Commerce had been neglected for a time, either because the Genius of the *French* Nation is more inclinable to Warlike Exploits than to Traffick, or because the Civil and Foreign Wars, wherein the Kingdom had been entangled for so many Years together, had robbed them of these Advantages: But for all this the King was sparing in nothing, which he believed might contribute to the Re-establishment of Trade; in the Sea-Ports he made considerable Abatements in his Customs, most of those that were paid in the Rivers he took off; he gave all manner of Encouragement to the Manufactures of the Kingdom, and at his own proper Cost and Charges imployed a great Number of Workmen, to join several great Rivers together, and to make lesser Ones navigable; nay if it was possible, he would have united the Ocean and *Mediterranean*. He established a certain Council of Trade to be held in his Presence, by whose Advice he erected several Companies, who trafficked into most Parts of the World; besides, he granted them many Privileges; nay, he provided some both with Money and Ships to carry on the Design, and took care they should be safely convoyed.

He encourages Traffick.

1664. This Year is but barren of Action in *France*, where we find the Queen was delivered of a Daughter, who lived but a few days, and her Majesty was in extreme Danger, but recovered. Yet we must not pass over the Enterprize against *Gigery* in *Barbary*, which some will have to proceed only upon the account of Commerce, and for the Conveniency of a Harbour on that side, and out of no Motives of Ambition and Desire

The Enterprize against Gigery.

ce of Conqueſt: However it were, the Duke of 1664.
eaufort Admiral of *France*, ſailed with a Fleet fit-
d up at *Thoulon* and *Marſeilles*, and conſiſting of 14
Men of War, 8 Gallies, 5 Fireſhips, 10 Brigantines,
o other Veſſels, and 30 Barks laden with Proviſion, Am-
unition, Lime, Brick, and other Neceſſaries for Building;
n this Fleet were 1500 Seamen, and 5000 Land Soldiers,
eſides 500 Volunteers of Quality. The Admiral
aid at Port *Mahon* in *Minorca*, till the Gallies of *Mal-*
a joined him on the 17*th* of *July*, and then they ſai-
d together for the Coaſt of *Barbary*, where they
ent ſome Shot againſt *Bugia*, but to little effect. On
he 22*d* they anchored before *Gigery*, about ſixty
eagues Eaſtward of *Algiers*, and notwithſtanding
he Oppoſition made by the Enemy, landed their
Men, as they did at Night thirty pieces of Cannon.
When they had raiſed three Batteries, they played
even Days and as many Nights upon the Place, and
hen made themſelves Maſters of it, with the loſs only
f 300 Men killed and wounded in the Action. The
Place is ſubject to the Government of *Algiers*, and
he adjacent Country has Plenty of Cattle. On the
ther hand the *Algerines* having drawn 20000 men to-
ether, on the 20*th* of *Octob.* appeared before the
own, and that very Night attacked a Redoubt of
he Caſtle, but were ſo well plied with the Cannon
rom the Ships and the Works, that they drew off
with great Loſs; however they came on again the
3*d* before Day-light, and made another furious Aſ-
ault, but were again repulſed, leaving 1000 men kil-
ed and wounded behind them. Yet not diſcouraged
hereat, the Infidels being reinforced to 40000 Men,
gave a third Attack on the 27*th*, and poſſeſſed them-
elves of the Redoubt; then purſuing their Succeſs,
made themſelves Maſters of the Lines and Outworks,
ho to do the *French* Juſtice, they very bravely de-
ended it; but the Duke of *Beaufort* finding it now
mpoſſible to defend the Place, the Outworks being
oſt, ſhipped off his Men on the 30*th* of *Octob.* and
eturned to *France*. This Summer alſo another Squa-
dron of 10 Ships ſailed from *Rochel*, carrying 1600
men, with Maſons, Carpenters, and all manner of
Neceſſaries for erecting a Colony, which accordingly

they

1664. they performed four Degrees Northwards of the River of the *Amazons* in *America*, having found there an old Fort, which they repaired and fortified with new Works, and this I ſuppoſe they have ſince called *Canada*.

In the mean time, the *Turks* and *Tartars* having made a powerful Irruption into *Hungary*, and the Emperor having demanded Succours from the *French*, he ſent him 6000 Men, who behaved themſelves very well, but more particularly in the Battel fought near *St. Goddart*; for 7 or 8000 of the Infidels having paſſed, unperceived by the Chriſtians, a River which parted both their Camps, charged the Right Wing of the laſt with ſuch incredible Fury, that they made them give way without much Oppoſition; and indeed the whole Chriſtian Army ſeemed as if they ſhould have been put to the Rout, when the *French* Troops that were in the Left Wing, came very opportunely up, and charged the *Turks* with ſo much Reſolution, that they quickly put them into Confuſion, and made ſuch a Slaughter among them, that 5 or 6000 remained dead upon the Spot: They brought off a great many Standards and Colours, and 16 pieces of Cannon.

1665. Meeting with nothing more worth recording in this, we proceed to the next Year, wherein we find *England* began a Naval War againſt the *Dutch*, and at the ſame time ſtirred up *Bernard Van-Galen* Biſhop of *Munſter* againſt that Republick, who being a troubleſom Neighbour to them, never wanted Pretenſions, but only an Opportunity to quarrel with them; and therefore now taking advantage of the ill State of their Troops, he made an Irruption into their Territories, and entirely over-ran one of their Provinces, where he made himſelf Maſter of their Cities, and ravaged the Country wherever he came. This ſtruck ſuch a Conſternation into the adjacent Provinces, that the States in this Perplexity applied themſelves to the *French* King for Succour, who ordered 6000 Foot and 2000 Horſe inſtantly to march to their Relief, by whoſe aſſiſtance the fierceneſs of the Biſhop was much abated; and in leſs than three Months time, matters were brought to a Compoſition, by virtue of which he was obliged to disband his Troops, ſurrender to the States

tates all he had taken, and reſtored to them their former Tranquillity. 1665.

In the mean time the Reformed in *France* daily complained of divers Oppreſſions they laboured under; and indeed the ſame were ſo manifeſt, that the Proteſtants of other Countries could not but take notice of it: Wherefore *France* having a Deſign to manage ſome of them, would at leaſt make an outward ſhew of Favour to them at this time. The Elector of *Brandenburg* was one of thoſe Princes who at this time he had a regard to, he being indeed both a great Soldier and Politician, and could add a great weight to the General Affairs of *Europe*, by the Party he ſided with: For which reaſon they endeavoured in *France* to give an Air of Juſtice to the Conduct of their Council; they reprimanded the Violence of the Clergy, and nothing was talked of now, but that the King would obſerve the Edicts, and all the Arreſts and Declarations he had put forth in favour of the Reformed. For theſe Reaſons it was that he writ a very obliging Letter to the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, in anſwer to what that Prince had writ to him in favour of the Reformed, that he was perſuaded they were oppreſt by him; therein he aſſured the Elector, *That he would take Care to maintain the Reformed in all the Privileges that had been granted to them, and that they would live upon an equal Foot with the reſt of his Subjects; and ſtill to add a greater Weight to the matter, I am engaged to it*, ſaid he, *by my Royal Word, and by the Teſtimonies they have given me of their Fidelity during the laſt Commotions, wherein they took up Arms for my ſervice, and did vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully oppoſe the evil Deſigns, which a rebellious Party had formed againſt my Authority in my Dominions.* In purſuance to the Contents of this Letter, the Agents of *France* in this Court and elſewhere, proteſted that there had been no Churches demoliſhed, but thoſe which had been built ſince the Edict of *Nantes*, quite contrary to the King's Authority; That one of the King's chiefeſt Cares was religiouſly to preſerve to his Subjects, in all Matters and upon all Occaſions, whatever appertained to them by the Conceſſions of the Kings his Predeceſſors and his own, by virtue of their Edicts, with-

Fr. *King's Letter to the Elector of* Brandenburg.

1665. without allowing of any Contraventions therein; and that it was the Rule which the King laid down for himſelf, as well for the obſervance of Juſtice, as to teſtify unto them the Satisfaction he had in their Obedience and Zeal for his Service ſince the laſt Pacification in the Year 1629.

But notwithſtanding theſe plauſible Pretences, they ſtill continued to vex the Reformed divers ways, and particularly on the 30*th* of *January* there was an Arreſt publiſhed that required the putting another in execution dated in *November* 1664. and which left Children of twelve or fourteen years of Age, according to their Sex, the liberty of returning to their Parents to be there bred up and maintained, or to require an Allowance, according to their Eſtates and Condition, for their own Maintenance, which the Parents were oblig'd to pay them every Quarter, and in default whereof they ſhould be compelled thereto by all juſt Methods. This done, the Clergy, according to their wonted manner, got this Arreſt turned into a Declaration on 24*th* of *October*. There was no regard had to the Arreſt of the Parliaments that limited the Age when their Converſions might be allowed to be lawful; and the Advocates General for the eluding of them ſaid, That it was forbid to ſeduce Peoples Children to change their Religion, but that they were not enjoined not to receive them, when they came in voluntarily; and that it would be impious not to give them a helping Hand, when at an Age wherein their Underſtandings were not yet become ripe, they returned to the Catholick Religion in a way that looked like Inſpiration.

Edict againſt the Reformed.

Theſe poor People were alſo oppreſs'd divers other ways, by reſtraints upon their Schools, Civil Offices, and even in the more powerful Churches being forbid to aſſiſt the weaker: And in an Aſſembly held about this time of the Popiſh Clergy, the Biſhop of *Uzes* made ſuch open Complaints in his Speech to the King againſt them, that a Man might ſay, it was the Church of *Rome* that ſuffered, and that the Reformed pulled down their Churches, excluded their Members of the means of living, and that in ſhort they did to them all that which in reality the Reformed ſuffered from them.

1666.

ſhall not inſiſt upon any farther Particulars of this peech, which was as bad and violent againſt the Re-rmed as could be; but proceed to tell you, that this ſſembly, upon the Cahier which they preſented to the ing, obtained a Declaration in *March*, the 22*d* Ar-cle of which excepted the Colleges and Schools al-wed the Reformed by Letters Patents upon Record om the Examination of the Biſhops, and conſequently looked as if thoſe who had not theſe Advantages ere ſubject to the Viſitations of the Prelates. The me Article recommended the Execution of the Ar-ſts, by which the Diviſion or Suppreſſion of thoſe olleges and Schools had been required: But this as not all, for they obtained alſo a Declaration on the of *April*, which forbad the Reformed to have noble cademies. This they never pretended to ſtrike at fore; but now the Clergy having found a way of priving the Reformed of their Right of having olleges, if they could not obtain leave for the ſame Letters Patents upon Record, they would quickly d the Secret of converting thoſe Academies into olleges, and conſequently hinder the Profeſſors of Reformed Religion from intermeddling with thoſe ercíſes. There was alſo another Arreſt put forth ſame day, which forbad the Reformed to raiſe any oney among themſelves before they had firſt com-ed with the Arreſts that regulated the Impoſition of and there was a third Declaration about the ſame e, that left to the Commiſſioners in the Provinces Deciſion of above twenty new Queſtions, which the uncil did not think fit to determine without ſome rmality.

In the mean time the Reformed being full of Fear Trouble upon the account of the Declarations ob-ned by the Clergy to their prejudice, drew up a g Petition to be preſented to the King; but as they re not ignorant that the Council would be willing keep at good terms with the antient Allies of the own, for fear they ſhould take umbrage at the Ir-tion deſigned to be made by the King into the *Ne-rlands*, they bethought themſelves of making their mplaints more publick, to the end that the fear of nding the Proteſtants abroad by the rigorous Treat-

1666. ment of the Reformed in *France*, might oblige them t
have ſome more regard to their Remonſtrances
Reformed petition the King. wherefore they got their Petition printed, that all *Eu*
rope might know the Juſtice of their Complaints. The
premiſed, before they came to the Particulars of thei
Grievances, that while the Clergy had kept within an
Bounds, Reſpect had hindred them from carrying thei
Complaints immediately to the King, for fear that b
the Inſtances of their Troubles they might diſturb th
tranquil Glory that accompanied the Felicity of hi
Reign; but that being now menaced with total Ruin
they were obliged to have recourſe to his Sacred Per
ſon, as believing him to be the moſt equitable and clear
ſighted Prince in the World: That tho the Edict
granted and confirmed by the Kings his Predeceſſors
and by himſelf, were perpetual and irrevocable, ye
the Clergy, after they had endeavoured to ſhake i
in all the Parts thereof, did their utmoſt to cut it of
entirely; and that it was with this deſign that they go
ſo many Arreſts, which they had procured to be re
duced into Declarations, and that they proſecuted the
Verification of them in all the Parliaments, and
Chambers of the Edict: That they had alſo added
ſeveral things quite contrary to the Edict, and very per
nicious to the Reformed: That the Edict having bee
granted by its Author for a clear, plain, general and
abſolute Law, they would make an obſcure, equivoca
and inſufficient Law of it: That they endeavoured t
overthrow it by Additions, Reſtrictions and Inter
pretations, contrary to the uſual Signification of th
Words, unknown to the Procurators General, and a
the King's Officers, oppoſite to his Intentions, and
thoſe of the Kings his Predeceſſors. Then they came
to the particulars of their Grievances, which conſiſting
of many things of a different nature, and minute
to a general Hiſtory, we ſhall paſs over untouched
and proceed a little to other Matters. The *Engliſh* and
1ſt Dutch *War.* *Dutch* were by this time at open Wars between one
another, in the beginning of which the States ſollicited
the *French* King for Succours, or at leaſt wiſe his Me
diation for the compoſing of the Differences betwee
them; wherefore he ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *London*
to offer his Mediation upon that occaſion, and the ſame
having

ving been accepted of by King *Charles*, the Confe- 1666.
nces were begun; but *Charles* (ſay the *French*) with-
t expecting the Iſſue of this Negotiation, ordered
s Fleet to put out to Sea in queſt of the *Dutch*, even
their Ports, which gave the *French* King all the rea-
n in the World to be diſſatisfied with him, and enter
to a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the States,
t did them very little good in all this Naval War.
deed they had an eye at this time upon our Planta- 1667.
ons in *America*, and K. *Charles* being no way pleaſed
ith their Inſults in thoſe Parts, ſent Sir *John Harman*
ith a Squadron of Frigats to oppoſe them. Sir *John*
as ſo afflicted with the Gout, that he could not
ake uſe of his Feet; but upon the diſcovery of the
rench Fleet he very ſtrangely but readily got upon his
egs, gave Orders to fight them, and quickly beat
em, and during the Engagement walked and gave
s Orders as well as ever; but the Fight was no ſoon-
over, than that Sir *John* returned to his gouty
ameneſs again, and afterwards reduced *Surinam*.

To ſay nothing in this place of the Peace concluded
etween the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* at *Breda* on the 31*ſt* of
uly this Year, we are here to obſerve that the *French*
l this while had been making great Preparations by
and without declaring upon what Deſign; and the
Marqueſs of *Caſtel Rodrigo* Governour of the *Spaniſh*
Netherlands growing jealous of it, did all he could
o prevent any Surprize, and having therefore formed
n Army of about 30000 Men, beſides the auxiliary
Troops expected from the Empire, he took ſome care of
ortifying ſuch Places as were moſt expoſed; and here
ou muſt underſtand, that *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*
aving by *Iſabel* his firſt Wife only two Children,
iz. Prince *Balthazar*, and *Maria Thereſa* Queen of
rance, ſhe ſurviving the Prince, notwithſtanding the
moſt ſolemn Renunciation that was made in the World,
ſet up a Claim, I mean the *French* King her Husband in
er Name, to the Province of *Brabant*, under pretence
hat the Women in that Country by the firſt Venter
nherited before the Males of the ſecond; but you ſhall
ind *Brabant* fly over all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*.
K. *Philip* dying in *September* 1665. and being ſucceed-
ed by his Son *Charles* II. a Minor, the *Spaniards* were

1667. not ſo ſecure upon this Change of their Head, but that they ſounded the Intentions of the *French* Court, and got the King (tho in the deepeſt Diſſimulation imaginable) to engage his Faith and Royal Word to the Queen Regent by the Marqueſs *de la Fuente*, that he would religiouſly keep the Peace, and continue a faithful Friendſhip with her and her Son during his Minority; nay, after the Eruption of the *French* into *Flanders*, the Arch-biſhop of *Ambrun* did *in verbo Sacerdotis*, proteſt and vow to the Queen, that his Maſter would never break with the King of *Spain*, or invade his Dominions during his Minority: However, about three or four days after this Proteſtation of the Archbiſhop, the Queen Regent had notice of a Manifeſto publiſhed by the *French* King, That he had ſo fully proved his Son's Title, that he did not think himſelf obliged to ſpend any time in unprofitable Conteſts about it; yet not to make War, but to take a friendly poſſeſſion of what was ſo juſtly due to the *Dauphin*.

Never was *Spain* at ſo low an ebb as at this time, notwithſtanding all their Brags of what Force they had in *Flanders* under *Rodrigo*; for beſides our K. *Charles* his giving up *Dunkirk* to the *French*, and the breaking of the *Spaniſh* Army at the Fight of *Elvas* in *Portugal*, which ſhould have defended *Flanders*, and that the War ſtill continued there, where the *French* by a Treaty with *Portugal*, contrary to that of the *Pyrenees*, were to have all the Sea-ports taken from the *Spaniards*, the *Buccaneers* plagued them in *America*, and *Don John*, the King's natural Brother, was at ſuch high Diſcord with the Queen about her Confeſſor *Nitard*, that he refuſed to accept of the Government of *Flanders* again to oppoſe the *French*. Thus things ſtood, when the *French* King in Perſon marched at the Head of thirty five thouſand Men, commanded by the Mareſchal *de Turenne*, into *Flanders*, and at the ſame time ordered two flying Camps, the one to enter the County of *Luxemburg* under the Command of the Mareſchal *de Crequi*, to obſerve the Motions of the *Germans* on that ſide; and the other to take its March along the Sea Coaſt, under the Conduct of the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, who took *Courtray* in two days, *Dixmude*

French *invade* Flanders.

ude in four and twenty hours, *Furnes* in one day, 1667.
d *Armentiers* ſurrendred as ſoon as he appeared
fore it. The Army under *Turenne* found as little
eſiſtance as the other; *Charleroy* was demoliſhed by
e *Spaniards*, *Binch* and *Aeth* opened their Gates at
e ſame moment they appeared in ſight of them, *Tour-*
y did not hold out above 48 hours, and *Douay*
d its Cittadel no longer, *Oudenard* not above one
ay, and *Aloſt* but a few hours. To be ſhort, in leſs
an four months time they made themſelves Maſters
f thirteen or fourteen Places, all very conſiderable
r their Strength. *Liſle* alone held out a Siege of
ar a Fortnight after the opening of the Trenches:
here were a great number of Inhabitants in it, be-
des near 4000 Soldiers, with divers Officers and
oluntiers, who had thrown themſelves into the Place
ſignalize themſelves in the defence of it, under one
f the beſt and moſt experienced Commanders in the
aniſh Service. Here the *French* King having advice
at the Count *de Marſin* General of the *Spaniſh* Army
as on his March to relieve the Place, he detatched
requi (who had joined him before with his flying
amp) to poſſeſs himſelf of all the Avenues, thro
hich *Marſin* muſt needs approach the Town, which
the mean while capitulated; and the King intended
have joined the Army, when *Crequi* on the one
nd, and the Mareſchal *de Bellefond* on the other,
lling upon the *Spaniards*, put them to the rout, of
hom they killed five hundred, and took from them
veral Standards and Kettle-drums, and three hundred
riſoners, among whom were many Colonels, and
me of their General Officers. On the other hand,
n Army of *French* under the Prince of *Conde* fell into
e *Franche Comte*, and quickly became Maſters of *Dole*,
ezanſon and *Salines*: They afterwards took *Gray*,
e Caſtle of *Joux*, and the Fort of *St. Anne*,
nd ſoon became Maſters of the whole Province.
The *Swiſs* Cantons being alarmed at their Neighbour-
ood, recalled their Subjects out of the Service of
rance, and ordered a Levy of 60000 Men to expel
hem out of *Burgundy*; ſo that *Dole* and *Bezanſon*
ere afterwards reſtored to the *Spaniards*.

1667. But now the prodigious Succeſs of the *French* Arms having not only alarmed the *Swiſs*, but moſt of the neighbouring Princes, who were afraid that the next Campagn might like a Torrent over-run all the reſt of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and particularly thoſe who found their own Security depended upon the Preſervation of the *Spaniſh* Territories; the States at length concerted Meaſures with the Kings of *England* and *Sweden*, and made a League, by virtue of which they confederated to furniſh each fifteen thouſand Men for the defence of *Flanders*, and this was called the Triple Alliance.

The Triple League.

1668. *Peace of* Aix la Chapelle. The *French* hereupon fearing to bring ſuch potent Nations upon their backs both by Sea and Land, readily embraced the Propoſals of Peace; and a Treaty being ſet up accordingly at *Aix la Chapelle*, they agreed upon a Peace the 2*d* of *May*, by virtue of which the *French* reſtored the *Franche Comte* to the *Spaniards*, tho the Fortifications of the Places made by them were to be demoliſhed; but they had reſigned up to them almoſt all the Towns they had conquered in *Flanders*, with their Dependencies.

The Reformed ſend Deputies to Court. The Peace being thus made, the Reformed, who ſtill laboured under many Grievances, reſolved to ſend freſh Deputies to Court, and in *Normandy* they pitched upon the famous *Peter du Boſc*, one of the Miniſters of the Church of *Caen*, to be their Repreſentative: He was an admirable Orator, good Philoſopher, ſolid Divine, a judicious Critick, and withal a comely Perſon. You muſt know that the Popiſh Clergy had all along been heaving at the Overthrow of the Edict and Bipartite Chambers made in favour of the Reformed, who beſides other things, were very much alarmed from time to time at this in particular; but *du Boſc* having now the Honour to be the Spokeſman to the King, he was on the 27*th* of *September* introduced into his Preſence by the Procurator General, and the King commanded him to ſpeak aloud what he had to ſay to him. He began his Speech with the hopes the Reformed had to be eaſed of their Miſeries by the King's having called them before himſelf to hear their Grievances, becauſe Kings being the Images of the Almighty, they muſt, in imitation of him, call Perſons to them for their good. Then he ſet forth

the

he Aſtoniſhment they were under to hear of a new Deſign on foot for the aboliſhing of the Chambers of he Edict, and remonſtrated to his Majeſty its Incompatibility with the Aſſurances he had ſo often given hem, that he would obſerve the Edict. From thence e paſſed to the Reaſons to be offered for letting of the Chambers ſtand, the firſt of which was deduced rom the Inſtitution of them, which he expreſt in uch Terms as rendred them perpetual: The ſecond was taken from the Juſtice which authorized their reecting of ſuſpicious Judges; and he made it appear from ery manifeſt Examples drawn from the Paſſion and Crulty of the Parliaments of *Pau*, *Roan* and *Bretagne*, that he Reformed had reaſon to look upon the Parliaments s Judges who ſhould be juſtly rejected. Then he ſet orth the Inconveniences that would ariſe in ſuppreſſing f thoſe Chambers, after which the Parliaments would hink it was free for them to do any thing againſt the Edict, and they would conſider it no farther than we uſually do thoſe Places which we enter by a Breach: That the Catholicks by this Revocation would ſuppoſe that the King was enclined to deſtroy the Reformed, ſince he had removed their Safeguard: That thoſe who were ſeditiouſly affected, whereof there were but too many in the Kingdom, would be put into a condition to undertake any thing againſt the Lives and Eſtates of others; and that neither the Orders of Governors, nor the Authority even of Declarations could hinder them: That the Reformed would look upon this Supreſſion of the Chambers as their final Ruin: That he Trouble and Terror it would cauſe muſt oblige them to leave the Kingdom, to ſeek for Refuge and Security in other Countries: That their withdrawing muſt prove to be very prejudicial to Trade, the Manufacturies of the Nation, and even to the whole Government. Laſt of all he proceeded to that which might excite the King's Compaſſion, and repreſented the Reformed to him as Subjects that were full of Reſpect and Affection towards him, who had aſſiſted *Henry* the Great to preſerve his Crown, and who ſince his Majeſty's Birth had done nothing that could draw the leaſt Reproach upon them; that they had even received from his own Mouth great Encomiums of the Fidelity

1668.

1668. Fidelity which they had ſhewed him upon divers important Occaſions, who in the laſt place having no manner of Support upon Earth but his Authority, were obliged by their Intereſts as well as by their Conſciences to be immutably tied to his Service. Finally, he made uſe of the Example of God himſelf, who repented of his having threatned the Children of Men, in order to oblige the King to change the Reſolution he had taken about ſuppreſſing the Chambers; and he added thereunto the Name of *Henry* the Great, the Author of the Edict, as being an Interceſſor in favour of this Act of his Wiſdom and Prudence.

The King, tho extremely attentive to the Eloquence of the Perſon, made anſwer, that he had not been given to underſtand, that the ſuppreſſing of the Chambers would be any great prejudice to the Reformed, but that the ſame would be only neceſſary for the better Adminiſtration of Juſtice; that he had taken all the Precautions imaginable for the hindring of this Change to be prejudicial to them; that he was not for remitting them to the Grand Chambers, where there were too many Eccleſiaſtical Counſellors, nor for ſuppreſſing the Bipartite Chambers, as it was propoſed to him, becauſe he thought the ſame were neceſſary for them. This done, the Deputy-General about eight Days after introduced *du Boſc* to *le Tellier* one of the Secretaries of State, where after he had ſaid many things in praiſe of the King, he proceeded to ſpeak of the ſuppreſſing of the Chambers, and remonſtrated to that Miniſter, that it was not a time to touch upon that String at a conjuncture, when there were Deputies at *Paris* from all the Provinces to require that Juſtice ſhould be done them, in reſpect to a Multitude of Grievances they laboured under; that if before the remedying of theſe inveterate Evils, they proceeded to new Ones, they would put the People into a Deſpair, and that it was neceſſary above all things to give them Satisfaction for what was paſt. The Secretary promiſed to examine the Writings that had been preſented to him, and to defer the Buſineſs about the Chambers, till ſuch time as the laſt Declarations ſhould be diſmiſſed. In ſhort, the Commiſſioners that very Week fell to work with the Chancellor about

that

at Affair, which took them up three Days time. 1668.
hese favourable Appearances raiſed the Courage of
e Reformed, who were now fully perſwaded, as of a
ing ardently deſired of them, that ſome of their paſt
rievances would be redreſt, and that from hence for-
ards they ſhould have ſome eaſe: But the Council
as not at all ſincere in this Point, they went indeed
pon two Topicks about reviſing of the ſaid Declara-
ons, for by the one they thought they ſhould ſtifle the
oiſe which the ſuppreſſing of the Chambers of the
dict would cauſe without the Kingdom, where they
ad their Allies to be managed; and that the better to
ffect this Blow, they ſhould ſweeten it with the Re-
reſs of ſome Grievances, that ſhould make ſome Com-
enſation for the Diſadvantage it brought along with
. Their other Stratagem was, to endeavour to enter
nto a kind of a Negotiation about this Affair with
he Deputies; to the end that while they were in Trea-
y with them, they might ſay this Suppreſſion pro-
eeded by mutual Conſent, and to the Satisfaction of
oth Parties. Wherefore they entred into a Negotia-
ion about other matters, for the better colouring of
; and in ſhort they gave the Deputies to underſtand
hat it was requiſite they ſhould put in Memorials con-
erning the Terms and neceſſary Precautions for re-
reſſing their Grievances; but this Propoſal after a
nore ſerious Conſultation was rejected: However they
hought fit to draw up a Petition, wherein to ſet forth
he Inconveniences that would ariſe by ſuppreſſing of
he Chambers; and in the ſame they ſuggeſted ſix
hings, the firſt alledged the Importance of the Article
f the Edict, which would be violated by their Revo-
ation thereof; and that ſeeing there were 38 Articles
herein, which appertained to that matter, and muſt
nk with that particular one that referred to the in-
ituting of that Juriſdiction, there would be by ſuch
Suppreſſion of it, a large Breach made in the Edict,
hat would almoſt ruin half of the Articles, which
lſo muſt draw the reſt after them, by reaſon of their
Dependance upon one another; that in referring of
hem to the Judicature of the Parliaments, they
hould be left to the Diſcretion of Eccleſiaſtical Judges,
who were their declared Enemies, and engaged even

by

1668. by their Character to procure the Ruin of those whom they accounted Hereticks; and they remonstrated, that in consequence of the instituting of the Chamber of the Edict of *Roan*, the Reformed had always enjoyed the Privilege of rejecting all Ecclesiastical Counsellors, without assigning any Cause, when they were minded to bring their Causes before the Grand Chamber. Then they proceeded to shew that Ecclesiastical Counsellors would by this Suppression become Masters of those matters that regarded the Execution of the Edict, from whom they could not promise to themselves the least Point of Justice; and in general it was observed by them, that the Parliaments themselves being exceptionable, as his Majesty had owned in divesting them from taking Cognizance of any Affairs relating to the Edict, and referring the same to Commissioners appointed in the Provinces; it was very evident, that Ecclesiastical Judges must be still much more exceptionable. They touched by the By upon the Subsistence of their Churches, and the taking away of their Children, as being things wherein the Ecclesiasticks thought themselves obliged in conscience to violate the Edict every day. It was farther urged, that there was no Judg proposed to be in the Grand Chamber for the Observation of the Edict, and who should make it his business to cite the Edict, and put the rest in mind of it; whereas in the Chambers of the Edict there was at least one of the Reformed that could execute this Office; that if they suppress the Chambers, the Condition of the Reformed would be now worse than in the most difficult times, because that then they were allowed to reject a considerable number of suspicious Judges, and that sometimes they had the Liberty to remove their Causes before other Judges. Lastly, that in respect to Foreigners, the suppressing of the Chambers of the Edict must needs frighten them; and that indeed the very Noise made already about it, had put them upon measures of withdrawing with their Effects and Families out of the Kingdom.

To this Petition they added some Methods, whereby those Abuses might be remedied that were alledged as a pretence for suppressing of the Chambers, and remonstrated

monſtrated, that the new Ordinance had remedied the fraudulent Interventions; that the Reformed having but one Counſellor of their Religion in the Chamber of the Edict, they could not be looked upon as the Authors of the Abuſe committed in the Exceſs of Vacations, and that conſequently they ought not to be puniſhed for it; that this might be remedied by limiting thoſe who were to act both before and after noon, as was practiſed in ſome Parliaments; that the ſmall Office might be ſuppreſt, by forbidding the Judges to act in leſs Numbers than the Order required. Laſtly, they propoſed as the beſt Expedient, to ſettle the Chambers of the Edict upon the ſame Foot as their firſt Eſtabliſhment, and withal to continue the ſame Judges in thoſe Chambers for ſeveral Years, whereas within theſe 30 Years they had conſtituted a Civil Tournelle, wherein they ſerved but for one Year, and into which every one was admitted in his Turn, without any Diſtinction made of their Qualifications. 1668.

The Chambers of the Edict of Nantes ſuppreſt.

But all the Efforts of the poor Reformed proved in vain upon this Occaſion, for the King by his Declaration in *Jan.* quite ſuppreſt the Chambers; and in the ſame it was intimated, that the Reformed received no other Benefit by theſe Chambers, than what they met with in the Chambers of Inqueſts, where there was a Counſellor of the Reformed Religion, as well as in thoſe of the Edict, and what might be preſerved even for them in the Grand Chambers, by permitting them to reject ſome Officers; they were for the future remitted to the Grand Chamber, in caſe of all Verbal Appeals, and they had every where the Favour allowed them to reject two Eccleſiaſtical Counſellors without ſhewing any Cauſe for it. As for any Proceſs in Writing, they were remitted to the Chambers of Inqueſts, but there they were to challenge no body, only it was ſaid that the Eccleſiaſtical Counſellors ſhould make the Report. Then after having ſet down ſome Regulations about the Service, which the Reformed might do in the criminal Tournelle, in the Chambers of Inqueſts, in the Proceſſes determined by Commiſſioners, and in the Chamber of Vacations, with ſome other matters, the King allowed them to have recourſe to the Parliament of *Burgundy*, and their choice whether to apply themſelves 1669.

1669. ſelves to that, or the Chamber of the Edict at *Grenoble*; at the ſame time allowing them the Liberty of rejecting two Judges as to Civil Affairs in the ſaid Parliament, and three in criminal matters. As for thoſe who were within the Juriſdiction of the Parliament of *Bretagne*, the King allowed their choice of applying themſelves to them, or to that of *Paris*; and for thoſe who preferred the Parliament of *Rennes* before the other, they were left to their Liberty to reject the ſame Number of Judges as in the Parliament of *Dijon*.

This Declaration gave the Reformed juſt occaſion to remonſtrate, that it was not juſt Eccleſiaſtical Counſellors ſhould be Judges over the Reformed; that theſe ſort of Counſellors were never admitted into the Chambers of the Edict, or the Bipartite Ones; that they were but rarely allowed to be Parties in any matters that concerned the Edict; and that Inquiry into any Contraventions made was by the Edict it ſelf entruſted with the King's own Agents: That the Synods of the Clergy intermeddled with all Affairs relating to the Reformed; that it was too much for thoſe, who upon all occaſions declared themſelves Enemies, to become Judges alſo, as they would be in effect upon ſuppreſſing of the Chambers; and more particularly they made heavy Complaints of the Parliament of *Roan*, and cited divers Inſtances of their Injuſtice and Partiality, too long to be inſerted in this place.

Declaration in Favour of the Reformed.

Now a little to ſolace the Reformed under this rude Shock of Fortune, the King put forth a Declaration on the 1*ſt* of *Feb.* which in ſome things redreſſed the Grievances introduced by that in 1666. There were two things in the Preface to it, that ſomewhat flattered their Hopes; one whereof was, that the Arreſts upon which the Declaration of 66 was founded, and from whence the whole Subſtance thereof was deduced, were hereby revoked, excepting in ſuch things wherein they agreed with the new Declaration; the other was, that the King ſhould now by this declare it ſhould be a Law for the future: The whole conſiſted of 49 Articles. And whereas the Declaration of 1666 forbad the Reformed to preach any where but in the Places deſigned for that purpoſe, under any pretence whatſoever;

ver; they were now in case of any just Inconvenien- 1659.
s allowed to apply themselves to the Governor of the
rovince or the King's Lieutenant, to obtain Leave to
ischarge their Function otherwhere: They were far-
her allowed the Exercise of their Religion in Places
ortgaged to them, provided the same were done be-
re the granting of the Edict; and their Ministers
ere now permitted in visiting of Prisoners, to make
eir Exhortations in a Publick Room, provided they
id it with a low Voice and without Offence, whereas
efore, they were required to do it in a separate Cham-
er; their Deacons were now allowed to be called in-
their Consistories, those that wanted Reproof to be
ted thither, and the Heads of Families to meet for
e Election of Ministers. Some things were likewise
one in favour of them upon the account of Gifts and
egacies; and if it did at any time appear by evident
roof, that their Children were forc'd or seduc'd to
ange their Religion, the Consistories might adver-
se their Parents and Guardians therewith, in order
make their Complaints to the Magistrates.

There were some other Concessions made in favour
the Reform'd, wherewith they appeared mightily
eased; and soon after a Declaration was issued out,
herein all the King's Subjects were forbid upon
in of Death and the Forfeitures of their Estates to
and settle without Leave in any Foreign Country,
to take Service under any other Prince or State but
eir own, but more especially by Sea. Now as these
rohibitions were general, and seem'd to proceed out
a Design that *France* was minded more than ever
apply herself to Maritime Affairs, it was thought
is did not regard matters of Religion at all, but the
onsequence discovered, that this Rigour had a princi-
l View at the Reform'd. But to say no more of
is at present, the King and his Council were now
iefly intent upon finding out Methods to ruine the
ates of *Holland*, whose Power was looked upon in
rance as the principal Obstacle that hindred the *French*
om making their Country flourish in Trade, and
bjugating the rest of *Europe*. The States were the
ain Instruments of precipitating the late Peace, and
ere were some other pretences taken to quarrel with
them;

1669. them; it was affirmed in thoſe times, that *Monſieur Van Beningham* had cauſed a Medal to be ſtruck, wherein there was an Alluſion made to the Name of *Joſhua* that was put upon it, and to the Sun which the *French* King had aſſumed for his Device. And the Hiſtory of that Leader of the *Iſraelites* was applied to the Words, that ſignified the ſtopping the Courſe of the Sun, which hinted at the Treaty of Peace that he had concluded as the States Ambaſſador, whereby the Career of the *French* King's Conqueſts was interrupted; but the Triple League was the thing that ſtuck moſt in the Stomach of *France*.

The Story of Marcilli. But before I come to the Diſſolution of it, give me leave to obſerve, that tho the Reform'd ſeem'd to be very well pleaſed with their preſent Circumſtances, yet the Court was not ſecretly a little diſſatisfied with them, and particularly upon the account of the Negotiations of one *Marcilli*, whoſe Story is worth relating. This Perſon, who was of the Reformed Religion, was accuſed of having endeavoured to ſtir up all *Europe* againſt *France*, and particularly to make it known to the Proteſtants, that the *French* King had ſworn the ruin of their Religion; for beſides, ſay they, the Negotiations he had every where carried on among the Reformed, and particularly in his own Country, he undertook alone, without any Accomplices or Counſels, to carry his Complaints to all the Princes and States that had ſeparated themſelves from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, againſt the Violences which the *French* King authorized under his Name, and to inſpire them with a Deſign of humbling that Power which muſt be fatal to Religion and Liberty. He had traverſed the North with good Succeſs enough, and it was pretended he had been inſtrumental to induce the *Swede* to enter into the Triple League: He uſed the ſame Artifice in *England*, and gave *Charles* II. a light into many things that had been kept under a Diſguiſe either by the Agents of *France*, or the Infidelity of his Miniſters. The Marqueſs of *Ruvigny*, the Procurator General of the Reformed, and Father of that excellent Perſon the preſent Earl of *Galloway*, was then the *French* King's Envoy in *England*, whither he was ſent to take away the Umbrage that might be taken

the Conduct of the Council of *France*, he being 1669.
hoſen on purpoſe, not only upon the account of his
apacity, but alſo of his Religion, which rendered
m a fitter Perſon than another to perſwade the *Eng-*
ſh that his Maſter had no manner of Deſign againſt
e Proteſtant Religion, and that he did Juſtice to his
wn Reformed Subjects. Indeed *Ruvigny* did his Buſi-
eſs effectually, and proved ſo unſerviceable to the Re-
rm'd upon this occaſion, that he drew ſome Reproa-
es upon himſelf from the Reform'd Churches, who
ere not ſatisfied with his Complaiſance. However it
ere, he found K. *Charles* prepoſſeſt with the Allegati-
s of *Marcilli*, and he very dexterouſly got out of
at Prince a knowledg of the ſecret Intrigues of
at Perſon, who being not content to apply himſelf to
e King, had alſo communicated the ſame things to di-
rs Members of Parliament; but K. *Charles* being
t willing to have him ſecured in his Dominions, gave
m leave quietly to depart the Kingdom, and to pro-
de elſewhere for his Security.

In the mean time, *Ruvigny* having given the *French*
ng an Account of his Negotiations in *England*, com-
nicated alſo to him the Diſcoveries he had made
the Intrigues of *Marcilli*, as alſo that he was reti-
d into *Switzerland*, where he carried on the ſame
ſigns. Hereupon *Lewis* acquainted Mareſchal *Tu-*
ne therewith, and ordered him to pick out ſome re-
ute Fellows to go and bring him off if poſſible,
thout the leaſt Noiſe. The Mareſchal entruſted three
ficers of the Reformed Religion, of which he yet pro-
t himſelf, with the Deſign; and theſe three Men ha-
g cunningly got *Marcilli* into a Place where he
ld not be ſuccoured, carried him clear away into
ance, where he was judicially proceeded againſt with
eat Diligence and Exactneſs: But the unfortunate
an ſhewed ſo much Conſtancy in his Confinement,
t neither the Addreſs of the Judges, nor the rigo-
s Uſage he had, could ever make himconfeſs any
ng; he juſtified to the very laſt, that he was not
ilty, and the Miniſters who were allowed to viſit
n, could by no Exhortations nor Remonſtrances
ke him change his Note; ſo that he was broke alive
on the Wheel; and it was ſaid, there were at the

1669. very Place of Execution, many very unbecoming Queſtions asked him, particularly about his Negotiation with our K. *Charles* the Second, which that Prince was ſo far from reſenting, that he ſometime after joined in League with the *French* for the Deſtruction of *Holland*, as you will hear by and by.

In the mean time, the other Reformed ſeemed now to be a little careſſed, with a Deſign no doubt, to have their helping hand alſo in the Deſtruction of their Brethren in the United Provinces, which began now to be fully reſolved on in *France*; and the firſt Intimation thereof ſeemed to be a Declaration publiſhed in *Auguſt* for recalling out of thoſe Provinces all the *French* Officers and Soldiers that ſerved in their Troops, thoſe that ſailed amongſt them, as alſo Merchants; and in a word, all other Perſons that could be of any benefit to *France* in her intended Enterprizes. The Prince of *Tarento*, who had ſettled many Years in *Holland* with the King's Leave, where he had many good Employments, quitted their Service, and afterwards turned *Roman* Catholick; and now having mentioned this Change, it will not be unſeaſonable to ſay ſomewhat of Mareſchal *Turenne*'s forſaking his Religion about this time. He was a Perſon that had never appeared very zealous for Religion; but as he had from time to time given ſome Teſtimonies of his Conſtancy, it was attributed to the Coldneſs of his Temper, which made him calm enough upon all Occaſions: Indeed his Wife, the only Daughter of the Duke *de la Force*, and his Siſters the Marchioneſs of *Duras* and Dutcheſs of *Tremoville*, while living, had a great Influence upon him to keep him firm to the Reformed; ſo that *Mazarine* had formerly to no purpoſe endeavoured to ſhock him, and the Intimations given him after the Birth of the Dauphin, that he might be in time his Governor, would not work upon him. At the beginning of the Campagn in 1667. the *French* King himſelf took him aſide, and endeavoured in vain to bring him over, with Promiſes of the greateſt Favour and higheſt Offices in the Government; but now to the no ſmall Surprize of the Reformed, and when there was no manner of talk of the matter, he of himſelf embraced the Communion of the Church of *Rome*.

M. Turenne *turns Papiſt.*

W

We ſhall ſay no more of this unhappy Change 1670.
n the Mareſchal, which muſt in time be detrimental
o the Reformed; but proceed to ſhew that the main
f the *French* Counſels were now bent upon the utter
reaking of the Triple League. Monſieur *Colbert* in
he Infant State of it, the very firſt year, had made
ome Steps towards it, but in the next made ſuch conſi-
erable Advances, that he had almoſt brought the De-
truction of it to perfection. Now to facilitate this
opeful Project, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, the King's
eloved Siſter, came in *June* to *Dover*, with full Pow-
r (as has been ſince confidently affirmed) to conclude
his deſired Buſineſs. I ſhould have told you before,
hat the *French* by the Treaty of *Breda* were oblig-
d to reſtore to the *Engliſh* their Plantations in *St.*
hriſtophers, which they had taken from them during
he War; but this they put off from time to time, till
hat now having gained a great point in drawing in K.
harles to violate the Triple League, the ſame were gi-
en up to Sir *Charles Wheeler*; but they had firſt de-
royed all the Plantations, plundered and carried away
l that was portable, laid the Country waſt, and left
even in a worſe Condition than if it had never been
anted. In the mean time the *French* King by his
enſioners not only kept the Emperor and Duke of *Lo-*
in from being deſirous to enter into the Triple
eague, but he concerted Meaſures to enter into a
ricter Alliance with the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* and
ſhop of *Munſter* againſt the *Dutch*; and now be-
n to fit out a greater Fleet of Men of War, than
e *French* ever had before.

But a little to leave matters of State, we ſhall re-
rn again to thoſe that are Eccleſiaſtical; and now it
as that we find the *French* Court, which had always
anifeſted an Unwillingneſs to allow the Reformed to
ld a National Synod, change its Meaſures all on a
dden, and offer them leave of its own accord to
it. You muſt know that they thought they had
ken ſuch Meaſures by corrupting ſome of their Mi-
ſters and otherwiſe, that they ſhould be able to ef-
ct a Reunion of the Reformed to the Church of
me; which the other much ſuſpecting, they were
ſolved at firſt not to accept of the calling of ſuch a

1670. Synod, but afterwards conſidering that the Meaſures which the Court had taken did not in reality ſignify much, they reſolved to accept of the Offer, which the other now upon better Advice thought fit to put off, and ſo this matter for the preſent ended. In the mean time, the Succeſs which the Reformed had in obtaining the Declaration of the firſt of *February* before mentioned, had inſpired them with Courage; and their Deputies reſolved to preſent another general Petition to the King in relation to the Grievances they had ſtill reaſon to complain of: And hereupon *du Boſc* was obliged to return to *Paris*. The Deputy General was not for their preſenting ſuch a Petition, and at firſt he thought it better it ſhould have been ſigned by all the Deputies than by himſelf: It was ſhewed in this manner to the Miniſters, who found no other fault therewith than the Number of the Signers, ſo that *Ruvigny* was obliged to preſent it ſigned with his own Hand, and to ſupplicate the King to have a regard to what was contained therein; but little or nothing came of it. However the Clergy being offended at the Declaration already mentioned, and the Favour *du Boſc* was in, and holding now their General Aſſembly at *Pontois*, as they expected Money ſhould be demanded of them, they were intent upon obtaining ſomewhat from the Court which ſhould compenſate what they ſhould advance for the Neceſſities of the State; and to play at ſmall game rather than ſtand out, all that they could lay hold on was to complain of a Sermon or two preached by *du Boſc* at *Charenton*, wherein he was charged with calling the Popiſh Religion, *the Religion of* Bélial: But the King being better informed of the matter by the Deputy General, they could not carry their point against him.

1671. *Affairs of the Reformed.* There were a great many other Attempts made ſeveral times and in ſeveral places for the Deſtruction of the Reformed, which in time produced another General Petition, complaining of the Violation of the Declaration made in 1669. in their favour throughout the Kingdom. They begun with the Article that regulates the Age wherein Children might be received to change their Religion, and remonſtrated that the Parliament

ade Declarations every day, to Children of nine or 1671.
n years of Age, contrary to that Law; and that in
der to elude the ſame, they had a Reſerve to them-
ves of getting them to reiterate their Abjuration of
eir Religion, when they attained to the Age which
e Law did require: And here they complained of the
arangues of the Clergy, whoſe Deputies had the Con-
ence to ſay, That temporal Laws could not with-
aw Children from under the power of the Church.
hen they ſet forth the Innovations made with reſpect
Trades, and added withal, the Unreaſonableneſs of
oſe Arreſts which forbad Maſters of the Reformed
eligion to take Catholick Apprentices. Another Grie-
nce was the Prohibitions made againſt printing any
ooks about Religion without the leave of the Judg.
ey brought in many other things about Arreſts made
reſpect to Relapſers and Blaſphemers, about meet-
of the Hoſt; and at laſt concluded, That as his
ajeſty by his Declaration had forbid his Subjects to
and live in foreign Countries, they begged that he
uld render it poſſible for them to live within his Do-
nions.

But to intermeddle no more, at leaſtwiſe for the pre-
t, with this Affair, we are here to take notice that
ides the *French* King's ſeizing of *Lorain* laſt year
hich ſhould have been mentioned before) and his
nging *Charles* II. to ſend Mr. *Coventry* into *Sweden*
ctually to diſſolve the Triple League, he thought
w he had our King entirely in his Net; for which
ſon he openly declared that it was none of his
arrel againſt the *Dutch*, and that he only engaged
rein out of reſpect to King *Charles* his Perſon, and
refore before any War was declared, the *Engliſh*
ſt firſt break the Peace by the Attempt upon the
yrna Fleet.

The *Dutch* before this time were mightily alarmed, 1672.
d ſought to make up matters both in *England* and
nce with all the Earneſtneſs imaginable, but all
uld not do; ſo that at length a Declaration of War
me out againſt them in both Nations, wherein the
ench King ſaid they had acted in diminution of his
ory; and King *Charles*, That they had not yielded
n the Honour that was due to his Flag. The Prince

1672. of *Orange* had not yet been admitted to be Stadtholder in *Holland* as his Anceſtors had been; *De Witt* and his Party governed all there at their pleaſure, and the *French* had all this time been lulling of them into Security, while they corrupted one *Mombas* a *French* Man and an Officer in the *Dutch* Service, to betray all he could learn or diſcern to *France*; and one *Deroches* a Captain in the Prince of *Conde*'s Guards, and a Kinſman of *Mombas*'s, prevailed with him the Winter before the War broke out, to take a Journey privately into *France*, fully to inform the King of the State of Affairs in *Holland*, and to receive farther Inſtructions from him.

French *make War upon the* Dutch.

The *Dutch* by this time being mightily alarmed at the vaſt Preparations of War made in *France*, and the March of their Troops, put *Bois le duc*, *Nuſden* and *Lillo*, tho at a great diſtance, under Water; but they might have ſaved themſelves that Trouble, for the Blow was to fall another way: For the *French* King in perſon advancing towards *Maeſtritch*, and having provided all the ſmall Places round it (which the *Dutch* had deſerted for the better reinforcing of that important Place) with good Gariſons, he directed his March towards the *Rhine*, where having divided his numerous Forces into four ſeveral Bodies, he ordered *Orſoy*, *Weſel*, *Rhineburg*, and *Burick* to be beſieged all at once; but tho they were all Frontier Places, and not very ill provided, yet they made ſo feeble a Reſiſtance, that the *French* forced them to ſurrender within four or five days. *Rhineburg*, where the King himſelf was, ſurrendred without firing a Cannon; the Duke of *Orleans* was forced for a few hours to make uſe of his Artillery before *Orſoy*, for which the King, to terrify the reſt that ſhould refuſe to ſurrender at his Summons, ordered both Officers and Soldiers to be made Priſoners of War. *Burick* was but a days work for *Turenne*, and *Weſel* ſurrendred at diſcretion to *Conde*, ſoon after he had made himſelf Maſter of a certain Fort which commanded the Place. *Rees* was ſo terrified hereat, that it did not hold out above two Days, tho 'tis certain its Fortifications at that time were as compleat and regular as any in *Europe*. *Emmerick* was as ſoon ſurrendred as beſieged, and *Duis-*

Their Succeſſes.

burg

n gave the *French* no more trouble than to ſend a 1672.
gade thither to take poſſeſſion of it; nay five or ſix
ces more opened their Gates at the approach of the
emy without the leaſt Formalities of a Capitulation.
this being done within the ſpace of eight days, the
ench King was for improving the Conſternation the
ople were under to his own Advantage, and puſhing
his Fortune with the utmoſt Vigour; his firſt Reſo-
ion was to beſiege *Nimeguen*, and at the ſame time
force the Prince of *Orange* in his Intrenchments.
is young Prince (ſays a *French* Hiſtorian) the only
ff-ſpring and true Heir of all the vaſt Poſſeſſions and
ble Qualifications of thoſe great Men of the ſame
me (his Anceſtors) who laid the firſt Foundation
this Commonwealth, lay intrenched near the
nks of the *Yſſel*, with an Army of about five and
enty thouſand Men; but both theſe Deſigns being
t to be put in execution without the hazard of a great
ny Men, and the Loſs of much time, the Reſolution
s changed, and the Army ordered to march towards
e Iſle of *Betow*, with an Intention to try whether
ey might not thereabouts find a convenient Paſſage
er the *Rhine*.

The Waters of the *Rhine* were very low at that
ſon by reaſon of the extreme Heats, and that there
d not fallen any Rain for a conſiderable time before,
that notwithſtanding its Depth at other times it
med then to be fordable. Now two Gentlemen liv-
g in the Neighbourhood of *Tolhuis*, coming at this
ne to the Prince of *Conde*, and promiſing to ſhew
m a Paſſage over the *Rhine*, where there were but
hundred paces to ſwim over; *Conde* hereupon ſent
e Count *de Guiche* with two Men to make the Expe-
ment, where plunging into the Water oppoſite to *Tol-*
is, the Count followed them, and found the Information
ue: Hereupon *Conde* acquainting the *French* King
erewith, he went that night and ſupped with the
rince, and ordered his Army to march towards the
hine, where they arrived about half an hour before
ay-light. The Prince of *Orange*, who in this Ex-
gency of the *Dutch* Affairs was allowed to command
e Army, not knowing the Man, ſent the traitorous
Nombas to guard the Paſſage over the *Rhine* with a

1672. Body of Horſe and Foot, thoſe of the *Yſſel* being already ſecured; but *Mombas* inſtead of doing his Duty, and foreſeeing the Diſadvantage that would accrue to the *French* by it, wrote to ſome of the Deputies of the States, that there was no Likelihood of the *French* paſſing the *Rhine*, but if they pleaſed he would throw himſelf into *Nimeguen*, whither he believed they bent their March; and this was agreed to by them. The Prince at that time was gone out of the Camp with a Detachment, and upon his Return was ſurprized hereat, and therefore forthwith detached *Wartz* with ſome Troops to *Tolhuis*, to intrench himſelf there; but tho he made all the haſt he could, yet the *French* appeared now on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, which made him intrench his Infantry, and cauſe the Cavalry to advance along the Banks of that River. Hereupon the *French* King cauſed his Cannon to play upon them, from which endeavouring to ſhelter themſelves among the Trees, the *French* had an Opportunity to paſs the River, tho ſome of them were drowned; and here the *Dutch* Cavalry inſtead of preſſing vigorouſly upon them, halted and fired at ſo great a diſtance that they could do no Execution; ſo that they had an Opportunity to form their Squadrons, and be farther reinforced from the other ſide. Now the Foot being divided from the Horſe, and diſcouraged by their baſe Cowardice, and not having time to intrench themſelves ſufficiently, demanded quarter, which the Prince of *Conde* granted them, in caſe they laid down their Arms; but the Duke of *Longueville* his Nephew being ignorant of it, advanced to the Brink of the *Dutch* Retrenchment and fired his Piſtol, whereupon the *Dutch* diſcharged a whole Volley of Shot upon the Enemy, killed a conſiderable Number of them, of which young *Longueville* was one, and there were many wounded, among whom we may reckon the Duke of *Coſlin*, to ſay nothing of *Conde* himſelf being hurt in the Hand. The *French* hereupon ſtormed the Retrenchments wherein they found ſome Reſiſtance, and put all therein to the Sword, except thoſe who eſcaped by flight. Then they took and plundered the Caſtle of *Tolhuis*, and put the Iſle of *Betaw* under Contribution.

French *paſs the* Rhine *at* Tolhuis.

The

The Diſaſter of the *Dutch* ended not here, for 1672.
heir Forces which guarded the *Iſſel*, fearing the Ene-
y would fall upon them behind, left their Poſts, and
e Paſſage free to the *French*; ſo that *Doesburg* and
rnheim did not hold out above twenty four Hours
ter the opening of the Trenches: *Shenckenſcans*, ſo
mous both for its Strength and Situation, and the
ng and various Attacks it had ſo bravely ſuſtained at
her times, ſurrendred before the opening of the
renches; *Woeren* and *St. Andrew* did the ſame:
he City of *Utrecht*, tho ſecured by ſeveral Places
f good Strength, ſent her Keys to the victorious
nemy at a good diſtance; nay all the Places in the
etaw followed their Example, and there were very
w Cities upon the *Rhine*, *Waal*, *Meuſe*, and the
ſſel, but what readily opened their Gates and recei-
ed Safeguards; nay in the Province of *Holland* it ſelf
e Cities of *Oudewater*, *Voerden*, and *Narden* were
ken, and *Amſterdam* it ſelf that potent City was
pon the Point of capitulating, and notwithſtanding
l the brave Efforts of ſome of the Magiſtrates,
ould in all human probability have been forced to
bmit, if the Marqueſs of *Rochfort* who commanded in
he moſt advanced Quarters of the *French* had not neg-
ected to intrench himſelf immediately at *Muyden*, from
hence he might have battered all the Ships going to
Amſterdam; and this, under the Divine Providence, with
he Firmneſs and Conſtancy of the Prince of *Orange*,
nd the Revolution that now hapned in *Holland*, by the
Mob's ſacrificing the *De Witts*, making *Fagel* Penſiona-
y, and reſtoring the Prince to the Stadtholderſhip of
he Country, ſaved it from falling into the Hands of
rance.

In the mean time the Duke of *Luxemburg* having
ith a conſiderable Body of Troops joined the Forces
f *Munſter*, they conquered another Province; for
aving put Safeguards into ſeven or eight ſmall Places,
hey beſieged *Groll*, which ſurrendred without ma-
ing any Reſiſtance: Then they attack'd *Deventer*,
hich was alſo ſoon forced to capitulate, and their
xample was followed by *Zwoll*, *Campen*, and gene-
ally all other Places in the Province of *Overyſſel*.
The *French* would now have play'd another game,
which

1672. which was to perſwade the Prince of *Orange* to aſſume the Sovereignty of the United Provinces under the protection of *England*; but the Prince generouſly refuſing that, and being withal the Nephew of the King of *England*, who could not but be pleaſed to ſee him Stadtholder, to which if we add that the *Engliſh* got nothing but Blows at Sea, wherein their Confederate did them little or no Service, while the *French* got all by Land, as alſo that the People of *England* in general had an Averſion to this War, which ſeemed to have been contrived on purpoſe for the Ruin of the Proteſtant Religion; King *Charles* was induced to ſend the Duke of *Buckingham*; my Lords *Arlington* and *Hallifax* to the *French* King then at *Utrecht*, and being come into *Holland* were informed of the *French* Deſigns, who now appeared barefac'd enough, and ſaid, That the King of *England* might treat as he pleaſed, but that what the *French* King had got was his own, and what he ſhould farther acquire he would not reſtore without an Equivalent. This made our Plenipotentiaries outrageous for the preſent, and in this humour going to the Prince of *Orange*, they promiſed no leſs than to burn or maſter the *French* Fleet, and engaged to their utmoſt to bring the *French* King to be ſatisfied with *Maeſtritch*, and in keeping Gariſons in the Towns upon the *Rhine* belonging to the Electors of *Brandenburg* and *Cologn*. Two of theſe proceeding to the *French* Court at *Utrecht*, there the *French* Air ſo changed their Minds, that in about four days they ſent the Prince word, That *the States muſt give Satisfaction to both Kings jointly, and that neither of them would treat ſeparately.* Hereupon the Prince deſiring to know what the Kings joint and reſpective Demands were, and the new Agreement made by them ſo contrary to their Promiſes, that worthy and honeſt Statesman Mr. Secretary *Trevor* made the following Queries upon this Procedure, which may be properly enough inſerted in this Place.

Trevor's *Queries.*

1. Whether theſe Ambaſſadors were ſent to promote the *French* Intereſt? If not, why by making the Peace impoſſible as far as in them lay, would they force the *Dutch* to ſubmit to the *French* Dominions?

2. Whe-

2. Whether they did not know that the *French* De- 1672.
ands alone had been rejected by the States, and that
e granting of them would make it impoſſible for the
utch to give King *Charles* any Satisfaction?

3. Whether having received from the Prince and
ates all imaginable Aſſurances of their Deſigns to re-
rn to the King's Amity, and to purchaſe it at any
te they could, they could faithfully neglect theſe,
d enter into new Engagements ſo prejudicial to *Eng-*
nd?

4. How far thoſe who were joined in Commiſſion
d concur in their Judgments; and whether theſe
onſiderations with many others were not repreſent-
to them, and urged by ſome who deſired to ſerve
e King faithfully?

5. Whether or no it was for that reaſon that they
fiercely oppoſed my Lord Viſcount *Halliſax* (who
me a day or two after them) his appearing and act-
g jointly with them, tho in the ſame Commiſſion,
as ample a manner as themſelves?

6. Who were thoſe, who after my Lord *Halliſax*
uld be kept out no longer, went privately to the
rench Camp under pretences, and had Negotiations
their own on foot?

7. Whether they had Orders to call the *French*
ing, *King of* France, and to name him before their
Maſter, as well in the *French* Demands, as thoſe of
is Majeſty's, in all their Agreements which they ſent
o the Prince of *Orange?*

8. Whether they had Inſtructions to ſtand in be-
alf of the *French* upon the publick Exerciſe of the
Roman Catholick Religion in the United Provinces;
he Churches to be divided to the *Roman* Prieſts to be
aintained out of the publick Revenue, and to bind
King *Charles*'s Hands ſo as that the *French* King might
e ſure of his Bargain? Two of theſe Plenipotentia-
ies agreed with the *French*, that the King ſhould not
reat nor conclude a Peace with the *Dutch* without
hem.

Indeed the Propoſals of Peace made by the two
Kings were looked upon by the *Dutch* as ſo extravagant
nd intolerable, that they bravely reſolved rather to
ury themſelves in their own Ruin, than purchaſe the

Peace

1672. Peace at ſuch a rate. Being therefore reduced to that Extremity, they had recourſe to their Sluices and Dikes, which they opened and broke in many Places, and put the Country under Water, to ſerve as a Barricado againſt their cruel Enemies. This and other things began to put the *French* King out of humour; wherefore leaving his Army under the Duke of *Luxemburg*, with Orders to take the Opportunity of the approaching Winter to puſh on his Conqueſts under the favour of the Froſt and Ice, he returned into *France*.

1673. The *Dutch* now taking freſh Courage laid Siege to *Voerden*, but being not able for the preſent to carry it, they were very aſſiduous to bring in ſome Confederate Princes for their Support; and the firſt that appeared concerned for their Preſervation, was the ever-famous *Frederick William* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*; and the Parliament of *England* being now ſate, the Commons not at all liking the late Meaſures taken for the Ruin of *Holland*, voted that the Alliance with *France* was a Grievance, and that the evil Council about the King was a Grievance to the Nation. This ſo alarmed thoſe who had been the Inſtruments of this Union of Intereſts between *France* and *England*, that they appeared now to be the forwardeſt to promote a Peace with *Holland*; which tho happily effected, yet the Prince of *Orange* failing to take *Charleroy*, the *French* in the mean time laid Siege to *Maſtrich*; the taking of which, notwithſtanding all their Bravadoes, may be very juſtly attributed to the *Engliſh* Troops then in their Service. But theſe being recalled upon making the forementioned Peace with *Holland*, the ſame was very illy performed.

French *take* Maeſtrich.

The *French* flattered themſelves that the taking of *Maeſtrich* would in all likelihood have been followed by the Conqueſt of *Bois le duc*, and all the other Places the *Dutch* had in *Brabant*; but a Storm began to gather on the *German* Side that wrought them ſome Diverſion; to prevent which the *French* King took care to ſecure *Colmar* and *Schleſtadt* in his Intereſt, where it was believed the Imperialiſts had a ſecret Correſpondence; and having obliged *Strasburg* to a Neutrality, he poſſeſt himſelf of *Treves*. But the Empe-

ror

r and *Spain* having by this time entred into a Con- 1673.
deracy with the *Dutch*, the firſt of them brought a
ood Body of Troops to the *Rhine*, and in ſpite of
urenne, the Prince of *Orange* after his glorious Con-
neſt of *Narden*, having joined the *Imperial* General *P. of O-*
Montecuculi, they with united Forces laid ſiege to *range*
on, and having moſt vigorouſly attacked and carried *takes Nar-*
at important Place, they thereby in a very great *den, &c.*
eaſure cut off the Communication between *France*
d *Holland*, whereby the *French* were not only forc'd
quit their conquer'd Towns by heaps, but there was a
aſſage opened for the *Imperial* Forces to join the *Dutch*
d *Spaniards*. Things being in this Poſture, and the
eace concluded with *England* and *Holland*, the *Ger-*
an Princes began to declare themſelves. Indeed *Ba-*
aria and *Hanover* continued neutral; but the Elec-
rs of *Saxony*, *Mentz*, *Treves* and *Palatine*, as well
the Lantgraves of *Heſſe*, and Princes of *Baden*,
ith moſt of the Circles, immediately took Arms in
vour of the Alliance. *Cologn* and *Munſter* alſo for-
ok the *French*, and went to the other ſide; and tho
e King of *Denmark*, Dukes of *Brunſwick*, and the
lector of *Brandenburg* (which laſt had made ſome
rt of Accommodation a little before with *France*)
d not immediately declare, yet they all engaged in
e Alliance from that time, and promiſed to put them-
lves in a Poſture of aſſiſting and promoting the com-
on Cauſe.

In the mean time there were ſome Negotiations of *Treaty of*
eace ſet on foot, and the King of *Sweden*'s Mediation Cologn.
eing accepted of, the ſeveral Parties ſent their Pleni-
otentiaries to *Cologn*. The Conferences were frequent-
interrupted by ſeveral Accidents, and new Difficul-
es, which aroſe from time to time, The States of
Holland applied themſelves to it with great Aſſiduity;
t the Emperor having cauſed Prince *William* of *Fur-*
emburg (ſince made a Cardinal) to be ſeized with his
ffects, as being in the Intereſt of *France*, and carried
riſoner to *Vienna*, this was made uſe of as a Pretence
break off the Treaty, and both ſides renewed their
reparations with more vigour than ever for the proſe-
ting of the War; and one of the Conſequences of
was the *French* King's engaging the *Swede* on his
ſide,

1673. ſide, and to fall without any Declaration of War upon th
Territories of the Elector of *Brandenburg* in *Pomerania*.

Now while the Allies were concerting their Mea-
1674. ſures againſt the common Enemy, the *French* Kin
cunningly laid a Deſign once more to make himſe
Maſter of the *Franche Comte*, thereby to cover hi
Frontiers. Indeed when the *Spaniards* had come int
the War, he propoſed a Neutrality for that Province
and the *Swiſs*, who were jealous of the Neighbourhoo
of the *French*, did all they could to ſecond it: Bu
this Offer being rejected by the Allies, and the Canton
won over by the *French* Intrigues, pretended to b
exaſperated at their refuſal, and not only gave thei
Conſent for the *French* King to attempt the Reductio
of it, but even denied Paſſage for thoſe Troops th
were intended for its Relief. Accordingly the Kin
having ordered his Troops to march into the *Franch*
Comte, they even in *February* made themſelves Maſter
of *Gray* and *Veſoul*, beſides a great many other ſma
Places. He ſome time after went thither in Perſon,
French *conquer* Franche Comte. and the firſt thing that was undertaken was the Sieg
of *Bezanſon*, which after the Outworks were taken
capitulated. Then they attacked *Dole*, whoſe Fortifi
cations not being quite finiſhed, it did not hold out a
bove nine Days: *Salines* defended it ſelf ſeven Days
and the ſtrong Caſtle of *St. Anne* beat a Parley a
ſoon as a Battery erected upon vaſt wooden Piles be
gan to play againſt it.

After the Conqueſt of this Province, the King di
The Conſpiracy of the Chevalier de Roan. vided his Army, one part whereof he ſent into *Ger*
many to reinforce *Turenne*, and the greateſt part int
Flanders to join the Army commanded by the Prince o
Conde. Then he returned into *France*, to ſuppre
ſome Cabals by his Preſence, which it was ſuſpected
had been ſet on foot by the Allies in ſome of the Mari
time Provinces; and more particularly it was alledg
ed that the *Chevalier de Roan* had taken upon him t
treat with the *Spaniards*, and promiſed to give ſom
Place up to them upon the Coaſt of *Normandy*. Thi
Perſon, who had neither Judgment, Eſtate, Friends no
Intelligences, perhaps had no other deſign than to dra
ſome Money out of the *Spaniards*, without troublin
himſelf about making good his Promiſes. *Labrea*
mon

nt, a *Norman* Gentleman, and his Accomplice, had much better Head than he, but had not Power enough for the executing of ſo great an Enterprize. *Preaux* and the Marqueſs of *Villars* were of number of the Conſpirators, and a School-after born a Subject to the King of *Spain*, but tled at *Paris*, was the Agent of this Cabal, and Perſon that carried Letters and Intelligences from e to another. It was reported that this Deſign was t diſcovered till after the Battel of *Seneff*, and that *French* having there taken the Baggage of the Count *Monteri*, Governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, ey found amongſt his Papers ſome Memorials that ve light to it; but they had Informations another y, and this Report was only raiſed to cover the telligence which the Court kept with ſome of the unt's Confidents. However it were, the Conſpira-rs were taken, *Labreaumont* was killed in the Re-tance he made againſt the Guards that came to take m, and it was believed they might have learned ny Secrets from him, could they have but taken him ve with the reſt. Theſe four Conſpirators were ecuted, but nothing more could be got out of them n the bare Confeſſion of their Crimes; and the *ench* Popiſh Clergy omitted not to make uſe of the pportunity to render the Reformed's Fidelity ſuſpi-us to the Court; but this had not the Effect they poſed by it. 1674.

We muſt return again into the Field, and come w to the famous Battel of *Seneff*, where the Confe-rate Army in *Flanders* under the Command of the ince of *Orange*, advanced towards the Prince of *nde*, who was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that they d not judg it adviſable to attack him, but decamp-. The *Germans* commanded by the General *de uches* had the Vanguard; the main Battel was made of the *Dutch* Forces under the Command of the ince of *Orange*, and the *Spaniards* under the Count *Monteri* had the inner Guard, being covered in ir March by a Body of five thouſand Horſe de-ched from the ſeveral Bodies of the three Nations. ow *Conde* being informed that in their March they re to paſs ſeveral Lanes, and rightly judging, that by *Battel of* Seneff.

1674. by that Inconveniency they muſt march at ſuch a di-
ſtance, as not to be able to ſecond one another tim-
enough in caſe of an Attack, he ſuffered the *Imperi-*
liſts and *Dutch* to paſs thoſe Defiles unmoleſted, bu-
fell ſo furiouſly upon the *Spaniards*, that he routed them
took many Standards and Colours, and a great many
Priſoners, among whom were ſome of Quality: But h-
Highneſs not being contented with this Succeſs, ha-
like to have ſpoiled all; for he afterwards attacked th-
main Body, and had likewiſe diſordered them; bu-
the *Imperialiſts* having found means to come to their Re-
lief, they rallied, and the Prince of *Orange* with th-
other Generals having dexterouſly drawn their ſeveral
Bodies in good Order of Battel, upon an Eminence
that was covered with Buſhes, Hedges and Ditches,
and planted Cannon on all the Avenues, the Face of A-
fairs began to change, and the Fight was renewed wi-
greater Fury and Obſtinacy than before. The En-
gagement laſted from Noon till Night, and the Slaugh-
ter did not ceaſe on both ſides till Moon-light abou-
ten or eleven at night. Both ſides claimed the Victo-
ry at preſent; but 'tis certain the Confederates kep-
the Ground, and were laſt upon the Place of Battel.
The Confederates did not take as many Priſoners a-
the *French*, neither were they generally ſo great
Quality; but the *French* loſt abundance of brave Me-
in the Action, and allowed themſelves that they m-
have about 6000 ſlain to about 7000 of the Confede-
rates, whereas the latter made their own leſs than t-
others; ſo that upon a modeſt Computation the-
muſt be no great difference between them; and it w-
in thoſe times not without good reaſon aſſerted, th-
there fell this day on both ſides no leſs than twen-
thouſand Men.

The Confederates about a month after laid ſiege t-
Oudenard; but upon the Approach of *Conde* thoug-
fit to raiſe it. In the mean while another Army co-
poſed of *Dutch* Troops, and joined by ſome *Br-*
denburgers, were engaged in the Siege of *Grave*,
Place very conſiderable for its Strength, and was
that time extremely well provided with Ammuniti-
Artillery, a numerous Gariſon, and in a word, w-
the Place where the *French* had all their Stores laid

Siege of Grave.

Mar-

ny Attacks were made upon its Out-works with no 1674.
ry great Succeſs; and the Beſieged made continual
llies, nailed up ſome Cannon, filled their Trenches,
led divers Men, and took ſome Priſoners. The
nce of *Orange* being informed of all the Paſſages
d Adventures that happened, and fully reſolved to
ry this moſt important Place whatever it coſt him,
rched with a Body of about 10000 freſh Men to re-
orce the Beſiegers, and plied the Beſieged with ſo
ch Fury, Courage and Conduct, that the Marqueſs
Chamilly the Governour having, as they gave out,
eived Orders from the *French* King to capitulate,
s forced to give up the Place to the victorious Prince,
it coſt the *Dutch* pretty dear: However, it was a
y glorious Conqueſt, and in a manner totally expel-
the *French* out of the *United Provinces*.

Having brought the Campagn to a Concluſion on this
, we paſs now into *Germany*, where Mareſchal *Tu-*
ne commanded for the *French*, and who after he
prevented the Duke of *Lorain* from paſſing the
ine, had Orders, if poſſible, to hinder his Conjun-
n with a Body of *Imperialiſts* commanded by Count
rara. Purſuant to theſe Orders, he marched three
ys and three Nights without intermiſſion, and on
fourth came in ſight of the Enemy, who were
wn up upon a riſing Ground, that had a ſmall
wn in Front, which *Turenne* quickly poſſeſt himſelf
and then attacking the Duke of *Lorain* with very *Campagn*
at Fury, there hapned a moſt bloody and obſtinate *on the*
ht of eight Hours long between them, and then Rhine.
ain retreated. About three weeks after, the Prince
Bourneville General of the *Imperial* Forces having
h a Body of ſeven or eight thouſand Men joined
Confederate Army, *Turenne* paſſed the *Nekar* near
lenburg, fell upon their Rear, and put their Foot to
Rout; whereas the Horſe did not ſtand at all, but
even as far as *Francfort*, and ſo diſperſed, that
were not eaſily brought together again. However,
Army being at length reinforced with the Troops
divers Princes, they made together about 35000
n commanded by five Generals independent of one
ther, and ſo ill agreeing in the undertaking of any
erprize, and withal ſo irreſolute, that *Turenne* had

1674. not only time to be reinforced, but attacked and de-
feated them at *Sutſheimon* the fourth of *October*; and
the *French* will have it, that he forced them to quit
the Field with the loſs of 3000 Men, ten Pieces of
Cannon, and thirty Colours and Standards. Then he
took *Hagenau* and *Saverne*; but the Confederates be-
ing again reinforced by the *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburg*
Troops, and making together a very conſiderable Ar-
my, marched directly into the upper *Alſatia*, with an
intention to take up their Winter-Quarters in that
Country, and from thence in the Spring to march ei-
ther into *Lorain* or the *Franche Comte*, where whe-
they had lived at diſcretion, and but in too much Se-
curity, *Turenne* being reinforced from *Flanders*, in the
Month even of *December*, inſtead of taking the direct
Road, marched thro *Lorain*, and having traverſed the
Mountains without any other Obſtacle than what pro-
ceeded from the natural Situation of thoſe Hills, and the
Inconveniences of a far advanced Seaſon, he entred the
Plains, and quickly routed the ſecure Enemy's Cavalry
without in a manner any Reſiſtance; who being ſome
what recovered from their firſt Conſternation, they re-
ſolved to ſtand the Brunt at a Place called *Turkheim*,
but they were not willing to ſtand there long neither,
1675. and therefore having on the 11*th* of *January* the
Year repaſſed the *Rhine*, they found they had do
little or nothing the whole Campagn, but one way o
another loſt above half their number.

There was but very little intermiſſion of Action
one Quarter or another, between the *French* and Co
federates. The laſt Actions you find on the *Rhine* con
tinued to, and began the new Year; and as great Pre
parations were making on the Confederates ſide in the
Netherlands, where the *French* were not behind, but
rather before-hand with them; for having in the Spring
ordered the Sieges of *Dinant* and *Huy*, after the Re
duction of theſe two Places, the firſt by the Mareſchal
de Crequi, and the other by the Mareſchal *de Roch
fort*, the City of *Limburg* the Capital of the Provin
of the ſame Name, was immediately beſieged by *Hen
ry* Duke of *Enghien* the now Prince of *Conde*, who
forced it to ſurrender within 8 Days after. Indeed the
Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa* ma
ch

hed to the Relief of it, but coming too late, they 1673.
ook care to conſume all the Forage in *Brabant*.

We meet with little elſe of moment this whole ampagn in the *Netherlands*; but for the Affairs of *ermany*, as we may ſay there had been the laſt Camgn as many Factions as there had been Generals aong the Confederates, things appeared now with ite another face; for the whole Army was commandd by the Count of *Montecuculi*, an old experienced eneral, and ſaid to have been the Maſter of *Turenne*: ut however that were, the Mareſchal commanded e *French* Army in thoſe Parts now againſt him, and d the Dexterity to paſs the *Rhine* almoſt in ſight of e Confederate Army; but not ſatisfied with that, he ew ſo near, and ſettled his Poſts ſo well, that it ould be difficult for them to march off without comg to Blows: In order to which he went out of the amp the 27*th* of *July*, to review a certain Piece of round, where he intended to raiſe a Battery, the tter to annoy the Enemy; who being aware of it, d ſuppoſing, according to the Account given by ſome rſons, that upon *Montecuculi*'s withdrawing ſome en he had there, the Mareſchal would neceſſarily go Perſon to view the Ground; his old Maſter cauſed me Cannon to bear directly upon it, and the Gunr was ſo fortunate as to hit *Turenne* with a Cannon- Turenne
ll full upon the Breaſt, which immediately laid him *ſlain.*
ad upon the Ground. Thus fell the Great and Faous Mareſchal *de Turenne*, who may be juſtly rank'd ongſt the famous Captains of the World, a great litician, equally modeſt, and agreeable in Converion, a Man that deſpiſed Riches, an Enemy to ide, was ever forward in doing all the good he ld, and never known to do harm to any, his Paſns being directed to glorious Actions, and the only emiſh of his Life was his changing his Religion, and Misfortune to have it thus cut off, without an Optunity of fighting for it. And here give me leave obſerve by the way, that as the *French* upon all occans magnified the Fidelity of their Troops in theſe mes, this Brave Man had other Sentiments in geral of them, as appears by his laſt Diſcourſe to the *ench* King concerning them, ſaying, *You think you*

1675. *have Armies, but you have none; the one half of the Officers are the Bawdy-house Companions of Monſieur* de . . . . *or the Creatures of his Whore Madam* de . . . . *The other half may be Men of Experience, and fit for their Imployments; but they are ſuch as would be pleaſed with nothing more than to ſee you loſe two or three Battels, that coming to ſtand in need of them, you might cauſe them to be better uſed by your Miniſters than of late they have been.*

The Brave Mareſchal died without any Children, and his Nephew the Count, now Duke *de Lorge*, taking upon him the Command of the Army immediately upon his Deceaſe, repaſſed the *Rhine*, and in his Retreat was vigorouſly attacked in the Rear by the Confederates, and loſt a great many Men; and indeed, by the confeſſion of moſt impartial Perſons, his whole Army had very probably been loſt, had it not been for the bold Stands made by two *Engliſh* Regiments yet in their Service, by which they gained immortal Honour. However, the *French* Army being now reduced to a very ill condition, the King ordered the Prince of *Conde* to poſt in all haſte to the *Rhine*, and having prevented *Montecuculi* from taking *Hagenau* and *Savern*, the *Imperialiſts* repaſs'd the *Rhine* for their Winter-Quarters.

Siege of Treves. But the Dukes of *Zell* and *Lorain* had much better Succeſs in the Siege of *Treves*; for theſe Princes being advertis'd that the Mareſchal *de Crequi* was marching up with his Army to the Relief of the Place, left a good Body of Troops to guard the Trenches, and marching out to meet him, they fell furiouſly on; and his Infantry which did but poorly reſiſt, being very ill ſeconded by his Cavalry, he was utterly defeated and baſely abandoned by his whole Army, which diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that he himſelf with three more only, were forced to ſhelter themſelves in an adjacent Wood, from whence he found a way to get into *Treves*, which he defended for three Weeks with much Bravery againſt his victorious Enemy, and would not hearken to any Propoſals of Surrender, tho all the Outworks were taken, and that there were ſeveral large Breaches made in the Walls of the Place; but the Gariſon headed by ſome Officers, were ſo exaſperate-

Crequi defeated.

erated at it, that they reſolved to capitulate without 1675.
im, and ſurrendred him and all the other of the
rench Officers to the Allies, while the common Sol-
iers being obliged to leave their Arms behind them,
ere allowed to march out only with white Wands in
heir Hands.

The Popiſh Clergy in *France* were all this while
rojecting one thing or another againſt the Reformed,
t which they ſeveral times took the Alarm; but by the
bſence of their Procurator General the Marqueſs of
uvigny in *England*, they could have little or no Ac-
eſs to Court: However, the Continuance of the War
eemed to be a Favour to them, and things being not
et ripe for their Ruin, we ſhall proceed to another 1676.
ear, wherein we find the Treaty of Peace begun at
Nimeguen in *July* by the Mediation of *Charles* II.
ing of *England*, moved but with a very ſlow
ace; and therefore we ſhall come to the Affairs of
he Campagn, where we find the Town of *Conde*, block'd
p by the Mareſchal *de Crequi*, was ſurrendred upon
iſcretion upon the 26*th* of *April*. *Bouchain* followed
he ſame Example on the 11*th* of *May*, and the Ma-
eſchal *de Humieres* having ſat down before *Aire*, he
ecame Maſter of it in five days, and then attacked
e Fort of *Link*, which ſoon followed the Example of
Aire. On the other hand, the Confederates, not to *Siege of*
e wanting to themſelves, reſolved upon ſome notable Maeſtritch
ction, where the Prince of *Orange*, in concert with
he *Spaniards* and *German* Princes near the lower
hine, about the end of *July* laid Siege to *Maeſtritch*,
he only Town of the *Dutch* Provinces remaining in
he hands of the *French*, of all their Conqueſts during
he Courſe of this War. The Place was very ſtrong
efore, and much better fortified now, and had be-
ides a Gariſon of 8000 Men in it under a daring Com-
ander Monſieur *Calvo*. The Siege was carried on
ith much Bravery for three Weeks together, and
he general Belief was it would be taken at laſt; but
cruel Sickneſs falling into the Army at this time,
his weakened them more than all the Aſſaults they
ad given to the Town, which, together with the
low *Germans* not coming up with the Supplies they
ad promiſed, and upon which Aſſurance the Siege had

1676. been undertaken, and the Rhinegrave, who was next to the Prince, hapning to die of his Wounds, all unfortunately concurred to dishearten the Army very much, and the Siege grew very faint, which gave Marechal *Schomberg* Incouragement to march thro the Heart of the *Spanish Netherlands* to the Relief of it, and upon whose approach the Confederates thought it best to decamp, with which the Campagn ended in the *Dutch* and *Spanish* Provinces.

However, in some measure to counterballance this Disappointment, and to revive the Hopes of the Allies, that the Forces of *Germany* would henceforward be vigorous, and gain some considerable Advantages over the *French*, *Philipsburg* was about the latter end of *September* surrendred to the *Imperial* Army for want of Provision, the same having been blocked up and besieged from the beginning of *June*. The Affairs of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* prospered all this while against *Sweden*, which was in Alliance with *France*; but the *Germans* after all being forced to seek their old Quarters on the *German* side of the *Rhine*, the Confederates, and particularly the *Dutch* began to think seriously of Peace, especially in that they found *France* would make no great difficulty in granting them any thing in contest between them, seeing they privately made Offers by their Emissaries especially at *Amsterdam*, of such a Reglement of Commerce as they themselves could wish for, the Restitution of *Maestritch*, and all the Satisfaction imaginable to the Prince of *Orange*, that he could pretend to upon the account of his Losses, and their Seizure in the Course of this War.

French *lose* Philipsburg.

The States might also appear the more forward for the Peace, because of the Loss and Disgrace they had suffered in the *Straits*: For the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* under the famous *de Ruiter* engaging the *French* Fleet under *du Quesne* near *Sicily*, there ensued a most terrible Engagement between them, till at length the former gave way, and retreated to *Melazzo*, while the *French* entred the Port of *Messina* (that had revolted from the *Spaniards*, and was now in their hands) with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Provision; and when the Confederate Fleet went to block up *Augusta*

Queſne ſailed to ſuccour the Place, and after a 1676.
eadful Fight obliged them to retire to the Haven of
racuſe, where the brave *de Ruyter* died of a Fever De Ruyter
uſed by his Wounds; for the Bones of both his *his Death.*
gs were bruiſed. After this the Duke of *Vivonne*
d *du Queſne* ventur'd out of the Haven of *Meſſina*
th 30 Men of War, 25 Gallies, and nine Fireſhips,
d in ſight of *Palermo* encountred with the Fleets of
lland and *Spain*, and notwithſtanding their ſtout
ſiſtance, burnt twelve of their Ships, and half as
ny Gallies; and this Victory was ſucceeded by the
ing of *Taormina*, *St. Alexis*, *le Croſs*, *Savoca*, and
letta. Then for the Affairs of *Catalonia*, the Duke
Noailles ravaged the Province, and forced the Mar-
eſs of *Seraluo* the Vice-Roy to retire with his Army
o the Towns.

This Year was uſhered in at the Treaty now open'd 1677.
Nimeguen, with the Pretenſions of the ſeveral Par-
s, which not yet looking with any likelihood of an
commodation, eſpecially on the Confederates ſide,
French thought fit to quicken them by blocking up of
mbray and *Valenciennes*; and having provided ſuffici-
t Magazines in the Winter for the Subſiſtence of their
oops, they began to break into *Flanders*, and thoſe
rts of *Germany* that are on the other ſide of the *Rhine*,
h ſuch Devaſtations of burning and deſtroying, as
t only had not been uſed by either Party ſince the
ginning of the War, but ſuch as can hardly be pa-
lel'd in Hiſtory; and yet they ſoftned it with the
me of putting the Frontiers out of a condition to
niſh Proviſions for any great Army, with which
y were threatned from thence. And the Complaints
the Allies to K. *Charles* II. of this new manner of
king War, while a Peace was treating under his Me-
tion, ſignified juſt nothing; for the thing was done,
d their Point gained, which was to prevent the early
arch of the *Germans* into *Alſatia*, that would have
erted the Forces which the *French* would have im-
oyed this Spring in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could
e the Field, and march to the Relief of thoſe
aces which the other intended to attack.

Now *Valenciennes* having been blocked up for ſome Valencien-
e, as above-ſaid, the Trenches were opened before nes *beſieg-*
it *ed.*

1677. it on the 9th of *March*: The *French* King came thi
ther in Perſon, and when the Counterſcarp and tw
Half-moons were taken, the Men, inſtead of makin
a Lodgment, marched croſs thoſe Half-moons, an
attacking a great Crowned Work both in Front an
Flank, they entred in on all hands, killed all befor
them; and having gained the Bridg and ſecond Work
they by a Wicket, which they could not paſs but ſi
gly, made themſelves Maſters of the Town-Gate; ſ
that in about half an hours time, that conſiderabl
Fortreſs fell into the *French* hands, eight days after th
opening of the Trenches. From hence the King wi
a mighty Army marched to *Cambray*, which was b
ſieged and ſurrendred upon Articles in five days tim
tho the Cittadel held out ſome Days longer, while an
ther part of his Forces under the Duke of *Orleans* i
veſted *St. Omers*. Hereupon the Prince of *Oran*
marched with the ſingle Forces of the States, an
without either Troops or ſo much as Guides furniſh
him by the *Spaniards*, directly towards *St. Omer*
bent upon raiſing the Siege with the hazard of a Ba
tel, tho labouring under never ſo many Diſadvantag
for it. This *Orleans* did not decline on his pa
having left a few Troops to defend the Trenches,
marched with the reſt of the Army to meet the Prin
and in the way being reinforced by the Duke of *Luxe*
burg, with all the Troops the *French* King could ſpa
out of his Army, leaving enough behind to contin
the Siege of the Cittadel of *Cambray*, which was n
yet ſurrendred, both the Armies engaged with a gre
Battel of deal of Bravery at *Mount Caſſel*, where after a ſha
Mount Diſpute the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Foot beg
Caſſel. to break and fall into Diſorder; but the Prince ralli
them again ſeveral times, and renewed the Charge
yet he was at laſt bore down by the plain Flight of
Men, and all that ever he could do could not inſpire a
more Courage into them; and therefore being forc
to yield to the Stream that carried him back to th
reſt of his Troops that yet ſtood firm, with them a
ſuch of the reſt as he could gather together, he ma
a Retreat that wanted little of the Honour of a Vict
ry. However the natural Conſequence of this Batt
was the Surrender of *St. Omer* and the Cittadel
Cam

mbray, and a more eager Deſire in the *Dutch* Pro- 1677.
ces after a Concluſion of the Peace.

However *France* obſerving every Motion both of her iends and Enemies, and more particularly the Tem- r of the *Engliſh* Parliament, who were mightily a- med with the Progreſs of her Arms, and had ad- eſſed the King to concert meaſures for the Preſervati- of *Flanders*, had ſo much regard to the Jealouſies iſed both in *England* and *Holland*, of their deſign- g an entire Conqueſt of the reſt of *Flanders*, that e *French* King having gained thoſe three important ontier Towns ſo early in the Spring, and diſperſed s Army into Quarters of Refreſhment, went to *Dun- rk*, from whence he ſent the Duke of *Crequi* to com- ement *Charles* II. and to carry him a Letter, import- g in Subſtance; That tho his Willingneſs to come to Peace did not at all promote the Concluſion of it, t he was ready amidſt the Proſperities wherewith eaven was pleaſed to favour him, to agree to a general ruce for ſome Years, as the ſureſt means for reſto- ng Tranquillity to *Europe*, in caſe his Ally the *Swede* ere of the ſame Mind; and ſeeing he could have no ee Correſpondence with that King, he prayed his *ritannick* Majeſty to inform himſelf of his Intentions, ot doubting but he was ſufficiently perſuaded of the ncere Deſire he had to ſecond the good Offices of his ediation, yea and to contribute all that in him lay r the procuring of a General Peace, tho he might ave ground to expect conſiderable Advantages from is Arms.

Fr. *King's Letter to* K. Charles.

There were various Conſtructions made of this Let- r both in *England* and *Holland*, and little yet done to- ards a Peace; neither was there any deciſive Action the courſe of the reſt of this Campagn, which was nded in *Flanders* by a ſucceſsleſs attempt made by he Prince of *Orange* upon *Charleroy*. And if the *French* n the *German* ſide, thought they had the Advantage y their taking of *Friburg* in *Octob.* by a Feint of *de Crequi*, before Duke *Charles* of *Lorain* could come p to relieve it; the City of *Stetin's* falling into the Hands of the Duke of *Brandenburg* the ſame Month, fter a moſt vigorous Reſiſtance of its Gariſon, left the Scales even as they were before between the two Leagues.

1677. Leagues. However the Marriage of the Prince
Orange with the Lady *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter to t
Duke of *York*; and K. *Charles* having thereupon e
gaged to enter into an Alliance with *Holland* to for
the *French* to a Peace, in caſe they refuſed reaſonab
Terms, made things at preſent look quite with a ne
Face.

But things did not happen according to the Expect
tions of the Confederacy; for if an imaginary Je
louſy in *Holland*, ſince the Prince's Marriage, mad
them very uneaſy amongſt themſelves, and daily mo
and more diſpoſed towards a Peace, the News th
came at this time of the *French*'s taking from them t
Iſland of *Tobago*, with all the Veſſels that were
that Port, as well as their Ammunition in the Fo
there, beſides the Death of *Bink* Admiral of *Zeala*
and the utter ruin of that Colony, did no leſs ſenſibl
1678. affect them. But what was a more formidable Blow th
all the reſt, was the vaſt Progreſs of the *French* Arm
this Spring in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, where they ca
ried all before them without any Oppoſition; for t
wards the end of *Feb.* the *French* King marching at th
head of his Army, and carrying the Queen and Lad
to *Metz*, ſeemed to threaten either *Luxemburgh*, N
mur or *Mons*; but having drawn the *Spaniſh* Forc
that way, he all of a ſudden, and to the no leſs ſu
prize of the *French* themſelves than of the Confed
French take Ghent and Ypre. rates, croſſed the Countries, and in ſo much haſte, th
by the 4th of *March* he ſat down before *Ghent*, whi
by his Orders had been inveſted on the firſt of the ſa
Month; and notwithſtanding the Beſieged cut dow
their Dikes, and drowned part of their Country, y
in a few days time both Town and Cittadel too we
carried, and the Town of *Ypre* ran the ſame Fate b
fore the end of the Month, tho the Gariſon made
brave Reſiſtance. However tho all the Confederat
exaggerated the Importance of theſe Loſſes; yet the
could not excite *England* to any ſpeedy and open D
claration.

French *Terms for a Peace.* The Affairs of the Allies being thus perplex
on all Hands, and the *French* now elated with
much Proſperity, and perhaps fearful leſt *England*
length would fall in with the weight of the Confederac

April made a Publick Declaration of the Terms up- 1678.
which they were reſolved to make a Peace: And
t they inſiſted for full Satisfaction to *Sweden* and
Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*; the Reſtitution of the
nce and Biſhop of *Strasburg*, and of his Brother
nce *William* of *Furſtemburgh*, the keeping of *Fri-*
g, or to have *Philipsburg* in lieu of it; and for what
cerned *Spain*, they were willing to reſtore *Charle-*
Limburg, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*,
ent, and *St. Guillain*, but would retain all the *Franch-*
nte, *Valenciennes*, *Conde*, *Cambray*, *Cambreſis*,
re, *St. Omers*, *Ypre*, *Wernick*, and *Werneton* upon
Lys, *Bauvay*, *Maubeuge*, *Poperingen*, *Bailleul* and
Tel with their Dependancies: *Charlemont* he was
ling to give up for *Dinant* and *Bouvines*; and as to
States General, beſides Advantages in Trade, he
uld give them alſo *Maeſtricht* already mentioned;
t the Terms upon which *Lorain* was offered to be
ored to the Duke of that Name, were ſo cramp'd
ſtinted, that they were not worth that brave
n's Acceptance.

Divers of the Confederates were outrageous at theſe
poſals, and one good thing that befel the *Spaniards*
ut this time, was, that tho the Terms before agreed
between *England* and *Holland*, made the *French*, not-
hſtanding their many Intrigues to ſtave it off, yet
fear it might take effect, they abandon'd *Meſſina* and
their Conqueſts in *Sicily*, and that at a time when
ry body thought the Mareſchal *de Feuillade* had
n ſent to that Kingdom with freſh Forces, upon the
ſign of ſome new Enterprize; whereas indeed he
nt thither to fetch off their Troops, and declared
he Senate the King's Order, and the preſent Neceſ-
of them. But that the *French* might ſtave off the
w feared from *England* if poſſible, they bethought
mſelves of tempting K. *Charles* with Money; for
muſt know Mr. *Montague* the King's Ambaſſador
Paris, after a long Conference with *M. Louvois*, French
his Maſter's Orders, wherein the latter repreſented *offer K.*
him the meaſures that had been already concerted Charles
a Peace upon the *French* Terms in *Holland*, and *Money.*
t ſince they were agreed to there, it was hoped
Britannick Majeſty would not be againſt it; but
that

1678. that however he had Orders to make him a Tende
a large Sum of Money for his Consent, tho a thing
ready accepted of by the *Dutch*, and wherein his
jesty consequently was not concerned; he I say, was
fired to give the then Lord Treasurer an Account of
by a Packet. This Offer K. *Charles* looked upon a
very profitable Proposal, saying, *That since the* Du
would have a Peace upon the French *Terms, and*
France *offered him Money for his Approbation of*
he could not help, he knew no reason why he might not
the Money; and therefore treated about it.

We should have mentioned before, that the 10th
May was the time limited by the *French* Projec
Peace, for the Allies to accept of the Terms or
and to which they appeared positively engaged;
there being a Necessity of somewhat greater C
dence between the *Dutch* and *French* upon this oc
on, lest such a Stiffness might produce that Alterat
in the Face of Affairs at the Expiration of the time,
might prove a Disadvantage to the one or the o
side, *Beverning* sent privately to acquaint the Fr
Ambassadors, that the States did accept of the Ki
Offer; however that he might not alarm the Allie
such a Pace, he gave *d' Avaux* also notice, tha
was very desirous to discourse him by himself, and
that end would fetch a walk alone upon the Ram
of the Town about seven in the Morning, where
met accordingly, and between whom all matters
in a manner fully concluded. The consequence of
was the granting of ten days longer for the *Dut*
endeavour to persuade the Allies to accept of the
ditions proposed, as they had done. In this time
States received a Letter from the *French* King from
Camp at *Deinse*, wherein he made some further Co
sions, and invited them to send Deputies to him
Ghent. The States after four days Consultation,
him an Answer by a Trumpeter, and after having co
mented him upon the Honour he had done them,
desired he would give Credit to *Beverning* dep
their Ambassador Extraordinary, to inform him
desirous they were on their part to give him fres
surances of their sincere Intentions for Peace. *Be*
ning having attended the *French* King accordingly,
ce

d measures so well, that he obtained a Cessation of 1678.
for six Weeks in *Flanders*, that the States might
vour to bring *Spain* to consent to the Peace; and
his Return he told his Masters (whether really
esignedly is a question) that he found the *French*
as well informed of the Condition of his E-
es, and of the Places he might attack, as he was
s own Affairs. *England* in the mean time was
n pretty indifferent in the matter of the Peace,
Spain seemed well inclined to accept her part of it;
he Emperor, *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* fell into
ighest Declarations and Reproaches against the
s that could be well invented; yet they seemed to
t unmoveable, and on the 22*d* of *June* ordered
Plenipotentiaries to sign the Peace before the end
hat Month, and on the same day they wrote a
r to the *French* King by *Lanoy* one of their Offi-
who passed thro their Camp, and delivered ano-
from them to *M. Luxemburg*, whereby they ac-
nted him, that they had given the foresaid Orders
gning the Peace, and at the same time communi-
d to him the sense of the Letter they wrote to the
his Master. But notwithstanding all this Ten-
y both in *Holland* and *Spain* to give the finishing
ke, yet an unforeseen Accident fell out, that had
to have overturned all; for in the Conditions
h the *Dutch* had made for the *French* restoring the
owns in *Flanders* to the *Spaniards*, there was no
cular mention made of the time of that Restituti-
The *Dutch* understanding as well as the *Spaniards*
it was to be upon the Ratification of the Peace with
and *Holland*, whether any other of the Allies on
side were included or no; and the Negotiation had
managed in that manner, till the very day before
Treaty was to be signed, without any apparent
ughts of a clear Explanation of the Points, when
Marquess *de les Balbases*, having found or made
occasion of enquiring more particularly into the
ntions of *France* concerning it, bethought himself
n Explanation as to the time of the Restitution of
said Places: But the *French* Plenipotentiaries mak-
no difficulty of declaring, that the King their Mas-
being obliged to see an entire Restitution made to
the

1678. the *Swedes* of all they had loſt in the War, could
evacuate the Towns in *Flanders*, till thoſe to
Swedes were likewiſe reſtored, and that this Deten
of Places was the only means to induce the Princes
the North to accept of the Peace; and notwithſta
ing all the Remonſtrances made to them by the *D*
they continued ſtedfaſt to this Head, which occaſio
the *Dutch* to conclude a Treaty in *July* with *Engl*
whereby to oblige the *French* to reaſonable Term
Peace, or force them to it by Arms. This was a ho
Stroke to them, and all the Artifice, that could be,
uſed by them to elude it, by drawing the matter in
Treaty, or at leaſt to a greater length, which had
ceeded ſo well in *England*, that they offered to neg
ate about it at *St. Quintin*, and then at *Ghent*, wh
the *French* King himſelf propoſed to meet ſuch Am
ſadors, as the *Dutch* ſhould ſend into either of t
Towns. But the States continuing firm to their Ag
ment with *England*, things were like to have b
ken all to pieces, when the *French* Ambaſſador at
delared to thoſe of *Holland* at *Nimeguen*, that t
had received Orders to evacuate the Towns and
the Peace, but it muſt be done that Morning. T
Dutch heſitated much upon the matter at firſt, and
Ambaſſadors of *Denmark*, *Brandenburg*, and *Mun*
proteſted againſt their ſeparate ſigning; but all
Remonſtrances they could make having at length a
led nothing, the Treaty was actually ſigned on the
of *Aug.* whereby *Maeſtritch* was reſtored to the *Du*
and all ſuch other Conceſſions made them, as t
could reaſonably deſire.

Peace between France and Holland.

In the mean time there was a matter of anot
nature tranſacted in the Field; for you muſt know
Mons had been ſtraitly blocked up for ſome time
the *French* Army under *Luxemburgh*, who was ſo c
fident of the good poſture he was in, that he
word to the Mareſchal *de Eſtrades* at *Nimeguen*, t
he was ſo poſted, that if he had but 10000 men,
the Prince of *Orange* 40000, yet he was ſure he co
not be forced, whereas he took his Army to be ſtr
ger than that of the Prince: But the Prince for
that decamping on the 17*th* of *Aug.* with his own
the Confederate Forces from *Soignes*, reſolved to ma

Battel of St. Dennis.

attack the Duke at *St. Dennis*: And the Cannon a- 1678.
12 began to play upon that Place, and the
ce with the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was now
ed in the Camp, ſent ſome Battalions under *Wal-*
to act on the ſide of the Abbey; and about three
e Afternoon made their Attack with extraordina-
Bravery; all the Regiments in the left Wing ſe-
ling them in admirable Order. In the mean time,
Spaniſh Troops under *Villa Hermoſa* acted on the
of *Chaſteau*, aſſiſted by the Prince's Guards, who
the Van, and the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Troops com-
ded by the brave Earl of *Oſſory*. The Action
ed from three in the Afternoon till nine at
ht, and at laſt after a great Slaughter, the Confe-
tes remained Maſters of *St. Dennis*'s Abbey, ha-
thought fit to quit their Poſt at *Chaſteau*, by rea-
of the great Difficulty they found to ſecond their
cks on that ſide. *Luxemburg* finding how things
t, retired in the Night, leaving his Dead, many
unded, his Tents, *&c.* behind him.

ext day the Prince (who, as ſome ſaid, had the Ar-
s of Peace in his pocket when he engaged, tho o-
s alledg they were concealed by *Villa Hermoſa*) ſent
emburg Advice of the Concluſion of the Peace, at
h not only the *Northern* Confederates much ſtorm'd
o now made all their Efforts to keep *Spain* from
plying with the Terms the *Dutch* had made for
) but *England*, when it was too late, ſeem'd to be re-
in earneſt, and would put the *Dutch* off from the
e, and enter into the Confederacy. But they were all
leſs and unſeaſonable Endeavours: For the *Dutch*
ld not diſavow what their Plenipotentiaries had
e, neither did the *Spaniards* think themſelves in
Condition to put the ſigning of the Peace farther
from them, which was accordingly done on the 17th
September, whereby *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Ou-*
rd, and *Courtray* with all their Dependences were
ored to them; ſo were the City and County of
burg, the Country of *Outremeuſe*, *Ghent*, *Fort*
enhus, Country of *Waes*, and *Leuve*; *St. Gillain*
e raſed, and *Puicerda* in *Catalonia* with all its Depen-
cies to be reſtored: Farther, Fort *Vierport*, Part of the
of *Nieuven Dam*, and the Sluices of *Neuport*
were

Peace between France and Spain.

1678. were to remain to the *Spaniard*: While they quit to the *French* the *Franche Comte*, *Bezanſon*, *Valen ennes*, *Bouchain*, *Conde*, *Cambray*, *Cambreſis*, *A St. Omer*, *Ypre*, *Warwick*, *Warneton*, *Poperinghen*, *B leul*, *Caſſel*, *Bauvay*, *Maubeuge* with their Dependenc

1679. I ſhall not enter into the Particulars of the maining Negotiations at *Nimeguen*, where there much jangling: And after having mentioned the ſigni of the Treaty between *France*, the Emperor, and t Empire, on the 5*th* of *February* this year, where there was nothing very material, but all things put a manner in *ſtatu quo* as before the War; and t at laſt the brave Elector of *Brandenburg* was forc by the Power of *France* to make reſtitution of greateſt part of his Conqueſts to the *Swede*, the oth Ally; I am here to obſerve, that tho the War was chief Subject of the *French* Court's Thoughts, the formed all the while met with many petty Mort cations in order to the final Ruin of them, when T and Opportunity ſhould ſerve: And the *French* K to ſhew his Zeal for Religion, thought fit now to der *Chauvigny* his Reſident at *Geneva* to have M ſaid in his Houſe. Hitherto there had been no ſ thing practiſed in that City, or elſe it had been d ſo ſecretly, that the *Geneveſe* knew nothing of but *Chauvigny* having cauſed this to be done with m noiſe, this made a Commotion in the City, and ſo *Roman* Catholicks who did not belong to the Reſide Family, but went thither to hear Maſs, were ill us and the matter had been much worſe, if the Magiſtr had not prevented the Diſorder, and committed ſo of the Mutineers to Priſon. The *French* King appe ing content with this Reparation, let the Magiſtr know he deſired no more; and his Reſident let the M giſtrate particularly underſtand, as he communicat his Maſter's Intentions to him, that in reſpect to the der he had received, it ſhould appear upon all acco that the King made no pretence to the Sovereig of the City, whoſe Liberty he left entirely to her.

1680. But to leave *Geneva* at this time, and but juſt mention the Popiſh Plot in *England*, which put Nation into a moſt terrible Ferment; and King *Cha* finding himſelf thereupon weak at home, though

n time to make ſome Alliances abroad; and the ra- 1680.
ſince *France* by the late Peace was grown ſo ex-
nely powerful, and in the main had no great reaſon
e ſatisfied with his Conduct, whatever good Mien
y were pleaſed from time to time to put upon it.
therefore ſent Mr. *Sidney*, now Earl of *Romney*,
Holland towards the latter end of the laſt year, to
poſe to the States the making of a Treaty of Gua-
ty for the Peace of *Nimeguen*. *France* moſt induſ-
uſly oppoſed that Alliance, but yet in a covert
nner at firſt, by a Stratagem as odd as it might ſeem
me extravagant; there being a Letter conveyed to
States from an unknown Hand, wherein was repre-
ed at large the ill Poſture thoſe Provinces were fal-
nto, which was the reaſon the neighbouring Princes
not the ſame regard for their Republick as for-
ly; witneſs the Menaces of *Denmark*, *Spain*,
denburg, &c. and that the only way to reſtore the
e to the Condition it was formerly in, was to
r into a ſtrict Alliance with *France*; in purſuance of
ch the *French* King would maintain 50000 Men in
ns, and the States need not keep above 10000 Foot
6000 Horſe and Dragoons in their Pay; that by
means thoſe Provinces would be able to defend
nſelves againſt any whomſoever that ſhould attack
n; that that Alliance ſhould be confirmed every
by mutual Oaths of the *French* Ambaſſador at
Hague, and of the *Dutch* one at *Paris*; and that this
g effected, the Subjects of their Republick ſhould
alone the Trade in that King's Dominions, to the
luſion of all other Nations. This was ſoon after
nded by a Memorial from the *French* Ambaſſador
cerning an Alliance which the King his Maſter offer- French
o enter into with the States, to be founded upon the *propoſe an*
of the Treaty made in 1662. which Offers were *Alliance*
her enforced by repreſenting unto them as well the *with* Hol-
antages that would accrue to them upon their ac- land.
ing, as the Inconveniences that might follow upon
Refuſal of it; and telling them that any Delay
e Affair would be looked upon as a Refuſal, and
his Maſter would regulate himſelf accordingly.
the States taking ſome time to deliberate, and de-
ring upon the matter, received Letters in the mean

1680. while from their Ambaſſadors at *Paris*, import
that being ſent for by M. *Colbert*, and going to h
he had put them in mind of the many Obligations
States had to the King his Maſter, and the partic
Demonſtration he had given them of his Affection,
offering them a Peace in the midſt of his Conque
upon the Terms he did; that he had ſince expe
Overtures from them of a nearer Alliance, but
having been wanting therein, he had himſelf
ſome time paſt made an Offer of the ſame by his
baſſador at the *Hague*; that it had been debated in
Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*, and that the
States had adjourned themſelves without coming to
Reſolution therein; that the King was much ſu
zed to find them make ſo ſmall an account of a
liance which they themſelves had ſought for ſome
before by an Extraordinary Ambaſſador, now the
was offered them; that this Alliance was only d
ſive, which the States could receive no Prejudice
but much Advantage; that his Majeſty underſtood
the King of *England* did oppoſe them, while he
tended himſelf to make an Alliance with them;
that his Majeſty would have great cauſe to be di
fied with the States, if they ſhould refuſe the
tures made by him, and inſtead thereof cloſe
thoſe of the King of *England*; concluding, that
Majeſty (as his Ambaſſador the Count *d'Avaux*
already told them) would take their Delay for a
fuſal; that however he would keep the Peace
them, as a State that did not deſerve to live at good
ty with him, and would not favour their Comm
Mr. *Sidney* in oppoſition to this alledged, That he
not believe the States would ſo far forget their
and the common Intereſts of Chriſtendom, as to a
of them; that the King his Maſter would particu
have cauſe, after their having refuſed the Act of
ranty, which he lately offered to enter into with
for ſecuring their preſent Peace, to reſent thei
tring into any new Engagements with *France*,
ally ſince his Majeſty might have cauſe to be je
that the ſame could have no other end, than to
the *French* King to ſhew his Reſentments of the
his Majeſty had made with the States in 1674. a

1680.

t he did afterwards in order to the procuring a e advantageous Peace for them and their Allies, that which was made at *Nimeguen*; that ſuch a lution in the States would certainly prejudice that t Union and Friendſhip that was eſtabliſhed be- n him and them, and oblige his Majeſty to take r Meaſures; but that his Majeſty for his part ld not only punctually comply with what was ſti- ted and agreed in the defenſive Treaty between *land* and *Holland* in *March* 1678. if they would re- the *French* Alliance, but alſo ſtand by them to the rmoſt if they ſhould be attacked by *France*.

r. *Sidney*'s Addreſs and Diligence in the Proſecu- of this matter was admirable, and ſucceeded ell, that the States determin'd civilly to refuſe Alliance propoſed by *France*. But the *French* King ng declared he was not ſatisfied therewith, his Ambaſſador made another Effort to divert the s from their intended Reſolution; ſhewing that ad received farther Orders from the King his Maſ- o acquaint them, That his Majeſty was extremely niſhed at their manner of proceeding in the matter the Alliance by him propoſed, and highly reſent- ; that he was commanded to tarry ſome days er for their final Reſolutions in that Affair; but afterwards he ſhould ſay no more of it, nor ac- of any Act which they ſhould offer; and that his Majeſty would take ſuch Meaſures as he ght neceſſary for the Good of his Kingdom, and Advantage of his Subjects in their Commerce; M. *Colbert* had told their Ambaſſadors at *Paris*, King his Maſter wondred extremely to find all ons in *Holland* full of Hopes (which their Letters given them) that his Maſter would not depart from Execution of the Peace, and that if they would not r into that Alliance with him, they ſhould only ſuf- me what in their Commerce; that the Senſe of what ad then told them from the King his Maſter, had wrong delivered by them, and worſe interpreted he *Hague*; that his Majeſty did not threaten them his Indignation, but the Diſſatisfaction he had ceived at their Proceedings might perhaps be the aſion of greater Prejudice to them than the In-

1680. dignation of others; and that they would do wel
conſider, what had hapned to them within eight or
Years paſt, the Beginnings of which had been
conſiderable than the juſt Diſſatisfaction which t
preſent Conduct gave the King his Maſter. To o
ate theſe Menaces, Mr. *Sidney* having taken notice
the States of the great Earneſtneſs of the *French*
preſs them into their Alliance, he thought fit to re
his Inſtances to diſſwade them from it; ſaying, That
King his Maſter did not pretend to make uſe of Thre
of which the Memorials of the *French* Ambaſſador w
full, but would leave them wholly to be guided
the Conſideration of their own Intereſts; that his
jeſty was perſwaded, that after the Aſſurances of
ſiſtance he had given them in whatever might happ
they would not enter into any Engagements, which
Majeſty ſhould have cauſe to look upon as intend
againſt him; and that the Inſtances of the *Fre*
King, which were too ſharp and preſſing for a
Republick, would not divert them from their true
tereſt, and the ſtrict Friendſhip that was between
Majeſty and their State, and of which his Maj
had given them ſuch eſſential Proofs.

This done, and Mr. *Sidney* prevailing with
States to enter into a Defenſive Alliance with *Engl*
and refuſe the Offers of *France*; I do not find
French, for all their Big words, attempted to refe
at this time; and perhaps their Thoughts were in
now another way in procuring a Match for the D
phin, and the young Elector of *Bavaria*'s Siſter
pitched upon. To negotiate which, *Colbert* after
manding her, propoſed his Maſter's Aſſiſtance to
the Elector choſen King of the *Romans*, in
he had a mind to be Emperor. But the Miniſters
ſwered, *Their Maſter had no ſuch Ambitious Thoug*
but was very well content with the Eſtates and Honour
poſſeſs'd. The Negotiation of the Mariage howe
went on; and tho the *French* would have it ſtipula
by an Article therein, that in caſe of the Failure of
Heir Male of the Line of *William* Duke of *Bava*
the Succeſſion of the Dukedom ſhould devolve to
Dauphin's Son, by the Princeſs now to be married
him, yet the Miniſters rejecting this alſo, the M

Dauphin marries the Princeſs of Bavaria.

1683.

was concluded, and ſo ended this matter.

the mean time the *French* having already made di-
nfractions of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, there were
Complaints made thereof in the Diet at *Ra-*
ne. But the *French* were ſo far from making any
faction in reſpect to theſe Remonſtrances, that
began every day to enlarge their Limits in *Alſa-*
nd ſet up new Pretenſions upon *Santenburg*, be-
ng to the Biſhoprick of *Spire*: And *Verjus* the
h Miniſter at *Ratisbonne*, ſpake very big upon the
er. Some time after which, a Paper was printed
diſperſed in thoſe Parts, containing ſeveral Condi-
, offered, as was pretended, by the *French* King,
ſe the Dauphin were elected King of the *Romans*;
the ſame contained in Subſtance, That the moſt
ſtian King and the *Dauphin* his Son would make
the *Imperial* Conſtitutions; that the Dauphin
d bear all due Reſpect to the Emperor; that *Bur-*
y, *Lorain*, the upper and lower *Alſatia*, the Bi-
ricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, with other
ds and Places, ſhould be reſtored to the Empire,
the City of *Friburg* to the Emperor; that 60000
ſhould be maintained in *Hungary* to be imployed
nſt the *Turks*, without any Charge to the Empire,
h ſhould only maintain a Body of 16000 Men;
all the Places which ſhould be taken in *Hungary*
ld be put into the Emperor's hands; that a con-
rable Fleet ſhould be maintained againſt the *Turks*
ards the *Dardanelles*; that two Univerſities ſhould
rected in *Germany* for the uſe of the ſeveral Reli-
s there; and laſtly, that the *French* King would
unce all Pretenſions to the Lands poſſeſſed by
rles the Great.

ut what Effects ſoever theſe Propoſals were like to
upon the Empire in general, the Elector *Palatine*
the Effects of the *French* Encroachments at this
in particular; for their Troops attacked the
le of *Falkenburg*, and ſoon maſter'd it: All which,
a great many more put together, made the Empe-
and Empire put forth their Complaints in every *Emperor's*
rt where there was any hope of Relief; and par- *Complaints*
arly, the Emperor's Miniſter in *Holland* repreſent- *againſt*
o the States General, and that by his Maſter's Or- *France.*

1680. ders, that the *French* King's Officers had already ſeiz
a great part of the Elector *Palatine*'s Territories, a
that it was to be feared they would do the ſame
the reſt of his Countries, on pretence of Depend
cies and other Rights, which they took upon them
ſearch Antiquity for, even to the time of K. *Dagob*
that the Elector of *Trier* had already ſuffered the
Treatment, and that other Princes of the Empire w
expoſed to the ſame Dangers, and particularly the C
of *Strasburg*, which being directly contrary to
Peace of *Nimeguen*, the Preſervation whereof was
only neceſſary to the Tranquillity of *Germany*,
likewiſe to the good of that Republick, whoſe Inte
it was no leſs to have a good Barrier towards the *Rh*
than towards *Flanders*; he therefore deſired the
States would effectually imploy their good Office
the *French* Court, to the end thoſe Contraventi
might ever ceaſe, and be aboliſhed.

I do not find the *Dutch* made any Sollicitation
France upon this Head: The *French* indeed preten
to have a great Reſpect for them about this time,
King himſelf ſaying, he ſhould always have a
great regard to what they ſhould deſire of him;
they found it otherwiſe when they came to the
For the *French* ſtifly inſiſting at this time that the S
ard ſhould totally relinquiſh to them the Title of
of *Burgundy*, the *Dutch* had ſo little Succeſs in th
terpoſure they made for adjuſting this matter,
Spain was forced to demit her Right. But this
not all; for new Pretenſions were ſet up every da
ſome Place or other in *Flanders*, which made them
uneaſy, and ſo much the more, becauſe they were
in a condition to hinder it, and right themſelves:
the *French* in the Spring of this Year not only
ſeſſed themſelves of the Abbies of *Thierry* and *St.*
rard, with above forty Villages in the Provinc
Namur, under colour of their being Dependencies
on *Charlemont* lately yielded to them, but alſo of
Abby of *Molyn*, obliging the Inhabitants of
Places to ſwear Fealty to *France*, and threatning t
in caſe of refuſal, with Military Execution. An
for *Italy*, the Princes and States thereof, however
might take it, had no leſs ſeaſon to be alarmed at
Ex

nſion of the *French* Dominions on that ſide than 1681.
r in *Flanders* or *Germany*: For now it was after
time of Treaty, that the Duke of *Mantua*'s French
fication concerning the giving up *Caſal* to the *buy* Caſal.
ch for 4000000 Livres, arrived, and that their
ops marched to take poſſeſſion of the Place, tho
did not, from ſome Delay or other, actually en-
nto it till the Month of *September* this Year.

hings thus ſucceeding to their ſatisfaction without,
King was very ſollicitous to regulate divers things at
e; and that he might never want a conſtant Sup- *Academy*
of good Officers for his Army, even in time of *for* Cadees.
e, he erected many Companies of young Gentle-
, who were brought up in all warlike Exerciſes,
entertained at his Charge in the Cittadels; and
n a Captain or Lieutenant's Place became vacant,
ſupplied thoſe Poſts. And the better to incourage
oldiery to bold Undertakings by the Aſſurance of
e Retreat in their native Country, he cauſed that
ital call'd the *Invalids* to be built in one of the *The* Inva-
urbs of *Paris*, where thoſe that are rendred unſer- lids.
able either by Age or Wounds have a Maintenance.
afford alſo ſome Relief to ſuch Gentlemen as often
their Eſtates in the Service of their Country, he
ded a Community for three hundred young Gentle-
nen at *St. Cyr*, who are carefully educated here St. Cyr
n the Age of ſeven till twenty, when they are ei- *founded.*
provided with ſome advantageous Match, or elſe,
heir Inclination be otherwiſe, are ſent into a Nun-
y.

ut to dwell upon theſe things no longer, we find
French ſtill not demitting their Pretenſions to ſome
hbouring Provinces; and there was no City on the
of *Germany* that was from time to time ſo much
med as *Strasburg*, and of this there were frequent
ounts given even in the Publick News-Papers of
ſe Days: But the *French* the more to amuſe them this
r, diſpoſed of their Troops in that Order, that it
but on the thirteenth of *September* that they wrote
m that City, that they were very eaſy in thoſe
ts, the *French* Troops being gone to their Winter-
arters, and that it was likely to be ſo, ſince the
nch King's Deſigns were towards *Italy*; tho at the

1681. ſame time they could not but take notice of the gr
Magazines that were provided both in *Lorain* and
ſatia; but they or the Traitors amongſt them, w
betrayed them, might flatter themſelves as long
they pleaſed with the thoughts of their Securit
whereas the *French* King was this very Month ſet
towards the Frontiers, having ſent Monſieur *Lou*
before to draw the Troops ſuddenly together for
Enterprize: He no ſooner appeared before the Pla
but the very ſame day he ordered a Regiment of D
goons to ſeize upon the Fort of *Kiel*, that guarded
Bridg of the City, and ſent the Magiſtrates wo
French *ſeize* Straſburg. that the King expected they ſhould render to him
Oath of Fidelity and Obedience due to him by
Treaty of *Munſter*, which had yielded to him all
upper and lower *Alſatia*, and conſequently that C
which was the Capital thereof, and ſhould recei
Gariſon of his Troops into it. Hereupon the Ma
ſtrates, from what juſt Motives I will not determ
made no Heſitation to ſubmit, and had the follow
Terms granted to them: That their antient Pr
leges and Cuſtoms, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, ſho
be confirmed to them purſuant to the Treaty of *W*
phalia, and confirmed by that of *Nimeguen*: T
they ſhould have the free Exerciſe of their R
gion, as it had been ever ſince 1624. with all
Churches and Schools; and that his Majeſty would
permit any Perſon whatſoever to make any Preten
upon them, but for ever preſerve them to the C
and its Inhabitants. However the Cathedral Chu
was to be reſtored to the Catholicks; but the Inh
tants to make uſe of its Bells, yet not to ring them
Prayers. The Magiſtracy was to be left in the ſa
ſtate it was then in, with all its Rights and Freed
of Election, and its Juriſdiction Civil and Crimi
but in ſome caſes an Appeal was required to be made
the Council of *Briſac*, under certain Limitations: T
the City ſhould have all its Revenues, Tolls, C
merce, Magazines of Cannon, Ammunition, Ar
Magazines of Corn and Wood, and its Records
publick Papers; but there was a particular Excep
made as to the warlike Stores, and the Arms of priv
Perſons were to be kept in the Town-houſe, and
K

ys to be in the hands of the Magiſtrates; that they 1681.
uld pay no other Taxes than the ordinary Impoſts, and
t an Amneſty ſhould be granted for all that was paſt.
But while *France* was in this manner enlarging her *Reformed oppreſt.*
ominions abroad to the great Prejudice of her Neigh-
urs, ſhe was uſing all the means ſhe could for the
amping of the Reformed at home; the Bipartite
hambers that were a very conſiderable Fence to them,
ere ſuppreſt in 1679. and Methods taken for the
tting down of divers of their Schools. The Year
llowing a Declaration was put forth requiring there
ould no Midwives of the Reformed Religion be al-
wed. Theſe and divers other Preſſures made them
tition the King once more for a Redreſs of the into-
rable Grievances they laboured under; but the ſame
d little or no effect: Nay, on the contrary, now
me forth another Declaration in *July*, which forbad
e *Roman* Catholicks, of what Age or Sex ſoever
ey were, to make profeſſion of the Reformed Re-
gion under very ſevere Penalties; and becauſe they
ere afraid leſt thoſe who had a deſign to change
eir Religion, would do the ſame in private, the Mi-
ſters were forbad to receive them. Farther, they
ok care that all the Reformed ſhould be excluded
ntirely from any of the Offices belonging to or depen-
nt upon the Finances; that Perſons of different
eligions ſhould not marry; that Popiſh Judges
ould viſit the Reformed that were ſick; and laſtly,
e Parliament of *Paris* being not content with what
ey had done already in excluding them from all Offi-
es of Judicature, but proceeded now to do it from
ll leſſer Offices. And indeed 'tis hardly credible what
iolences they began now to exerciſe againſt theſe di-
treſſed People, what unjuſt Sentences were pronoun-
ed, how they ſuppreſt the Academy of *Sedan*, inter-
icted the College of *Chaſtillon*; how they were for-
id to prevent the Converſion (as they called it) of
ny to the Church of *Rome*; how to viſit the Sick
as reputed criminal; how Children of ſeven years
ld were declared capable of chuſing their Religion,
hich occaſioned great Violences and Troubles, too
ong for me to enter into the Particulars of. If I
hould alſo enter upon a Narration of the manner how
they

1681. they now began to quarter their Troops upon them, which has been properly enough call'd Dragooning, I ſhould exceed my Bounds; it's enough for me to obſerve in general, that the ſame was attended with great Inhumanities, and things at laſt came to that Extremity, that the Reformed began in great numbers to leave the Kingdom, the Cauſe of which being charged more particularly upon the Miniſters, ſeveral of them were taken up, baniſhed or impriſon'd.

Theſe Violences brought in an incredible Number of new Converts, which was magnified at a great rate by the *Romaniſts*, but moſt of them repented of what they had done: And now the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion was put down under one frivolous Pretence or other; but while they were driving them in this manner from their antient Places of Worſhip, they laboured very much on the other hand to prevent

1682. them from going out of the Kingdom; inſomuch that at the ſame time that they obliged them to wander from Province to Province, they made a Priſon of the Kingdom to them, in order to which they were forbid to ſell their Eſtates; and the Clergy were now more than ever wracking their Brains how they might effect their long deſired Re-union.

1683. I might particularize divers things in this Place relating to their Proceedings; but I chuſe rather to proceed, and ſhew how *France* was for re-uniting divers Territories of her Neighbours to the Crown, as well as making her Subjects to become of the ſame Religion, with an equal Injuſtice to both: She had ſoon after the Treaty of *Nimeguen* poſſeſs'd her ſelf of *Homburg* and *Biſſtel*, the only two Places remaining to the Duke of *Lorain* of all his Dutchy. However, tho the Duke who had but little Power of his own, was forced tamely to ſubmit to it, yet it could not be thought that others would be ſo compliant; and therefore firſt Monſieur *Ravaux*, who had ſearched all the Records of the Parliament of *Metz* and the adjacent Cities, endeavoured from thence to prove, that in time of old all *Alſatia*, *Lorain*, the Counties of *Chiny*, *Arlon*, *Vierton*, *St. Armond*, all the Country of *Luxemburg*, except the City of that Name, divers Villages and Seignories in *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Hegenow*, and

d the Country of *Liege*, did really and of juſt 1683.
ight belong to the *French* King as Dependencies upon
e three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, or
on other Places that had been yielded to them by the
reaty of *Nimeguen*; in purſuance whereof they erect-
d Tribunals of Juſtice, or Soveraign Courts at *Metz* and
riſſac, call'd by the Name of the Chambers of Re-uni- *Chambers*
ns, whereby the Inhabitants and Lords of thoſe Places *of Re-uni-*
ere gravely cited to appear before the Commiſſioners, *ons erect-*
udges and Parties, to ſee themſelves condemned to *ed.*
ake their Submiſſions to the *French* King, and to re-
ive his Orders thereupon, and in caſe of refuſal to
e condemned for Default and Contumacy. It was
nder ſuch Pretenſions as theſe, that they ſeized *Straſ-*
urg, and by the ſame pretended Reaſons *Luxemburgh*
ad been blocked up in a manner ever ſince the Peace,
nd that as it were by way of Repriſal, becauſe the
paniards would not yield unto them divers Places in
landers, which they laid claim to. This way of Pro-
edure began at length to alarm all the Proteſtants upon
he Continent; ſo that the Emperor, *Sweden*, the States
f *Holland* and *Franconia*, with ſeveral other free
nd *Imperial* Cities, entred into a mutual League of
Defence, and the ſame, from the Place where nego- *The League*
iated, was called the League of *Ausburg*; and to the *of* Auſ-
Glory of the then Prince of *Orange* it muſt be ſaid, burg.
nd 'tis what his Enemies have own'd, he was the great-
ſt Inſtrument to bring it about of any in *Europe*.
However, whether it were from the Apprehenſions of
he impending Storm upon *Chriſtendom* from the *Ma-*
ometan Quarters, or out of a mere Act of Generoſity,
his is moſt certain, that as ſoon as the *French* King
ame to know that the *Turk* was bending all his Forces
gainſt the Empire, and to that end had ordered his
Army to march towards *Belgrade*, and ſo thro *Hun-*
gary to *Auſtria*; he withdrew his Forces from before
Luxemburg, tho almoſt ready to ſurrender. But how
conſiſtent this Action was with the Correſpondence
held by Monſieur *de Vernay*, the *French* Miniſter in
Poland, with Count *Teckely*, or with the Frontiers of
Germany being now thwack'd with Soldiers, I will
not determine; and being not willing to enter upon any
of the Particulars of the *Turkiſh* War, which is fo-

reign

1684. reign to our Deſign, I come to another Year, wherein, notwithſtanding the *French* King's Compliment to the Emperor in the laſt, upon his quitting the Blockade of *Luxemburg*, that it was done that the Chriſtians might not take Umbrage at ſuch a Conjuncture, when the Infidels were threatning the Empire with an Invaſion; yet the Year was not well expired, but that in purſuance of their pretended Reunions, they ſurprized *Courtray* and *Dixmude*, wherewith the *Spaniards* were ſo incenſed, that they recalled their Ambaſſador, ordered the *French* Miniſter to retire home, and ſeized all the Effects belonging to the *French* in their Dominions. Yet the States of *Holland* were not ſo very hot upon the Matter, but propoſing the King of *England*'s Mediation, the *Spaniards* were ſo ſuſpicious of *Charles* his Partiality towards *France*, that they ſaid there was but too much reaſon to ſuſpect that Prince, it appearing he had more cloſely link'd himſelf with *France* than ever. Hereupon the *French* King prepared an Army to invade the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, while he ſent another to infeſt the *Spaniards* on the ſide of *Catalonia*; and if *Luxemburg* by an odd Circumſtance of Time, or what may we call it, had the good fortune to eſcape a formal Siege laſt Year, ſhe ſhall be ſure to have her ſhare in this. The Prince of *Orange*, according to his uſual Foreſight, had propoſed pretty early to the States the levying of 16000 men, and to bring all the Troops of the Country into the Field, as a means to give the *French* ſome Umbrage, and to prevent their proceeding to an open Rupture; but he was ſtill oppoſed in his Deſigns by the Artifice of the *French* Ambaſſador the Count *d' Avaux*, who put in ſeveral Memorials to the States upon the account of the Conjuncture; inſomuch that at laſt the City of *Amſterdam* would not conſent to the ſaid Levy, but abſolutely rejected it. However the Prince took the Field, tho to little purpoſe; for the *French*, who were too quick to let ſlip the opportunity, had brought a great Army before *Luxemburg* towards the latter end of *May*; and tho the Place, in the Circumſtance it was then in, made a good Reſiſtance, it was ſoon render'd on the 10*th* of *June* upon Articles. And now *France* having got what ſhe deſired, propoſed a Truce afreſh

French *take* Luxemburg.

esh for twenty years, to which the States seeming t averse, they quickly made up the Matter both for emselves and *Spain*, the same being thus in Sub- nce: 1648.

I. That the States General oblige themselves to im- by all sorts of good Offices to induce the King of *ain* to accept of the Truce for twenty years proposed *France*, during which all Hostilities should cease th by Sea and Land. 20 *Years Truce.*

II. That the *French* King during the said Truce ould remain possess'd of the City of *Luxemburg*, d the Provosty thereof, with the 14 or 15 Villages d Hamlets depending thereon, and *Beaumont*, and e 3 or 4 Villages that remained on its Dependance, *uvois* which had none, and *Chimay* with the 12 or Villages that belonged thereto.

III. If within six weeks from the Date of this Con- ntion the Catholick King should agree unto, and due Form ratify the Articles contained therein, and ould consent to the said Truce of 20 Years, upon e Conditions proposed, the most Christian King, as on as the Ratifications were exchanged, should re- ore to the *Spaniard*, *Courtray* and *Dixmude* (after ving demolished the Fortifications) with the Depen- ncies of those Places.

IV. The *French* King was likewise to restore to the *aniard*, after the Ratification, all the Places he had ssest since *Aug.* 20. 1683. except *Luxemburg* and the her Places mentioned in the second Article; and for e rest, both the Kings should remain in the Possession ring the said Truce of what they held at the raising e Blockade of *Luxemburg*: And no Pretension should moved, or Re-union made on the one side or the o- er, on account of Dependances, or any other pre- nce whatsoever.

V. All Hostilities were to cease after the Exchange the Ratifications of *Spain*, and the *French* King as to withdraw his Troops out of the King of *Spain*'s ountries, and the *Spaniard* on his part to do the me.

VI. If any Contest hapned concerning the time of ossession, or the Extent of any Places that were to main to either side during the said Truce, the de-

termination

1684. termination thereof was to be referred to the King of *England*, provided no Complaint ſhould be receiv on this Subject three Months after the Exchange of th *Spaniſh* Ratifications.

VII. The Contributions ſhould be continued on bo ſides, till the Day of the Exchange of the *Spaniſh* R tifications, and Arrears then due ſhould be paid thr Months after; and during that time there ſhould be n Military Execution on that account, provided the P ces gave good Security to pay the ſame; and if a Difference aroſe concerning the ſaid Contributio the ſame ſhould be referred to the Arbitration of t King of *England*.

VIII. The *French* King obliged himſelf to cauſe fro that preſent time all Hoſtilities to ceaſe in the *L Countries* againſt the Places belonging to the *Spania* and even in the open Country, in caſe the *Spaniards* abſtain from them.

IX. In caſe the King of *Spain* did not accept of t ſaid Truce within the Term of ſix weeks, and ca the Ratification to be made in due form, the Sta were obliged themſelves immediately to withdr their Troops out of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and n to give the Crown of *Spain* any Aſſiſtance during t War; and they farther obliged themſelves not to co mit any Hoſtilities againſt the *French* King and Allies; and the *French* King likewiſe obliged himſelf n to attack or poſſeſs with his own Troops, or thoſe his Allies, any Place in the *Low Countries*, and e not to make War in the open Country, if the *Spa ards* did abſtain from it.

X. In caſe the War ſhould continue, and that t *French* King made any Conqueſt upon *Spain*, he pr miſed not to accept of any Equivalent in the *Spa Netherlands* for the Conqueſts he ſhould make el where during that War; and that he would not dur the ſaid time, poſſeſs himſelf of any Places in t *Netherlands*, either by Revolt, Exchange, volunt Ceſſion, or any other way whatſoever.

XI. The *French* King obliged himſelf to give Month longer to the Diet at *Ratisbonne* to accept Truce already offered.

But to ſay no more of this Truce, only that the Diet at 1684.
isbonne thought fit to accept of another propoſed to
m much of the ſame nature; we proceed now to
Bombardment of the famous City of *Genua* by Genua
French Fleet, the ſame being the firſt time that *bombarded.*
r this deſtructive Invention was put in execution
m on Ship-board, and the manner was thus: On
17*th* of *May* the *French* Fleet arrived before that
ty, and were ſaluted by the Fort on the Mole with
ven Guns, which the *French* Admiral anſwered with
e; a little after which the Fort having again ſalut-
the ſaid Admiral with 20 Chambers and 10 Guns,
returned ſeven, ſo that they ſeemed to be yet in the
rk what to think of it. Upon which the Senate next
rning ſent ſix Deputies on board the Admiral to
mpliment him, and to know the occaſion of the
et's coming thither, which 'tis to be ſuppoſed they
re not ignorant of; and being returned, they gave
account that Monſieur *Saignelay* had told them the
ng was very much diſſatisfied with the late Conduct
the Republick, and that his Demands of them
re, that they ſhould quit the Protection of *Spain*;
t they ſhould join the four Gallies they had lately
ilt with thoſe of his Majeſty; that they ſhould per-
t the *French* to have a Magazine of Salt at *Savona*;
t they ſhould ſend four Senators on board to beg the
ng's Pardon, *&c.* The Senate reſolving to reject
eſe Demands, let the *French* know, if they drew not
ther off, they would look upon them as Enemies;
t they taking no notice of it, the *Genueſe* towards
ree in the Afternoon ſhot towards the Admiral with-
t Ball, and an hour after the ſeveral Forts fired with
ot, which made the Fleet draw farther off; but
Galliots continued all in a row to fire one part of
City, and began with great Fury to throw their
mbs into the Place, which put the People into a
eadful Conſternation, and on the 21*ſt* the Doge's
lace was quite beaten down, and he and the Senate
rced to remove to *Albergho*, which the Bombs could
t reach. Next morning, being the 22*d*, the *French*
nt aſhore to let the Senate know that they were ſorry
ruin ſo fine a City, and that they would give them
t 24 hours more to agree to the King's De-
mands;

1684. mands; but the Senate ſtill refuſing their Compliance the People began to take Courage, crying aloud, *V St. Georgio*, and the *French* renewed their Shot again the Town; and on the 23*d* at Sunſet, their Ships a Gallies approaching very near, ſeverely battered it ſeven Hours together, and in the mean time land 500 men to the Weſtward, and another body on t Eaſtſide of the City; but they were ſo warmly rec ved, that they were forced at laſt to return to th Gallies, except ſeveral that were ſlain and divers tak Priſoners: But on the 24*th* the Sea growing high, Fleet weighed off, which the *Genueſe* were not a li glad of; for beſides the vaſt Loſs they had alrea ſuſtained by this Bombardment, they had moſt dre ful Apprehenſions of being entirely ruined, wh made them bethink themſelves of giving the *Fre* King Satisfaction before ſuch another Return; a therefore at laſt they were conſtrained, tho ſore gainſt their Inclinations, to ſend their Doge and ſ Senators to the *French* Court, to make their humi Submiſſions.

1685. The *French* having in the manner related, pro ſucceſsful in their Naval Bombardment of *Genua*, thought themſelves now of imploying their Forces gainſt the *Corſairs* of *Africa*, and particularly th made an Expedition under *d' Eſtree* to *Tripoli*: Th had ſunk ſeveral of their Ships, and burnt eight ſo time before in the Port of *Chio*; and now *d' Eſt* bombarded *Tripoli*, tho with no very extraordina Succeſs, till at length by the Intervention of the Gra Seignior, the King made a Peace with thoſe Nations.

In the mean time the Differences ariſen betwe the Courts of *Rome* and *France* increaſed daily mo and more: The occaſion of the Quarrel was given

France *at variance with the Pope.*

the *Regale*, which the *French* alledged to be a cert Prerogative belonging to the Sovereign, by vir whereof they enjoyed the Revenues of the Biſhopri and the Right of conferring all Dignities and Preben during the Vacancy of the Epiſcopal Sees; but to be obſerved, that the Provinces of *Guyenne*, *D phine* and *Languedoc* pretended to be exempted fr this Rule, whether it were that the Law of Fie which is ſuppoſed to be the Off-ſpring of the *Reg*

by virtue of which the Lord enjoys the Revenue 1685.
he Fief, after the Death of a Vaſſal, till the time
he Inveſtiture of his Legal Heir, was never intro-
d into thoſe Provinces, among a People that were
tenacious of their natural Liberties; or whether
enjoyed this Prerogative by virtue of ſome parti-
r Privileges granted them by their Princes, be-
they were incorporated with the Crown of *France*,
ll not here pretend to determine. But to have a
rer Idea of this Affair, we muſt look back and
notice that in the Year 1608. the Parliament of *Pa-*
(which alone uſed to take Cognizance of, and decide
ers concerning the Regale) upon the account of a
teſt about a Deanery vacant in the Church of
y, declared by their Sentence, that the King's
ogative or Regale ought to take place in all and e-
part belonging to the Kingdom, enjoining the
yers not to plead to the contrary. The Clergy
much alarmed at this Novelty, made their Ap-
tion to *Henry* IV. who ordered that the Sentence
ld not be put in execution, till the whole matter
been farther debated and adjudged by the King
Council; accordingly theſe Provinces by their De-
s appeared before the Council, and produced
Titles, by virtue whereof they laid claim to
Privileges: They were taken into Conſideration,
ung in ſuſpence till the Year 1673. when after
Proceedings, which laſted near threeſcore Years,
Council confirmed the Parliament of *Paris*'s Sen-
, that the Regale ought to take place in all the
nces and Territories under the King's Juriſdic-

ow the pointed Conteſt being chiefly concerning
rovince of *Languedoc*, all the Prelates therein
itted to the Decree, except the Biſhops of *Alets*
Pamiers, who made their Appeal to the Pope, to
they repreſented the Regale by their Letters and
ts, as a Point of Hereſy, ſufficient to deſtroy
ntient Purity of the Church, which made old *O-*
chi very ſtiff upon the matter, and write ſharply to
ing divers times about it; and more particularly
e of his Letters threatned him with no leſs than
Fulmen Papale, or Thunderbolt of the Church,

1685. and added these Words, that he would make him se
sible in time, that he did not oppose him alone, but Je
sus Christ himself, against whom all Human Force an
Prudence could not avail. Hereupon the King sent th
Cardinal *Cæsar d' Estree* his Ambassador to *Rome*, t
endeavour to accommodate this matter; but being n
able to effect any thing, the Bishops of *France* desir
the King to call an Assembly of the Clergy (whi
was in 1682) in order, as they said, to concert su
measures as might satisfy the Pope, or if that succe
ed not, might prevent the Effects of his Threats; a
having carefully examined all Circumstances, they ca
to this Resolution, that his Majesty was willing to
nounce any thing depending on the Regale, that sho
be found contrary to the Discipline of the Chur
But the Pope looking upon the whole Transaction
be a Crime committed against his Authority, he g
no Answer to the Letter writ to him in the Name of
Assembly, but a thundering Brief, whereby he ann
led all that had been done by them in that C
Hereupon the Clergy published these following Pro
sitions.

Propositions of the French *Clergy.*

That neither the Pope nor the Church it self h
any absolute or indirect Power over Kings in Tem
ral Affairs; that they neither could be deposed, n
their Subjects absolved from their Oath of Allegianc

That the General Councils were above the Pope.

That the Pope's Power ought to be limited and
gulated according to the Canons prescribed by
Church; and that his Decisions were not infallible,
less with the Approbation of the Church.

These Propositions were received according to
different Inclinations of People, but were so far f
reconciling matters, that they tended the more to
den the Breach; and such strange Discourses flew a
at these times in most Countries of *Europe*, that
hardly be believed by many Persons now living, n
particularly, as if the *French* King would absol
throw off the Yoke of the Church of *Rome*,
prove such another Prince in *France*, as *Henry V*
had been in *England*. But the Event has plainly
ed, that these Differences had principally their
and Continuance from the King's haughty and
tro

lable Mind, who began to menace the Eccleſiaſti- 1685.
State with his numerous Troops; and from the ri-
Temper of the Pope as well as his Policy, as not
ng to ſee one Prince ſo potent above his Neighbours,
h might one day endanger all, and make that ve-
ee, which for ſo many Ages had triumphed over the
ces of *Europe*, become precarious, and truckle un-
the *French* King's Girdle.

ut how vigorous ſoever the Clergy ſhewed them-
s upon this occaſion againſt the Court of *Rome*,
never for all that loſt an Opportunity of contri-
ng all that in them lay for the ruin of the Refor-
who had endured a multitude of Hardſhips and *Aſſembly of the Clergy.*
tifications already; and in an Aſſembly of the
gy held in *May* at *Verſailles*, the Harangues of the
ities to the King contained nothing but Comple-
ts of Congratulation, upon the Succeſs of his De-
for the extirpation of Hereſy; they extolled the
y he had acquired in oppreſſing the Reformed,
e all the Victories he had won, and Con-
ts he had made. They ſpake to him of the Church
Rome, as if the ſame had been ſinking, and falling
r Servitude, and that it was he that by his Zeal
reſtored it to the higheſt pitch of Glory; par-
arly one of them expreſſed the Joy that what
called the Church had received, in that the King
not in this great Work made uſe either of Fire
word: Whereas in the *Interim*, beſides the Violen-
committed in *Poictou*, *Guyenne*, *Perigord*, *Sain-*
and *Aunis*, by *Marillac* and others, *Dauphine*,
rais and *Cevennes* ſtill flowed with the Blood that
been ſpilt there; to ſay nothing of the Proſcripti-
divers Families for fear of the Gallows, Wheel,
allies. But the Cahier of the Aſſembly was yet
more conſiderable than their Harangues; one
believe by their Requeſts to the King, that the
cution was not yet begun: They drew up eight
twenty Articles, ſome of which did but as it were
w thoſe things that had been already determined;
inſiſted that the Churches ſhould be taken away
the Reformed in thoſe Places that were Biſhops
rchbiſhops Sees; That thoſe ſhould be demoliſhed
by their Vicinity might hinder Divine Service;

1685. That the Exerciſe of their Religion ſhould be forbid
thoſe Places that depended upon Eccleſiaſticks; T
they ſhould neither ſuffer it in the King's Domains,
in thoſe Places that had any immediate Dependance
on him; That no one ſhould go to preach without
Bailiwick of his Reſidence; That the Reformed ſho
not be allowed to have *Roman* Catholick Servants,
their Parents had died in the Reformed Religion; T
none of that Religion for the future ſhould beco
either Printers, Bookſellers, Advocates, Advoca
Clerks, Judges, Notaries, Scriveners, Proctors,
ers, Serjeants, *&c.* nor be admitted into any of
principal Offices of a City; nay they would not h
them keep Taverns or Inns, nor ſtudy in Fore
Parts.

Theſe Requeſts and a great many more, had but
ill an effect upon the poor Reformed, who declined
apace; ſo that the King prohibited any of them to p
tiſe Phyſick, be Surgeons, Apothecaries, or be T
to Children. After which came out a Declarat
which prohibited all ſorts of Perſons to preach
write againſt the Faith, and the Doctrine of the Ch
of *Rome*, and to impute to the Catholicks the O
ons they condemned, and neither to ſpeak direct
indirectly any manner of way concerning the Ca
lick Religion; the Miniſters were required to teach
ly the Principles of their own Religion in their S
mons, and Rules of Morality without mentioning
thing elſe. All ſorts of Perſons were forbid to p
vend or ſell any other Books concerning Religion,
what related to their own Faith, Prayers, and
Rules of Diſcipline; and ſevere Penalties were im
ſed upon ſuch as contravened this Declaration.

Edict of Nantes revoked. But to come now to the Fatal Stroke it ſelf, w
was the final Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*;
Chancellor *le Tellier* perceiving he could not live
the Seſſions of the Parliament, at length by his
quent Importunities obtained of the King, that
Grand Affair ſhould be put off no longer, but tha
might have the Honour to put the Seal to it before
died: Wherefore the Marqueſs *de Chaſteauneuf* dre
an Edict, which was agreed to on the 18*th* of O
and regiſtred in the Chamber of Vacations at P

days after. They tell us that the Chancellor ha- 1685.
affixed the Seal to it, neither would nor could
any other Diſpatches, and died a few days after.
Edict after a Preface, wherein the King lays it
n as matter of Fact, that that of *Nantes* had not
granted, but with a Proſpect of having the ſame
aled; That *Henry* the Fourth, *Lewis* the
teenth, and himſelf ſince his Acceſſion to the
one, had had a Deſign to bring the Reformed back
e Communion of the Church of *Rome*; that Civil
oreign Wars had been the only Cauſe that had re-
ed the Execution of the Deſign; that before the
cluſion of the 20 Years Truce in 1684. things were
yet ripe for it, and that hitherto they had been
ent with ſuppreſſing their Places of Worſhip, and
iſhing their Privileges; that in order to be at lea-
for the accompliſhing of ſo great a Work, the
had facilitated the concluding of the ſaid Truce:
r this Preface, I ſay, the Edict contained twelve
cles; in the firſt whereof, which gave it the ſame
es of *Perpetual* and *Irrevocable*, which the Edict
Nantes had bore in vain, that Edict and the o-
given in *Nîmes* in 1629. and all the Conceſſions
e to them both by other Edicts, Declarations or
eſts, were annulled, and ſhould for the future be
o Force or Effect; in conſequence whereof all the
rches that remained yet in the Kingdom, were re-
ed to be demoliſhed. The ſecond forbad the Ex-
ſe of the Reformed Religion in any Place whatſo-
. The third forbad the Exerciſe thereof, as
nded upon the Right of Fiefs. The fourth bani-
all the Miniſters that would not turn Catholicks,
allowed them but fifteen days to go out of the
gdom, forbidding them to ſtay there any longer,
during that to exerciſe their Function, upon pain of
ng ſent to the Gallies. The next allowed the Mini-
s that embraced the *Romiſh* Religion, and their
ves during their Widowhood, the ſame Exemptions
y had enjoyed before, and one third augmented to
r uſual Penſion. The ſixth diſpenſed with ſome ſort
Solemnities in reſpect to them, to which thoſe who
uld take their Doctors Degree, were ſubjected by
Rules of the Univerſities. The ſeventh forbad

1685. the Reformed to have particular Schools of their
and generally every thing that might look like a
ceſſion in favour of them. The eighth required th
Infants for the future ſhould be baptized and bre
in the *Romiſh* Religion, and the Judges were par
larly required to have a Care of it. By the ninth
King allowed four Months for thoſe to return wh
gone out of the Kingdom, and after the Expirati
that time, ordered the Edict of Confiſcation to be
cuted againſt them. The tenth forbad all the
Subjects to go out of the Kingdom, upon pain of the
being committed to the Gallies, and the Confiſc
of the Body and Goods of the Women. The ele
confirmed thoſe Declarations already publiſhed a
ſuch as relapſed. But the twelfth was the moſt
prizing of all the reſt; it allowed the Reform
dwell where they pleaſed in the Kingdom, the
continue their Profeſſion and enjoy their Eſtates,
out being troubled or moleſted upon pretence of
gion, upon condition only that they made no Pr
ſion of the ſame, and had no Meetings upon the
count of Praying or any other Divine Worſhip.

1686. this was a mere Illuſion, the better to deſtroy th
and the ſame was put in execution in ſo horrible a
ner in divers Parts of the Kingdom, and particu
by a new invented Method of Converſion, which
Dragooning of them, that the ſame and the exec
Violences that did attend it, are not to be mention
mongſt mere Men, without the greateſt Horror
ginable.

However vaſt numbers of them got out of the K
dom into *England*, *Holland*, *Brandenburg*, *Ger*
and *Switzerland*; nay many of them have ſince t
planted themſelves into both the *Indies*, ſo that
Diſperſion is not unlike that of the Children of *Iſr*
but the time of their gathering together again we
leave to the Deciſion of Futurity, and here proce
ſhew, that theſe diſtreſſed People, not to be wan
to themſelves, after their Retreat into other C
tries (as well as they had done before) wrote in
own Juſtification, their Enemies inſinuating e
where, that the Fault lay at their Doors; but
particularly the famous *Monſieur Claude* put fo

eſtation in the Name of the Reformed, which he 1685.
reſt to all the Proteſtants of *Europe*; and becauſe
he Entertainment it met at that time in *England*, *Proteſtation of the Reformed.*
t to be mentioned in a more eſpecial manner.
et forth under ſix Heads all the Perſecution which
had ſuffered, *viz.* the Vexations they were put
nder the Name of Juſtice; their Excluſion from
ces and Imployments; the Explanations which ru-
the Edict; the new Regulations, the Cheats and
ions put upon the People, in order to amuſe them;
Methods they took to animate the Catholicks, and
re them with Fury and Averſion to them. Then
touched upon the innocent and ſubmiſſive ways
had taken for their own Preſervation, and from
ce paſſed to the Diſorders occaſioned by the Troops,
followed them in their Expedition to *Bearn*, the
er and lower *Guyenne*, *Santonge*, *Aunis*, *Poictou*,
er *Languedoc*, *Vivarais*, and *Dauphine*, where
exerciſed a thouſand Cruelties almoſt at the ſame
e: Then he followed them to the lower *Languedoc*,
nnois, *Cevennes*, *Provence*, the Country of *Gex*;
touched upon the Perſecution in the Vallies of *Pi-*
ont (for the Duke of *Savoy* at the Inſtigation of
nce, ſhewed now as much Severity to the *Vaudois*,
he other had done to the Reformed.) Having ſo
traced them, he farther kept them Company in
rmandy, *Burgundy*, *Nivernois*, *Berry*, *Orleanois*,
rain, *Anjou*, *Bretagne*, *Champagne*, *Picardy*, the Iſle
France, and *Paris* herſelf. After this he deſcended to
ers particular Acts of Cruelty, which I ſhall not in-
meddle with in this Place, but take notice how d.f-
ent the Maxims of *England* and *France* ſeemed to be
his time, tho perhaps at the bottom they tended en-
ly to the ſame thing; for the latter made it a very
riſtian Maxim to perſecute People for the Benefit of
Goſpel, whereas the other was for extending a To-
ation of Religion to the utmoſt Limits; and yet at
ſame time K. *James*, to ſhew how much he was in *The Proteſtation burnt in* England.
French Intereſt, and his good Inclination towards
Proteſtant Religion in general, cauſed the ſaid
ok of Proteſtation to be burnt by the Hands of the
mmon Hangman; but this had been better let alone,
ce it made the more clearſighted People readily con-

1686. clude (notwithſtanding all his Pretenſions to the co-
trary) what his real Sentiments were of the R
formed Religion, and what an Inſtrument he mig
prove for the final Eradication of it out of his o
Dominions.

It's not conſiſtent with my Deſign to particularize t
Hardſhips, which the Reformed ſuffered that got o
of the Kingdom, how others were ſtopped and pu
ſhed, and the general Calamities of the whole Body
them in the Kingdom of *France*, both in this and t
ſucceeding Years, and therefore we'll proceed to oth
matters.

Inſtead of cloſing, another Accident hapned at *Ro*
that tended ſtill the more to widen the Differences b
tween the Pope and the *French*: For *Innocent* XI.
ving by his Bull excommunicated all ſuch as ſhould p
tend to maintain the *Franchiſes*, or Quarters belong
to Ambaſſadors, and all thoſe Offenders that ſho
pretend to ſeek for Refuge in thoſe Places, which w
indeed uſually Places of Retreat and Protection
the greateſt Villains, to the great Detriment of t
Civil Government; the *French* King by *M. Lav*
din his Envoy, inſiſted ſo ſtifly and peremptorily up
it, that things ſeemed to tend to the utmoſt Extre
ty between them; and I know not but the *Fre*
Arms, that were ſo powerful at this time, might as ea
have taken *Rome*, and his Holineſs Priſoner, as the E
peror *Charles* V. had done by one of his Predeceſſo
but other Accidents intervened, which diverted t
Torrent another way.

1687. However the Janglings continued between them, a
fermented very high: The King of *England* by
Ambaſſador at *Rome* had endeavoured to procur
Reconciliation in vain, and ſo we muſt leave the
and ſince this Year proves ſo barren for matter of H
tory, we muſt paſs on to the next that will fully comp
ſate for it; only I am firſt to take notice of the De

Death of the Prince of Conde. of the famous *Lewis* II. Prince of *Conde*. He w
born on the 8*th* of *Septemb.* 1621. and died on the 1
of *Decemb.* this Year, in the 66*th* Year of his A
leaving behind him the Name of one of the beſt S
diers and moſt valiant Princes of *Europe*, and not u
juſtly entituled by a certain Hiſtorian, the *Alexan*

ur Age. We have before given the Particulars of 1687.
Actions, and the Civil Wars he involved his Coun-
in, which were at leaſt pretended upon the account
eforming the State, tho 'tis certain the Miniſtry was
main thing ſtruck at; but that the Prince ſhould
any aſpiring to the Crown, is not very probable,
the *French* King had both an Uncle and a Bro-
living that had the Preference in Blood; but what-
his Intentions were, the Fidelity of the Reformed
heir King was extremely exemplary in all thoſe
rs, and no Sollicitations of the Prince and his Par-
ould ever ſhock them, tho they were the worſt re-
ed for it of any People in the World, as has been
ore related.

rance by the Interval of Peace was grown ex- 1688.
nely potent; and if the Altercations at this time
ween the *Imperial* and *French* Miniſters about the
er's fortifying of *Traerback*, foreboded no good to
rope, the Death of the Elector of *Cologn*, which
ned on the 2*d* of *June* this Year, manifeſtly tend-
to an open Rupture. The two Candidates for the
ctorate were the young Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*,
ther to the Elector of that Name, whoſe Intereſt
ſupported by *Germany*, and the Cardinal *de Fur-*
burg, whoſe Pretenſions were back'd by *France*:
tho the former made a ſhift to carry it, and that his
ction was afterwards confirmed by the Pope, who
ſtill at no good Terms with *France*; yet the
nch King concerned himſelf ſo far in the matter,
o make it an occaſion of beginning the cruelleſt War *War begun.*
t hapned in this part of the World for a long time;
this was ſeconded with a Manifeſto pretending to
forth the Juſtice of his Cauſe; but that the *French*
ng's chief Deſign was rather to be upon the defenſive
n to act offenſively againſt his Enemies, the ſame hav-
much more reſemblance to a new Project of Peace
n a Declaration, ſince it was propoſed they ſhould
an end to the Differences on foot by an amicable
mpoſition in reference to the Succeſſion in diſpute,
cerning the Fiefs in the Palatinate. The *French* alſo
ered to demoliſh *Friburg*, and *Philipsburg*, after
y ſhould become Maſters of the laſt, provided the
mperor and the Empire would agree on their part to
convert

1688. convert the twenty years Truce into a Peace, and would leave the Cardinal of *Furſtemburg* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick, and the Chapter of *Cologn* in the enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges. But what is all this to the purpoſe, when the *French* had already committed ſo many Hoſtilities? And beſides an incredible Sum of Money raiſed by way of Contribution, they proceeded to attack *Philipsburg*, which was ſurrendred to the Dauphin in Perſon; and now there being few or no Troops to oppoſe them, they like a Torrent carried all before them, and took *Mannheim*, *Spire*, *Mentz*, *Creuſnach*, *Baccarack*, *Heidelburg*, and divers other Places as far as *Hailbron*, beſides *Bonne*, which was ſecured by the Cardinal of *Furſtemburg* towards the beginning of the Diſpute about the Election.

French *Succeſſes.*

But before all this happened, and even ſoon after the aforeſaid Elector of *Cologn*'s Death, there was an Interview, and even a long Conference held at *Minden* in *Weſtphalia* between the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Landtgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, the Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenburg*, and the Prince of *Orange*, under a pretence of the Affair of *Cologn*, as it was in part, but much more about concerting Methods to divert the Storm that hung over *Britain* under the Government of *James* II. without disjoining of which from the *French* Intereſt, and ſecuring its Religion and Liberties, there was but little likelihood of preſerving the reſt of *Europe*, and confining *France* to the Bounds ſet unto it by former Stipulations and Treaties. The Conſequence of this Interview was the making of mighty Preparations in *Holland* both by Sea and Land; but for what Expedition deſigned, remained for ſome time a Myſtery. Mr. *Skelton*, when K. *James*'s Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, had got ſome glimmering of the Prince of *Orange* his Deſign upon *England*, more particularly by one *Verace* a *Genueſe*, and Captain of the Guard to the Prince; but this Perſon being afterwards diſmiſhiered, and upon his Journey home to his own Country, wrote to Mr. *Skelton* now the King's Envoy at *Paris*, that he had ſomething to communicate to the King his Maſter, that concerned nothing leſs than his Crown, and to let him know a Son-in-law, of whom

was not miſtruſtful enough; but for the reſt, he would not unfold the Secret to any other than King *James* himſelf. *Skelton* hereupon writing divers Letters to *England*, and not receiving any ſutable Anſwer, this made both himſelf and the *French* Court to be very uneaſy; yet when they had in a manner entirely acquieſc'd, and left the King to take his own Meaſures, ſince he ſeem'd to reject theirs, and the Aſſiſtance offered him, it hapned one day, that Monſieur *de Croiſſy* being in diſcourſe with *Skelton*, and interrogating him concerning the then State of things in *England*, the other anſwered, that he had nothing more to do in the Matter, and durſt not intermeddle any farther, but added, that he believed if the moſt Chriſtian King would order his Ambaſſador to declare to the States of *Holland* the part he took in the Affairs of the King of *England* his Maſter, and to threaten to attack them in caſe they attempted any thing againſt him, that he would quickly put a ſtop to them, and break the Prince of *Orange* his Meaſures thereupon. *De Croiſſy* took the Propoſal preſently, and no ſooner informed the *French* King of it, but he orders the Count *d' Avaux* to acquaint the States General with his Mind; in conformity to which *d' Avaux* in a Memorial to them ſet forth, That the ſincere Deſire the King his Maſter had to maintain the Tranquillity of *Europe* would not ſuffer him to ſee the great Preparations of War both by Sea and Land made by their Lordſhips, without taking the Meaſures that Prudence (the continual Companion of all his Actions) inſpired him with, to prevent the Miſchiefs theſe warlike Preparations would certainly draw after them: And tho the King, perſwaded of the Wiſdom of their Councils, would not imagine that a Free State ſhould ſo eaſily reſolve to take up Arms, and kindle a War, which in that conjuncture would not but be fatal to Chriſtendom; nevertheleſs he could not believe their Lordſhips would engage themſelves in ſo great Expences both at home and abroad, to entertain in Pay ſo many foreign Troops, to put to Sea ſo numerous a Fleet ſo late in the Year, and to prepare ſuch great Magazines, if they had not a Deſign formed anſwerable to the Greatneſs of thoſe Preparations. All which Circumſtances, and many others which

1688.

French *Memorial at the* Hague.

1688. which might be produced, perſwaded the King his Maſter with reaſon, that this arming threatned *England*; wherefore his Majeſty had commanded him to declare unto them on his part, That the Bands of Friendſhip and Alliance between him and the King of *Great Britain*, would oblige him not only to aſſiſt him, but to look on the firſt Act of Hoſtility that ſhould be committed by their Troops or Fleet againſt the King of *England*, as a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace, and a Breach with his Crown. Wherefore he left it to their Lordſhips Prudence to reflect on the Conſequence that ſuch an Action might have, his Majeſty not having ordered him to make this Declaration on his part, without his ſincere Intention to prevent (as he had already the Honour to tell them) all that might trouble the Peace of *Europe*.

This Memorial having been put in on the 9th of *September*, it ſhould ſeem by K. *James* his recalling Mr. *Skelton* thereupon, and committing him Priſoner to the Tower, that there was a ſecret League really made between him and *France* (as the Memorial intimates) which he would not have yet divulg'd. However this were in reality, every thing ſeemed now to concur to the Ruin of that unhappy Prince; the Prince of *Orange* went on with his Expedition and Deſign, which the Irruption made by the *French* on the ſide of *Germany*, whither they had drawn moſt of their Troops, gave him a fair opportunity to do; and K. *James* refuſing the Succours offered him by *France* both of Men and Ships, was deſerted by a great part of his own Army ſoon after the Prince had landed, and the beſt Retreat he could think of was to ſend his Family before, and then to withdraw himſelf to *France*.

1689. During his abode there the *Engliſh* having filled the abdicated Throne with the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, who were declared on the 13th of *February* King and Queen of *England*, their Majeſties, as well in regard to the preſent State of *Europe*, as in obligation to their Allies, on the 7th of *May* put forth a Declaration of War againſt *France*, importing, That having pleaſed God to make them the happy Inſtruments of delivering theſe Nations from imminent Dangers, and to place them upon the Throne, they thought

Engliſh *Declaration of War againſt* France.

them

emſelves obliged to the utmoſt to endeavour the 1689.
elfare of their People, which could never be effectu-
y ſecured, but by preventing the Miſeries that threat-
d them from abroad; and when they conſidered the
any unjuſt Methods the *French* King had of late years
ken to gratify his Ambition, that he had not only
vaded the Territories of the Emperor and the Em-
re then in amity with them, laying waſte whole
ountries, and deſtroying the Inhabitants by his Ar-
ies, but declared War againſt their Allies, without
y Provocation, in manifeſt Violation of the Treaties
nfirmed by the Guarantee of the Crown of *England*;
ey could do no leſs than join with their Allies in op-
ſing the Deſigns of the *French* King, as the Diſturber
the Peace, and the common Enemy of the Chriſtian
orld. And beſides the Obligations they lay under
Treaties with their Allies, which were a ſufficient
ſtification of them for taking up Arms at that time,
ce they had called upon them ſo to do, the many
uries done to them and their Subjects, without any
paration by the *French*, were ſuch that (however of
e years they had not been taken notice of, for Reaſons
ll known to the World) nevertheleſs they would
t paſs them over without a publick and juſt Reſent-
nt of ſuch Outrages.

Then coming to ſome Particulars, they ſaid, it was
t long ſince the *French* took Licences from the *Engliſh*
overnour of *Newfoundland* to fiſh in the Seas upon
at Coaſt, and pay a Tribute for ſuch Licences, as
Acknowledgment of the ſole Right of the Crown
England to that Iſland; and yet of late the En-
oachments of the *French* upon their ſaid Iſland, and
ir Subjects Trade and Fiſhery, had been more like
Invaſions of an Enemy, than becoming Friends,
o enjoyed the Advantage of their Trade only by
rmiſſion. But that the *French* King ſhould invade
ir *Caribbee* Iſlands, and poſſeſs himſelf of their Ter-
ories of the Province of *New York*, and of *Hud-*
s-Bay in a hoſtile manner, ſeizing their Forts,
rning their Subjects Houſes, and enriching
People with the Spoil of their Goods and Mer-
andize, detaining ſome of their Subjects under
Hardſhip of Impriſonment, cauſing others to be
inhu-

1689. inhumanly killed, and driving the reſt to Sea in a ſmall Veſſel, without Food, or Neceſſaries to ſupport them, were Actions not becoming even an Enemy; and yet he was ſo far from declaring himſelf ſo, that at that very time he was negotiating in *England* by his Miniſters, a Treaty of Neutrality and good Correſpondence in *America*.

That the Proceedings of the *French* King againſt their Subjects in *Europe* were ſo notorious, that they had no need to enlarge upon them; his countenancing the Seizure of *Engliſh* Ships by *French* Privateers, forbidding the Importation of a great part of the Product and Manufactury of their Kingdom, and impoſing exorbitant Cuſtoms upon the reſt, notwithſtanding the vaſt Advantages he and the *French* Nation reaped by their Commerce with *England*, were ſufficient Evidences of his Deſign to deſtroy the Trade, and conſequently to ruin the Navigation, upon which the Wealth and Safety of that Nation very much depended. That the Right of the Flag inherent in the Crown of *England* had been diſputed by his Orders in violation of their Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, which in all Ages had been aſſerted by their Predeceſſors, and they were reſolved to maintain for the Honour of their Crown, and of the *Engliſh* Nation. Then they ſaid, that that which more nearly touched them, was his unchriſtian Perſecution of many of their *Engliſh* Proteſtant Subjects in *France* for Matters of Religion, contrary to the Law of Nations and expreſs Treaties, forcing them to abjure their Religion by ſtrange and unuſual Cruelties, and impriſoning ſome of the Maſters and Seamen of their Merchant Ships, and condemning others to the Gallies, upon pretence of having on board either ſome of his own miſerable Proteſtant Subjects, or their Effects: And laſtly, that as he had for ſome Years laſt paſt, endeavoured by Inſinuations and Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, to overthrow the Government of *England*; ſo now by open and violent Methods, and the actual Invaſion of their Kingdom of *Ireland*, in ſupport of their Subjects in Arms and Rebellion againſt them, he was promoting the utter Extirpation of their good and loyal Subjects in that their Kingdom.

Being

Being therefore thus neceſſitated to take up Arms, 1689.
d relying on the Help of Almighty God in their juſt
ndertaking, they thought fit to declare, and did
ereby declare War againſt the *French* King; and
at they would, in conjunction with their Allies,
oſecute the ſame both by Sea and Land (ſince he had
unrighteouſly begun it) being aſſured of the hearty
oncurrence and Aſſiſtance of their Subjects in ſup-
rt of ſo good a Cauſe; thereby willing and re-
iring the General of their Forces, their Commiſſi-
ers for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral,
eir Lieutenants of their ſeveral Counties, Gover-
rs of their Forts and Gariſons, and all other Of-
ers and Soldiers under them by Sea and Land, to do
d execute all Acts of Hoſtility in the proſecution of
at War againſt the *French* King, his Vaſſals and Sub-
ſts, and to oppoſe their Attempts: Willing and
quiring all their Subjects to take notice of the ſame,
hom from hence forward they ſtrictly forbad to
old any Correſpondence or Communication with the
id *French* King and his Subjects. And becauſe there
ere yet remaining in their Kingdoms many of the
rench King's Subjects, they declared and gave their
oyal Word, that all ſuch of the *French* Nation as
ould demean themſelves dutifully towards them, and
ot correſpond with their Enemies, ſhould be ſafe in
eir Perſons, and free from all Moleſtation and
rouble of any kind.

Before this Declaration was publiſhed, King *James* aving *France*, and being attended by about 1800 uxiliary *French*, lands in *Ireland* on the 12*th* of *March*, where we muſt leave him, and ſome of his ollowers to be knock'd on the head before *Derry*, hich they could not take in conjunction with the *Iriſh* rmy, nor afterwards force the *Engliſh* under Duke *chomberg* from their Camp at *Dundalk*; which termi-ated the Affairs of that Kingdom, ſo far as they re-ted to the *French* for that year: And therefore we ill now ſee how this new begun War was carried on other Parts. And here we are to obſerve, that *Holland* and *Spain* being joined in a Confederacy ith the Emperor, Empire, and *England*, engaged in War againſt *France*; and the Confederate Army this

year

1689. year in *Flanders* was commanded by Prince *Waldeck*
as that of *France* was by the Mareſchal *d' Humieres*
between whom there paſſed very little of moment t
about the middle of *Auguſt*; when the Prince
camping from *Fountain Eveque*, paſſed the *Sambr*
and fell into the Enemies Country; and having pitch
his Camp at *Thet-Chaſteau*, the Enemy incamped
near him, that the Outguards were not above half
hours March off one another. Now the Mareſchal
the 25*th* hearing that a great Number of *Dutch* Ho
were out a foraging, attempted to ſurprize them;
which end having made a Motion with his whole A
my, which ſome days before had been reinforced wi
ſix thouſand Men, *Waldeck* had no ſooner notice he
of, but he gave his Foragers the Signal by firing ſo
Pieces of Cannon: However that did not prev
their being vigorouſly charged by the *French*, w
took ſome of them; and their Vanguard advanci
attacked the Village of *Forge*, where 900 Foot we
poſted to ſecure the Foragers, commanded by Colo
Hodges, who for above two Hours gallantly defe
ed themſelves, but had been overpowered by Mul
tudes, had not *Roe* Major General of the Cavalr
who was ſent to bring back the Lieutenant Genera
Webbenum, *Marlborough*, and *d' Hubi*, come with th
Horſe timely to their Succour. With that R
inforcement they made a retreating Fight agai
the main of the *French*, that came pouring in up
them with great Fury, till they came to a ri
Ground near *Walcourt*, where they joined a Battali
of *Lunenburgers*, which had been reinforced by an
ther of Colonel *Hales*. The *French* attacked t
Town with great Reſolution for an hour and a ha
during which Prince *Waldeck* order'd Lieutenant G
neral *Alva* to march with three Regiments to the
Relief; the ſame being alſo followed by the Guard
and two *Engliſh* Regiments under my Lord *Marl
rough*, while Major General *Slaugeburg* advanc
almoſt at the ſame time with ſome other Regiments
Foot to the other ſide of the Town: All theſe Mo
ons being perceived by the *French*, they pretty haſ
ly retreated, leaving ſome Cannon and Ammunitio
and many Men ſlain behind them. But they could n

Campagn in Flanders.

1689.

purſued by reaſon of the Hillineſs of the Ground. Confederates would own they had in the whole ion loſt above three hundred Men (but this was a e minc'd) and they would have that of the *French* mount to near 2000 killed and wounded; tho they nſelves would never allow they amounted to any re than 500 in all.

There hapning no other Action worth relating in *Netherlands* this Campagn, we'll ſee what was nſacted on the *German* ſide of the Country, where find the Armies both early in the Field, and quick-entred upon Action; and the firſt Place that felt Effects of the Confederate Arms was *Keyſerwaert*, own in the Dutchy of *Cleve*, which in *May* was cked up by the Elector of *Brandenburg*; but the e was not ſo vigorouſly carried on as was expected, egard the Beſiegers had hopes to make themſelves ſters of the Town by fair means; however they the Gariſon warning if they capitulated not be-the 25*th* of the Month, they ſhould have no quar-

Keyſerwaert beſieged and ſurrendred to the E. of Brandenburg.

With which Menaces they ſeeming not to be much nted, the Confederates at length began to bomb batter the Place in good earneſt; ſo that at laſt *French* on the 29*th* of *June* were forced to capitu-and agreed to give up the Place upon condition ſhould march out with all Enſigns of Honour, be convoy'd the nigheſt way to *Luxemburg*, but he Cannon to remain in the Town for the Elec-uſe, and that the *Germans* in Gariſon were all to whither they pleaſed; and for the Regiment of *emburg*, they ſhould march out with the Gover-and having gone a little way they were to make nd, and *Raben* and *Lobmaquen* were to be made ners, and retire with their Companies, as well as *Germans* with the Subjects of the Empire, except *Liegois* who ſhould retire or ſtay in the Regiment ey thought fit; and that the Elector in his own, ell as the reſt of the Confederates Names, ſhould bliged to the Obſervance of the whole Capitulati-on condition the *French* Governor made a faithful overy of all the Mines, Stores, Ammunition, *&c.* he Town; and any Sum of the King's Money ex-ling 5000 Crowns that was found there, was to re-

1689. main at the Elector and Confederates Diſpoſal. The *French* in purſuance to theſe Articles marched out about 4000 ſtrong, leaving behind them in the Place of Pieces of Cannon, two Mortars, with Stores proportionable.

The *French* having proved thus unſucceſsful in the Defence of *Keyſerwaert*, the Confederates on the other hand projected yet a Siege of greater importance, which was that of the City of *Mentz*, that had laſt year with divers other Places fallen into the Hands of the *French*, as before mentioned. The Army was commanded by the ever-famous Duke of *Lorain*, who in the Month of *July* arrived at *Frankfort* with 20000 old Soldiers; and there having held a Council of War in conjunction with the Elector of *Saxony* and other Confederate Commanders, the Siege of this Place was at laſt reſolved upon, tho the Trenches were not opened before it till the 22d of *July*. The Army as well conſiſting of Imperialiſts, *Saxons*, *Heſſians*, and *Bavarians* (which at laſt after they had left a conſiderable Force in the black Forest marched ten thouſand ſtrong to the Siege) they made up the Number of fifty thouſand Men and upwards. It would be too tedious to enter upon every particular Day's Action and Advance in the Siege, but in general it was thus: The Marqueſs *d' Uxelles* the *French* Governor made a very gallant Defence, and the frequent Sallies of the Gariſon in a ſhort time ruined the Works which the Beſiegers had been raiſing ſeveral Days; and was the reaſon it was ſo long before the Batteries could be in a Condition to make Breach in the Walls, and the Works of the City. On the 16th of *Auguſt* the Beſieged made a Sally at Noon to the number of 2000 Men, upon the Saxon Quarters, and preſently overturn'd all before them, but the Imperialiſts at laſt coming up to their Relief there hapned a moſt terrible Slaughter on both ſides, the *French* loſing at leaſt 500 Men, but the Confederates a great many more. The *French* not many days after made three Sallies on one and the ſame day, and even within two hours of one another, the two firſt whereof they made a great Slaughter amongſt the Beſiegers, and cleared the Trenches

Confederates beſiege Mentz.

em; but the third was with 3000 Men, Drums 1689.
ating and Colours flying, and ſo falling furiouſly
, the Confederates who were not aware of any ſuch
lly; they at firſt killed 600 of them, nailed two
eces of Cannon, filled up the Trenches, and poſted
eir main Guard of Horſe in a Place where the Be-
gers had begun to open their Trenches. Yet at
t the Imperialiſts having rallied, vigorouſly repul-
l the *French*, who loſt a good Number of Men upon
is occaſion.

But for all this great Reſiſtance of the Beſieged,
Beſiegers by degrees made themſelves Maſters of
the Out-poſts where the Enemy had planted them-
ves, and raiſed Batteries in three ſeveral Places,
ich they ſecured with good Redoubts; from all
ich they began to play at once on the 25*th* of *Au-*
, and at the ſame time threw a great many Bombs
o the City, which made a moſt terrible Noiſe and
vock; and while the Cannon open'd a Breach, the
iegers advanced towards the Counterſcarp, blew
ſome Mines, and made all things ready for a gene-
Aſſault: And the ſame on the 5*th* of *September* be-
reſolved on in a Council to be next day in three ſe-
al Quarters; and every thing being ſet to rights
h all the care that an Affair of ſo great moment
uired; the Cannon by break of Day began to
y upon the City from the Batteries, and continued
ng ſo till four in the Afternoon; when throwing a
mb into the Air as a Signal, the Aſſault began on
Saxon Quarter, at what time the Imperialiſts,
ſians, and *Lunenburgers* followed, and having
ght for three hours like mad Men, they made them-
es Maſters of the Counterſcarp; while the *French*,
o all this while fired very briskly with their Can-
, killed a great Number of the Beſiegers, and at
ſame time ſprung three Mines which buried a great
ny of the *Heſſians*. On the other ſide the Imperi-
s made a Lodgment to the Number of 11000 Foot
3000 Horſe upon the Bulwark called *Boniface*,
withſtanding all the Fire and Smoak of the Bombs
Cannon of the Beſieged. The *Lunenburgers* and
ons fell on alſo with no leſs Fury, and purſued the
ch to the very Gates of the City, killing all before

1689. them; so that the Besieged now finding all the Ou
works lost, wherein the Strength of the Place consi
Mentz *surrendred.* ed, their own Number much abated, and the Besi
gers beginning to fill up the Moat, in order to storm
the Body of the Town, they desired to capitulate
and all things being agreed on, they marched out
the *11th* of *September* with Drums beating, C
lours flying, six Pieces of Cannon, and two Mortar
upon condition they should leave behind them in t
Town all the Contribution which they had gather
of the Inhabitants and adjacent Parts. The Numb
of the Garison was extremely diminished by this
vere Siege; but tho there was an absolute necessi
for the *Germans* to recover this City out of the *Fren*
Hands, yet it cost them very dear, some Accou
reckoning their Loss to have been no less than 200
Men, and among them several considerable Office
But the more modest Computation seems to have be
about seven thousand Men of the Besiegers, amo
whom were reckoned four Princes; and that t
French Loss was near five thousand Men, since th
was not above six thousand that marched out
the Town, whereas it was known the Garison w
above eleven thousand strong before the Siege: But
Marquess *d' Uxelles* being unwilling to acknowle
the Success was any ways owing to the Courage a
Gallantry of the *Germans*, gave out that it was w
of Powder that made him surrender.

French *ravage the Palatinate*, &c. While the Confederates were engaged in the Sie
of *Mentz*, the *French* who had before laid the Ci
of *Spire*, *Oppenheim*, *Keddiscum*, and *Worms* in all
and soon after *Frankendal*, were not now idle,
continued their Ravages in the Palatinate, burn
and sacking the Towns and Villages all along fr
Heidelburg to *Frankfort*. They had resolved to be
with the Capital of the Palatinate, and to that e
the Mareschal *de Duras* drew near it on the fourth
August with a considerable Body of Men, and
City had been infallibly carried (for there were t
but 500 Men in Garison within it) if they had
met by chance with a thousand men of the Regim
of *Wirtemburg* that were on their March to *Benshe*
On the 5th the *French* fired very hard with t
Cann

nnon from a Redoubt called the *Star*, which had 1689.
n demoliſhed, and poſſeſſed themſelves alſo of a
l that lay behind the Caſtle, with a deſign to cut off
ody of a thouſand Men, that were coming to the
lief of the Place, but they found a way to paſs
Neckar, and ſo got into the City. On the 6*th*
y attempted to ſtorm the Place, but with ſo ill Suc-
,that they loſt four hundred Men, and then retreat-
towards *Philipsburg*. However they ſome time after
acked *Brunſhall*, and after ſome Aſſaults carried it:
this Acquiſition was nothing in compariſon of the
s of *Mentz*,the Conſequences whereof they did not
; and therefore no ſooner heard of the Surrender
it, but they laid all the Country waſt about *Mont-*
al, as fearing the Confederates would next lay Siege
hat Place; they were not alſo without ſome Appre-
ſions of *Luxemburg* it ſelf being in danger, by their
ning *St. Villa*, *Marche*, *Baboigne*, *Salm*, *la Roch*,
rby, and ſome other Villages in that Dutchy.
But to return again to the Elector of *Brandenburg*;
had no ſooner made himſelf Maſter of *Keyſer-*
rt, but that he bent his Thoughts upon the taking
Bonn; however there hapned divers things that oc-
oned the retarding of the Execution of it with any
at Vigor, tho he actually inveſted it. For the
rqueſs of *Boufflers* having drawn a conſiderable
y of Men together, fell with Fire and Sword into
Electorate of *Cleve*, ravaging and burning all be-
him; and underſtanding that at *Cocheim* a ſmall
wn upon the *Moſelle*, about five Leagues from
nt Royal, there lay about ſixteen hundred Men,
ly Imperialiſts, and partly Inhabitants of *Treves*,
reſolved to force the Place; and to that purpoſe
he 25*th* of *July* marching thither with all his Force,
having firſt ſummoned the Gariſon to ſurrender at
retion without Succeſs, he attacked them next
rning in three ſeveral Places. The Imperialiſts ha-
repulſed them ſeveral times, reſolved at laſt
abandon the Caſtle, which had been ruined the
nter before, and to retire into the Town, which
y thought was more tenable. This being perceived *The Action*
the *French* that had attacked them on that ſide, *of* Co-
y charged them ſo vigorouſly, that they entred the cheim.

1689. Town Pelmel with them at the ſame time, and drove all the Beſieged before them to the great Place where they made a ſtand; but being by much overpowered with Numbers, they were in the firſt Heat of the *French* Fury, Man, Woman and Child, put to the Sword: At laſt their military Rage being ſomewhat abated, they made about three hundred of them Priſoners of War. This News was no ſooner brought to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, but he diſpatched *Schoning* away with between eight and ten thouſand Men to ſeek out *Boufflers* and fight him; who having notice of his March retreated, ſo that *Schoning* returned again before *Bonn*. But this was not the only Interruption the Elector had in the Siege; for Prince *Waldeck* being apprehenſive he was too weak for *Humieres* in Horſe, ſent for the States Horſe that were before *Bonn* to march into *Flanders*, conſiſting of ſeven Regiments, to which the Elector added three of his own. Neither was the Detachment, he had ſent to the Camp before *Mentz*, upon the requeſt of the Duke of *Lorain* leſs conſiderable, tho that City a little while after they were gone ſurrendred, and that Detachment returned again to the Camp. However his Army in the main was conſiderably leſſened hereby, ſo that all he could do was to block up the Town, which yet he did not ſo cloſely, as that nothing could either get in or out. In the mean time the *French* Gariſon made ſeveral ſucceſsful Sallies, and one among the reſt on the laſt of *Auguſt*, with ſo much Fury on the *Dutch* Quarters that they forced the Vanguard, and broke in as far as the Tents, which alarmed the whole Camp; but they met not with the ſame Succeſs upon that which they made the next day upon the *Munſterians*, for they were beaten back with the Loſs of near a hundred Men, and two hundred wounded.

But how ſtrong ſoever the Gariſon was at the beginning of the Siege, the ſeveral Sallies they made muſt needs ſomewhat weaken them; and the News of the taking of *Mentz*, which was proclaimed in the Elector's Camp by the Diſcharge of all the Artillery could not be ſuppoſed to add any new Strength to them; for on the contrary, the Governor when he heard the noiſe of the Cannon, was ſo ſurprized that

ſent out to know the reaſon of it, of which being 1689.
ll informed, he could hardly believe it at firſt, ſo
rong was his Imagination that the Town would have
ld out longer; but finding it to be true, and the E-
ctor ſending him word it was time to capitulate, he
gan to make ſome Overtures, which the Elector re-
ted as unreaſonable, and finding *Schoning* now re-
rned to the Camp, he reſolved to puſh on the Siege
th Vigour, and not to quit the Place till he had re-
ced it, which was now rendred much more eaſy by
Reinforcement of 4000 Foot and 1000 Horſe ſent
om *Mentz*, and the Duke of *Lorain* himſelf on the
th of *Septemb.* arrived alſo in the Camp. Where-
e the Approaches and Batteries were expedited with
Diligence, and the Trenches at length carried on
the very foot of the Counterſcarp; and the Brea-
es being made, all things were prepared for a Gene-
l Aſſault. They had fallen on the 5*th* or 6*th* of
tob. had it not been for the Rain that fell; where-
re Sunday the 9*th* being appointed for the Work,
e Imperialiſts were nominated to ſtorm the Horn-
ork, while the *Hollanders*, *Brandenburgers*, and
unſterians attacked the Counterſcarp of the half
oon and Covert way; and accordingly falling on
ry furiouſly, the *Brandenburgers* firſt lodged them-
ves on the Counterſcarp, and drove the Enemy ſo
, that the Breach being wide enough for four Men
breaſt, ſome entred into the City Pellmel with the
rench. The Imperialiſts found harder Work on their
le, tho at laſt they lodged themſelves upon the Horn-
ork, but not without conſiderable Loſs. However
e Baron *de Hasfield*, ſeeing now the Outworks car-
d, and fearing the Place might be taken by Storm,
pitulated; whereby he agreed that all the great
uns, Ammunition and Proviſion were to remain at the
ſpoſal of the Elector; That the *Heſſian* Intendant,
ommiſſary of War, Treaſurer, Commiſſioner and Re-
iver of the Contributions, ſhould continue Priſoners Bonn *ſur-*
War, and all things that were found to be in *Specie* *rendred.*
longing to *Maynard* Count of *Schomberg* to be reſto-
d; for you muſt know the *French* ſome time before
d ſeized his Baggage for the ſake of the Plate and Jew-
s, of both which there were conſiderable Quantities.

1690. Having thus brought this Campagn to a Conclusion we muſt proceed now to another Year, wherein we find the *French* very intent upon the reſtoring of the late K. *James* to his abdicated Throne, as ſuppoſing the moſt effectual way to do their own Buſineſs; in order to which, in conjunction with the *Engliſh Jacobites* they contrived to attempt ſomething conſiderable to the advantage of their Cauſe in the Abſence of King *William* in *Ireland*; and their Project was, that part of the *French* Fleet ſhould bear up the *Thames* to favour and aſſiſt the Deſigns of thoſe that were in *London* of the Party, who were ſuppoſed to be very numerous by the flocking of a great many of the Conſpirators from all parts of the Country thither; That they were to make an Inſurrection in ſeveral Places at once. That certain Perſons were to have taken upon them the Adminiſtration of Affairs, till the return of K. *James* who was to haſten for *England*. The other part of the *French* Fleet having joined their Gallies was to have landed 8000 Men at *Torbay*, with Arms for a greater Number, after which the Gallies and Men of War were to ſail into the *Iriſh* Sea, to hinder the return of K. *William* and his Forces. Their Party in *Scotland* was to have revolted at the ſame time in ſeveral Parts of that Kingdom. But however the Scheme was in reality, the whole Contrivance ſeemed to have been founded upon the Preſumption, if not Aſſurance of the *Engliſh* Fleet's being firſt beaten by the *French*. The Conſpiracy indeed by a timely Diſcovery, proved a vain Contrivance, tho the Grounds upon which the Formation thereof ſeemed to depend had but too much Succeſs.

Torrington's Fight. For all the *French* Fleet having entred the Channel, they ſteered ſome time upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt, expecting the effect of the Conſpiracy, which was to have broken out on the 18*th* of *June*. Of this the Queen had no ſooner notice, but ſhe ſent the Earl of *Torrington*, who was Admiral, Orders to fight the *French*, whatever befel him, as knowing they could have no good Deſign in coming ſo near us. I do not care for the Particulars of this Action; it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the *Dutch*, by the Confeſſion of the *French* themſelves, fought like ſo many Lyons,

of their Ships of ſixty Guns ſunk, alſo another of 1690.
ſs Rate, a third burnt, and twelve more ſo diſa-
d in their Maſts and Rigging, that not being able
arry them off, they were forced to ſink and burn
m. As for the *Engliſh* (they ſaid) they bore
y in good time, and came off without much Loſs,
ile the *French* alledged they ſuffered very little
the Action, and not a Ship of them had loſt her
ſt.

However the *Engliſh* Government was ſo vigilant,
t the *French* made but little Improvement of their
ſtory, and all they could do was to burn a louſy
her-Town in the Weſt of *England* before they re-
ned to their own Coaſts. Then for their Auxiliary
oops in *Ireland* in the Service of K. *James*, they
d the *Iriſh* their Confederates, proved unſucceſsful
inſt K. *William* at the *Boyne*, tho the former to do
m Juſtice fought very well, and at laſt retreated in
od Order; and a good Body of them beſides *Iriſh*
ng got into *Limerick*, they reſolved to defend it to
utmoſt Extremity; and *Monſieur Boiſeleau*, who
s Governor, being ſummoned by K. *William* to
render, directed a Letter to Sir *Robert Southwel* Se-
tary of State (for he would not, as 'tis ſuppoſed,
d directly to the King, becauſe of avoiding to give
n the Title of Majeſty) importing, That he was
prized at the Summons, and that he thought the
t way to gain the Prince of *Orange*'s good Opinion,
s by a vigorous Defence of the Town, which his
after had entruſted him with; and having been as
od as his Word herein, the Siege was raiſed, with
ich we leave *Ireland*, and will now ſee what they
ere tranſacting upon the Continent.

We have already obſerved what a conſiderable Con-
deracy had been formed againſt *France*, which was
s Year farther augmented by the addition of ano-
er Prince, who by reaſon of the Situation of his
untry, made both Parties court him with the ut-
oſt Application, tho in a different manner and with
fferent Succeſs. The Duke of *Savoy* had all along
ce the beginning of the War profeſſed to ſtand
eutral, which perhaps did not very well pleaſe ei-
er of the Parties concerned therein, tho the *French*
firſt

1690. first appeared to be moſt diſſatisfied with him; for
pleaſed to have before put the Duke upon impriſonin
exiling and deſtroying his Proteſtant Subjects, t
poor *Vaudois*, they declared themſelves now not
tisfied with the pretended Neutrality, which they lo
ed upon as no other than a mere Chimera, and the
fore demanded he ſhould put the Cittadels of *Verc*
and *Turin* into their Hands for the Security of
Word: However the Duke put as good a mien up
the matter as he could, and ſome time was ſpent,
not gained by him, in ſending of Couriers to the K
upon that Subject, and receiving others from h
which tho it did for a while, yet a new Accident h
ned, which made the *French* more preſſing and p
remptory for a poſitive Anſwer; for being informe
that the Emperor had at laſt granted what the D
had ſo long deſired, that is, the Title of *Royal Hi*
neſs, which had been formerly refuſed upon go
Conſiderations offered him by the Duke, they beca
ſomewhat more than ſuſpicious of his Fidelity; a
his declaring thereupon to the *French* King by his M
niſter, that he had no Deſign to abandon the Frien
ſhip of *France*, or do any thing contrary to the Tr
ties that were between him and that Crown, w
looked upon as Terms ſo general, and of ſo compr
henſive a Latitude, that they would not paſs for c
rent Coin in the *French* Court. Wherefore *Monſi*
Catinat, who was to command the *French* Troops
that ſide, before Summer was well begun, paſſed t
Mountains, and arrived at *Turin*, leaving an Army
about 18000 men to rendeſvouz in the *Dauphin*
and ſo to follow him into the Duke's Territor
which they ſoon did, and for a time demeaned the
ſelves without committing any Hoſtility; for the Du
himſelf did not only offer to obſerve an exact N
trality, and for Security of Performance to furn
the King with 2000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, but t
Pope's Nuncio at *Turin* thruſt himſelf in to patch
the Accommodation, tho without being able to fi
out any Medium; for *Catinat* not ſatisfied with a
Offers that were made, poſitively demanded *Verc*
for a Place of Arms, proteſting that he could n
hearken to any Agreement, but upon thoſe Conditio

D. of Savoy enters into the Confederacy.

No

w tho 'tis manifeſt, the Duke had by this time made 1690.
oice of his Side, yet all the Artifice imaginable
s uſed to ſpin out a little more time, becauſe other-
ſe he muſt very much endanger his own Country,
re the *Spaniards* from the *Milaneſe* were not in a
ndition to relieve him. And this was attended with
w Propoſals from *France*, containing in Subſtance,
at the King was willing to refer his Concerns to the
pe and Republick of *Venice*, upon condition the
ke would put *Verceil*, *Carmagnole* and *Suza* into
Pope's Hands till the end of the War. But the
ke being willing no longer to mince the matter that
s already but too much ſuſpected, and muſt neceſ-
ily be known, declared, That he had now made
oice of his Party, and that he was engaged with the
nperor, and could not recede from his Word:
wever in regard, that the Alliance which he had
de with his Imperial Majeſty, tended no farther
n to oppoſe the unjuſt Deſigns of the Moſt Chriſti-
King, to defend himſelf from Oppreſſion, and ſe-
re the Repoſe of all *Italy*, if his Majeſty would put
ſal and *Pignerol* into the Hands of the Republick of
nice till the end of the War, and that all Differen-
between them were decided, he would lay down
Arms, and for ſome time put one of his own
wns into the Pope's Hands, as a Security for the
ſervation of his Word. But *France* had neither ab-
utely nor for any time a mind to hearken to ſuch
nditions, and ſo came to an open Rupture: The
ſect whereof was the immediate Liberty of
Vaudois, and Incouragement given them to arm
mſelves againſt *France*; the publick avowing of the
ke's Treaty firſt with the Emperor, and after-
rds with *Spain*, the Conſequences whereof we ſhall
ve at preſent, and a little inſpect into the Tranſ-
ions of the Field nearer home.

Here 'tis worthy of Obſervation, that as the Ene-
es of *France* increaſed, ſo ſhe ſeemed equally, and ra-
r more to increaſe in Power, being very formida-
this Year by Sea, of which we have already giv-
an account, and no whit inferior by Land. Of this
Confederates on the lower *Rhine* and in *Flanders*
med to be ſenſible, and therefore they concerted
their

1690. their measures thus, That the Army of the Stat
should oppose that of the *French* in *Flanders* und
the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, while the Elector of *Br*
denburg should on the Banks of the *Mosselle* withstan
the Forces commanded by *Boufflers*; but the *Fren*
according to their wonted Forwardness, having take
the Field betimes, the States Troops were constraine
to draw out of their Garisons to attend their Motio
before those of *Brandenburg* were come to the Po
assigned them, which gave *Boufflers* an Opportuni
to incamp between the *Sambre* and the *Meuse*, fro
whence he could join *Luxemburg*, whenever there w
occasion for it. The *Dutch* Generals under these C
cumstances were obliged to incamp at the *Pieton*, t
most advantageous Post of all *Flanders*, and there
stay till the *Brandenburg* Army took the Field, a
thereby cause the *French* to divide their Forces; b
while they lay at the *Pieton*, they understood *Luxe*
burg drew near the *Sambre*, with a Design to cross th
River between *Namur* and *Charleroy*, in order
ravage the *Spanish* Territories, and put them und
Contribution. This so alarmed the *Spaniards*, th
tho they could do little of themselves, yet they pre
sed the *Dutch* extremely to oppose the Designs of t
Enemy, wherein they the more easily prevailed, sin
Prince *Waldeck* was of himself disposed to it, out
the consideration he had of what Importance it w
to keep the *French* beyond the *Sambre*; and therefo
he decamp'd from the *Pieton* on the 3*d* of *June*, a
sent *Berlo* the same day with a Detatchment of 15
Horse, to observe whether the *French* endeavoured
pass the *Sambre* or no; he was followed by Count *H*
dorp with four or five Regiments of Cavalry mo
to assist him to make good his Retreat: *Webben*
was also posted on this side a Lane, which was to
passed thro before they could come at the Enemy.

Battel of Flerus. *Berlo* having advanced as far as the Village of *Fleru*
found that a good part of the *French* Army had
ready passed the *Sambre*, and were posted against t
Village which they kept to their Backs, of all wh
Waldeck who was posted between *Melli* and *Fle*
was instantly informed. Now the *French* having
formation of *Berlo*'s Approach, marched directly t
war

rds him, while *Luxemburg* preſently diſpatched away 1690.
eral Troops thro By-ways to fall upon him in the
ar, which made *Berlo* ſend for more Succours,
efly of Foot; but inſtead of that *Waldeck* ſending
n Orders to retreat, and he not receiving the ſame,
he was almoſt hemm'd in on every ſide, he was
iged to put himſelf into a condition to defend a
row Lane, which he had poſſeſſed before by his
agoons. The Enemy charged him very vigorouſly,
d there it was that he loſt his Life, as did alſo Ma-
Caſtleman and divers other Officers. *Flodorp* was
o advanced too far to retreat without Fighting, and
Cavalry indeed ſtood ſtoutly to it; but being over-
wered with Numbers, they were forced to retreat to
bbenum, who commanded the third Detatchment,
d was poſted on the other ſide of a Hedg. Some
the *French* Squadrons that purſued *Flodorp*, ven-
ed thro the Hedg after him, but they were ſo vi-
rouſly repulſed, that they were conſtrained to make
re haſte back again. This done, this whole Body of
rſe joined the Army, which was drawn up in Bat-
Array not far off, and thus ended the Work of
t Day. The whole Army ſtood in order of Battel
that Night, and the next Morning underſtood by
Deſerter that *Luxemburg* was reſolved to fight; but
o Spies that made it their Buſineſs to be double
es, reported preſently after that *Luxemburg* was
aſſing the *Sambre*; and in this uncertainty Prince
ldeck (who was indeed much blamed for want of
ter Intelligence, and charged with being too penu-
us towards Spies) continued till eight in the Morn-
, when the *French* being drawn up in Battalia there
s a Neceſſity of Fighting.

The States Army conſiſted of about five and twenty
ouſand Men, in regard the *Spaniſh* Forces and o-
rs who ſhould have reinforced them were not yet
ne up; the *French* were much more numerous, they
ng generally computed to be forty thouſand ſtrong,
o they themſelves will not allow of this Inequality.
owever it were, 'tis certain *Luxemburg* had drained
Gariſons conſiderably, and three days before was
nforced by the Marqueſs of *Bouffler* with eighteen
ttalions and five and forty Squadrons, beſides the
Flying

1690. Flying Camp commanded by the Count of *Gou*
To oppoſe this Force Count *Waldeck* aſſigned the C
mand of the Right Wing to the Prince of *Naſſau*
neral of the Horſe, accompanied by Lieutenant G
ral *d' Huby* a *Spaniard*; and the Prince of *Birke*
with his Brigadeers, the Prince of *Naſſau* Gover
of *Frieſland* and Mareſchal de Camp, and the L
tenant Generals *d' Alva* and *Webbenum* had the Cha
of the Left, and the main Battel. There were
ſome Horſe ſent before the Fight began, to line
Right Wing of the Army which lay in a good P
but whether there were none ſent to line the Left,
that thoſe who were commanded thither did not
their Duty, they did not perceive that the En
ſlipped ſeveral Troops behind a riſing Ground a
ſmall Wood next the *Sambre*, who poſted themſel
behind the ſecond Line of the Left Wing, which
ced them to face about and turn their Backs to the L
whereby being much weakned, ſome Battalions of
Right Wing were ſent to ſecure their Flank,
help them to keep their Ground. This was no ſoo
obſerved by *Luxemburg*, but he ſaid to the Duke
Mayn who was next to him, *Do you ſee what the E*
my are doing? I foretel they will be beaten. In
the *Dutch* Left Wing was at the ſame time attacke
Front, Rear and Flank, and ſo the firſt Line
which, as we have ſaid, one Battalion was taken to
inforce the ſecond, after they had fought for ſome
were forced to give Ground; whereupon the *Fr*
who knew well enough how to make uſe of the
portunity, advanced to the ſecond to fall upon
Rear: Now that Line was already advanced aga
the Cavalry which they had before them, and w
they had routed and drove back in Diſorder upon
French Infantry. But the *French* had three Lines,
that one was no ſooner overthrown, but freſh Batta
renewed the Fight, and the more eaſily repelled
Dutch, quite tired with the Brunts they had alre
ſuſtained. *Waldeck* perceiving the Left Wing in
Condition, and that the Horſe, not caring for
hot Service, had for the moſt part given Ground,
to their Relief the Horſe of the ſecond Line of
Right Wing, from whence the Foot had been alre
dra

n for the ſame reaſon. While this was doing on ſide, the firſt Line of the Right Wing was alſo g'd with the *French*, and had indeed bravely ed them ſeveral times, and General *du Puy* who ged them in Flank, had gained ten of their Can-; but the *French* having three Lines on that ſide al-nd being continually relieved by freſh Numbers, *Dutch* Cavalry were diſperſed and broke to that ree, that the whole Body could never be rallied n. Notwithſtanding, *Flodorp* got together about o men within an hours riding from the Camp, and ught them on again; but then it was too late, for Infantry was retreated. 1690.

ut however Matters went with the *Dutch* Cavalry his Action, they had the Misfortune ever ſince to eſteemed the worſt Horſe among the Confederates; certainly, if they had behaved themſelves as well he Infantry, they might have given a much better ount of this Battel. Indeed it may be truly ſaid of Foot without any exaggeration, that never any Men formed greater Wonders; for after they were for-n by the Horſe, they alone ſuſtained the Charges the *French* Cavalry and Infantry both, being char-in Front, Flank and Rear at the ſame time, and could not be broke: They let the *French* Squa-ns come up within Piſtol-ſhot of them, and this urſe they ſo accuſtomed themſelves to obſerve, that length they laugh'd at them, crying out, *Let them e on, we will give them their Belly full.* Inſomuch t they at laſt marched off in good Order; and was reported that *Luxemburg* himſelf ſhould ſay, at they had outdone the *Spaniſh* Infantry at the Bat-of *Rocroy*, adding withal, that it was for Prince ldeck to remember the *French* Horſe, and for him-never to forget the *Dutch* Infantry.

This Battel was very bloody on both ſides, the *tch* themſelves owning that they had loſt four thou-d and ſix hundred Men upon the Place, had a great ny wounded, and about 3000 taken Priſoners, be-es part of their Cannon; but the Gariſon of *Char-oy* brought off 25 Pieces of them, and three of the emies, two days after. The moſt remarkable Per-ns among the Slain were the Prince of *Saxon Maſ-*

querg,

1690.

querg, the Count of *Stirum*, one of the young Co
of *Naſſau*, the Baron *de Heide*, and ſeveral other
cers. As for the *French*, the *Dutch* will have their
to amount to 12000 ſlain, wounded, and made Priſon
but if we take their Account of the Battel, they a
the *Dutch* had ſix thouſand Men killed upon the
five thouſand wounded, and near eight thouſand m
Priſoners of War, among whom were nine hund
Officers; that they took from them forty nine Pie
of Cannon, fourſcore and twelve Standards, e
pair of Kettle-Drums, and a hundred and fifty W
gons laden with Ammunition: Whereas on their o
ſide they allow of no more than three thouſand ki
or wounded, among whom were many Perſons
Note, who were very much lamented.

Computation of Loſs at Flerus.

But how diſagreeing ſoever the Accounts of b
Parties were, 'tis moſt certain that the *French*, bei
the Honour of the Victory, got the opportunity
laying a great part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions un
Contribution, while the States fell to recruiting of th
Army with admirable Celerity, by ſeveral Detachme
drawn out of their Gariſons, and Count *Tilly* Gene
of the Troops of *Liege* having joined them on the 22d
July with near ten thouſand Men of that Biſhopri
Brandenburgers, and ſome *Hollanders*. *Waldeck* th
ſtrongly reinforced, decamped from *Diephen*, wh
he had been ever ſince the Battel, and having advan
as far as *Walſwavre*, he was there joined by the El
tor of *Brandenburg* with all his Forces; ſo that t
Army being now computed to be near 55000 ſtro
they marched on to *Genappe*, and ſo to *Bois Seign
Iſaac*; but *Luxemburg* being alſo reinforced on
part, and having ſtrongly fortified his Camp, th
could not force him to a ſecond Engagement; and
the Campagn ending without any farther Action
that ſide, we'll ſee what they were doing in *Germa
before we proceed any farther.

We ſhall but juſt mention that Arch-Duke *Joſeph*
Emperor's eldeſt Son was choſen King of the *Rom
towards the beginning of the Year, no doubt to
Mortification of *France*, and come to the Manife
of the Duke of *Lorain*, wherein he declared W
againſt *France*, and ſet forth his Reaſons for it, dec

how unjuſt it was that *Lewis* XIV. ſhould detain Territories from him under vain Pretences: He miſed himſelf to enter into *Lorain* this Summer with 00 Men, and exhorted all his Subjects to ſhake off *French* Yoke, and all the Gentry to come and join aſſiſt him to recover his antient Patrimony, under Penalty of being degraded of their Nobility, and rived of all their Privileges. But the Brave Duke ng not long after, to the great detriment of the federates, the *French* muſt needs be pleaſed with and tho the Dauphineſs now departed this Life, even within a day or two of the Duke of *Lorain*, this did not retard the Expedition of her Husband Dauphin into *Germany*: For he ſet out on the 17*th* *pril* from *Verſailles*, after he had been ſhut up with King for ſeveral hours in his Cloſet, and received inſtructions. On the 28*th* he arrived at *Strasburg*, from thence went to *Landau*, where the *French* y lay that was to act on that ſide. 1650.

Duke of Lorain's Death.

he Command of the *Imperial* Army after the th of the Duke of *Lorain*, was given to the Elector *avaria*, with whom at laſt joined a good Body of ns commanded by their Elector himſelf with his Sons It was expected they would have attacked ninghen; but that being not at all attempted, after had incamped for ſome time in the Marquiſate *aden Durlach*, inſtead of continuing their March rds the Upper *Rhine*, they ſuddenly fell down rds *Mentz*, the Elector of *Saxony* at the ſame being poſted near *Philipsburg*, General *Dunwaldt* manding a Flying Army towards the Gariſon of *Louis*, and General *Zouches* towards *Hunninghen*. Dauphin was no ſooner informed of theſe Motions, he paſſed the *Rhine* at *Fort Louis*, and on the 16*th* *uguſt* encamped in the Plains of *Strotheffon*, having Mountains on one ſide, the *Rhine* on the other, a large Moraſs before him, being 40000 ſtrong, in expectation of conſiderable Reinforcements. h this he deſigned to have taken ſome Forts which ed a Paſſage into *Wirtemburg*, a Province that not yet been ravaged by the Army, and conſe-tly would afford abundant Subſiſtance for his Men; the Elector of *Bavaria* not giving him leiſure to

Campagn in Germany.

1690. put that Project in execution, without losing of ti
returned back by long Marches, and joining the *Saxo*
both the Electors marched directly towards the *Frenc*
but all that ever they could do would not bring t
Dauphin to fight, who as industriously, by hard Marc
es and warlike Stratagems, declined a Battel, as th
every way sought it; and the rather, in that they we
become superior to him in Strength, upon his sendi
away a Detachment of twelve thousand Men towa
the *Mosselle* to oppose the Design of the *Lunenburgh*
and *Hessians*, who were got near *Coblentz* with a p
pose to pass the *Rhine*, and so fall into the Archbish
rick of *Treves*, and expel the *French* out of that Count

But no memorable Action hapning in these Parts
we look to the side of *Catalonia*, we shall find
Catalins, favoured by the *French*, revolt from the
niards, when having assurance of Protection and
sistance from them, they appeared bare-fac'd aga
their Sovereign; tho the Duke of *Noailles*, who c
manded the *French* Army in those Parts, rece
little other Benefit from them, than to bring him
earlier into the Field, whereby (he having the
before taken *Campredon* from the *Spaniards*) he
now the opportunity to take *San Juan Abassus*, a
Fort two Leagues beyond that Town, and six
Gironne; which incouraged him to go on, and so
ing himself Master of divers small Castles that gave
Annoyance, he advanced as far as *Foulen*, about
Leagues from *Gironne*, which he also took in, and
turned his Thoughts upon *Gironne*. But finding
self not strong enough to attack that City, yet bein
sirous to take advantage of the Slowness of the *Spani*
he left *Gironne* on the Left hand, and advanced near
City of *Vich*, maintaining his Soldiers at the Expen
the *Catalins*, and destroying all he could not mak
of with little Opposition from the *Spaniards*; but
at length coming into the Field under the Comma
the Duke of *Villa Hermosa*, the *French* retired
by the way of *Rousillon*, and so we hear no mo
them this Campagn in these Parts.

Affairs of Italy. Now it will be time to say something of the A
of *Italy*, since the Flames of War began to
there this Year. We have already taken notice o

e of *Savoy*'s throwing off his Neutrality, and clo- 1690.
in with the Confederates againſt *France*; and
ng his Troops with thoſe of the *Milaneſe*, and
Imperialiſts from *Germany*, he made up an Army
ſt as good as thoſe of *France* in thoſe Parts, which
e the Duke impatient of giving them Battel, that
might endeavour to drive his Enemy out of his
ntry; but the *Spaniſh* General diſſwaded him all
uld from it. Thus Matters ſtood, when *Catinat*
ſenſible of the Fault he had committed in remov-
om that Place, which afforded him means to repaſs
o, and forage on the other ſide of it, endeavoured
ke himſelf Maſter of it a ſecond time; but he muſt
ſome Blows for it. The Duke of *Savoy* no ſoon-
derſtood his Meaning, but leaving the Neighbour-
of *Turin* on the 17*th* of *June*, he marched, and
nped with his Army at *Calagarga* over-againſt
calier, not above half a League from the Enemy,
o being between both Armies. The Duke having
ere for ſome Days, on the 17*th* of *July* marched
ncamped about three quarters of a League from
rench Army, which next Morning decamped alſo
reak of Day, and by Nine there appeared a Body
o Horſe about a quarter of a League from the
derate Army, which obliged the Duke to draw
Men in Battalia. But *Catinat* having no other
n in making his Horſe advance, than to ſecure the
h of the reſt of his Forces, which moved on to
p on the River *Pitana*, he in the mean time de-
d a conſiderable Body to make themſelves Maſters
rignan; but there being by Accident a Party of
iedmont Army poſted there, and the ſame being
led by the *Vaudois* and the Country People, it
nted the *French* from getting into the Town.
w the Duke of *Savoy* alſo on his part conſidering
dvantageouſneſs of the Poſt, and being fearful
e *French* ſhould make a ſecond Attempt next
ing, he ſent three Regiments of Foot, and five
rons of Horſe to reinforce the Town under the
ueſs of *Pianezze*, who arrived there next Morn-
n hour before Day; but he hardly poſſeſſed all
ſts with his Men, before a Detachment, which
d ordered to plant themſelves upon a Bridg cloſe

1690. by *Carignan*, over which the *French* were to pass, m
the Vanguard of the *French*, consisting of 3000 Fo
and 2000 Horse, who were advancing in order to ma
themselves Masters of the Place, and who charged t
Piedmontois with such a vigorous Resolution, that Pi
nezze was forced to sustain the Party with fresh Su
French *repulsed at* Carignan. plies. In the mean time the Duke, who had so
Foresight of what should happen, had ordered t
Battalions of Foot of the Left Wing of his Arm
and neareſt to *Carignan*; to go to the Relief of *Pi*
nezze, with *Louvigniez* and *Parelle* at the Head
them, who by the time they were got within a M
of the Town, found that the Fight was begun, whe
upon *Parelle* entred the Town with one of the Ba
lions, while *Louvigniez* posted the other in an adv
tageous Place. The Duke in the mean time had dra
up his Army in Battalia, and was advancing towa
Carignan, with an intention to give the *French* Ba
in case they continued their Resolution to make th
selves Masters of that Place. Indeed *Parelle* had
rived there before, just in the nick of time, as
Piedmontois had quitted the Bridg; but finding th
selves re-inforc'd, they resumed fresh Courage,
made the *French* retire in confusion, after they had
Savon a very good Officer, and a considerable n
ber of Soldiers.

This Repulse of the *French* at *Carignan* was fol
ed by a more considerable Blow on the side of the
lies of *Piedmont*, where the *Vaudois* joining with
French Exiles, were resolved to beat the Enemy o
the Vallies, and the Town of *Lucern*, of which
had at the beginning made themselves Masters.
this purpose having on the 18*th* of *August* joined
the Marquess of *Parelle*, who had about 3000 o
Piedmont Militia with him at a Place called *Ba*
they resolved upon the Enterprize, tho *Parelle* wa
led away to the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army, and mo
the Militia disbanded. Wherefore *de Loches*,
having viewed the Posture of the Enemy, who
found to be about 3000 Foot, and six Squadr
Horse and Dragoons, commanded by *Feuquieres*
incamped within the Walls of *Lucern*, which the
demolished Breast-high, and had posted four hu

1690.

in the Fort of *St. Michael*, that was hard by, etached two hundred *Vaudois* under three Cap- , that had thirty Grenadiers with them, who d over the old Bridg by *Lucern*, and joined the ops of *Arnauld* the Refugee Miniſter, command- y *Verulli*; but upon the appearance of the Ene- Cavalry on the ſide of *Babian*, *Loches* retired as s he could, after he had ſent *Arnauld* Orders to notice of what had paſſed. In the mean time while *Vaudois* appeared almoſt at the ſame time under a g-ground, having the *French* in Front ready to ve them, and *Verulli* being reinforced with 200 more, they fell upon the *French* altogether, and half an hour's Diſpute carried *St. Michael*'s Fort, they had been once beaten out of it; and not enting themſelves with that Advantage, they pur- the Enemy within Carbine-ſhot of *Lucern*, and retreated into the Wood, which put the *French* a Nonplus for fear of an Ambuſcade. In the *in-* a Meſſenger was ſent to *Parelli*, who coming Morning to *Babian* with 800 of the Militia, he nced towards *Lucern*, which the *French* had quit- after they had ſet the Houſes on fire: But the Mar- meeting their Main Body at the joining of the Ways that came from *Lucern*, order'd the Militia ſt to skirmiſh with them, but they were ſoon put ght as far as the Bridg; yet the *Vaudois* coming ell briskly upon the *French*, killed them ſeveral ers and Soldiers, forced them to retire in diſor- and purſued them with a great deal of Fury, hey made ſeveral Halts, till they came to *Brique-* where poſting their Horſe and Dragoons to cover Town, and lodging their Infantry in the Caſtle, made a Stand: But the *Vaudois* attacking the n in three ſeveral Places, and the Caſtle in five, ſlew a great number of the *French* Officers that nately defended the Place, and at laſt carried both n and Caſtle. After which they purſued the *French* as *Miſſion*, and all this with the Loſs only of forty Soldiers and about nine Officers; but they aſſert- hat that of the *French* amounted to at leaſt twelve red men, beſides the Wounded, which were car- on 17 Waggons to *Pignerol*.

French *routed by the* Vaudois.

1690. But how much ſoever the Duke of *Savoy* or his *do's* might be elated with this Succeſs, *Catinat* g them occaſion quickly to change their Language; after he had taken *Cavours*, he advanced on the r of *Auguſt* towards the City of *Saluſſes*, of wh March when the Duke was informed, he paſſed *Po* with his Army, as well to ſecure the Place, a offer the Enemy Battel, which the *French* did not

Battel of Saluſſes. cline. For *Catinat* on the 18*th* gave the Signal, by eleven in the Morning ordered the *Italians* to attacked by the way of the Moraſs, which he carefully cauſed to be ſounded before, and found enough to bear his Men; ſo that the Duke's Left W not expecting to be attacked in Flank, made not Reſiſtance that otherwiſe might have been expecte them: But the Right Wing ſtood firm till Three i Afternoon, when being not able to bear the w Brunt of the Enemies Fire, they were conſtrained betake themſelves to flight, and ſeveral of them t ing to facilitate it by taking the *Po* in their way, drowned. The Duke himſelf retired with part o Troops to *Carignan* to compute his Loſs, which *French* affirmed to amount to four thouſand ſlain right, beſides the Loſs of eleven great Guns, ſtore of Baggage, ſome Colours, and a conſider Quantity of Ammunition; and that they themſ had not above a hundred and fifty killed, and abo hundred wounded. Tho this Account may not b together true, yet the Advantage was every way the *French* ſide; and what was intended to be ſave the Duke in hazarding this Battel, was the Conſequ

French *take* Saluſſes. of *Catinat*'s Victory, who the very next day poſſ himſelf of *Saluſſes*, as he did ſoon after of *Savil Villa Franca*, and divers other Places, and then ched with his Army to *Raiconoggi*, with a deſign t upon the Duke of *Savoy*'s Men, that were retir *Carignan* after their Defeat, or at leaſt to make ſelf Maſter of *Carmagnola*. But the Duke not fi himſelf in a condition to abide his coming, retr to *Montclair* to recruit his Army, and to wait fo *German* Troops that were coming to his Aſſiſt after he had put four thouſand Men into *Carignan*, ſecured *Carmagnola*.

The *Germans*, or at leaſt part of them, ſome time 1690.
er joined the Duke, with which Reinforcements, be-
s ſome *Milaneſe* Troops, his Army being made up
oo ſtrong, he decamped on the 18th of *September*
n *Montclair*, and advanced towards *Catinat*; who
having been ſtrengthned with ſome Regiments
n *France*, was not at all ſtartled at his Approach,
ſtood his ground, while *St. Ruth* was reducing
rtantaſia and *Morienna*, with all the Country of
oy, except *Montmelian*, under the *French* King's
edience, whoſe Cities ſwore Allegiance to him, and
Ruth for his good Services was made Governour of
ſaid Dutchy, with an annual Penſion of 10000
res.

Savoy being thus in a manner wholly conquer'd, and
inat having made a very conſiderable Progreſs to-
rds the ſubjecting of *Piedmont* alſo to the Crown of
nce, you'll hear now of what was more afflicting
he Duke than any thing perhaps that befel him ſince
Rupture. *Suza* is a City very conſiderable for its
uation, as being that which opens a Paſſage out of
Dauphinate into *Piedmont*, whenever the *French*
uld think it requiſite; for every time that the Kings
France deſigned a War in *Italy*, they always coveted
be Maſters of that Poſt. Now *Catinat* had had an
upon it for ſome time, and made ſome ſecret Pa-
towards accompliſhing it, which he could not car-
ſo covertly, but that the Duke had notice of it;
that he did all he could to prevent the Misfortune.
this purpoſe he ſent the Count of *Louvigniez* with
Battalions of Foot and ſome Horſe to ſecure the
ce, of which *Catinat* being advertis'd, he did not
e the ordinary Road, but haſted towards the
untains, marching his Men with wonderful Appli-
ion and Celerity for ſix Days together without in-
miſſion. When the Duke heard of this his Motion,
miſtakingly thought the Siege of *Suza* had been a
gned Buſineſs, but that the true deſign of the *French*
s to give him Battel; wherefore he ſent *Louvigniez*
ders to rejoin him with all his Forces. This was
ſooner done, but the *French* immediately inveſted
City, where there was only about ſeven hundred
n in Gariſon under the Count *de Lande*, who ſee-

1690. ing no likelihood of his being able to defend ſo weak a Poſt with ſuch an inconſiderable Force againſt a numerous Army, or indeed rather being of a baſe and daſtardly nature, he made a ſhew firſt of putting himſelf into a Poſture of Defence, but preſently after ſurrendred the Place, upon condition the Gariſon ſhould march out with Arms, Baggage, and three Pieces of Cannon, and be convey'd to the Gates of *Turin*. With this Action the *French* ended the Campagn in *Italy*, after which they put their Army into Winter Quarters in *Savoy* and *Provence*.

Catinat takes Suza.

1691. We find this Year uſhered in with the famous Congreſs of the Confederates held at the *Hague*, where we have the King of *England*, the Head of them, make a Speech to them to this purpoſe: That the imminent Dangers they found themſelves in, ſufficiently diſcovered the Errors that had been committed; ſo that there was no other Admonition than that neceſſary for their taking more juſt and better Meaſures: That it was not a time to deliberate, but to act, in the Circumſtances they were in: That the Enemy was Maſter of all the chief Fortreſſes that were the Barrier of the common Liberty, and that he would very quickly poſſeſs himſelf of the reſt, if a Spirit of Diviſion, Slowneſs and particular Intereſt continued between them. That every one ought to remain perſwaded, that their reſpective particular Intereſts were comprized in the general one: That the Enemies Forces were very ſtrong, and that they would carry things like a Torrent before them; and that it was in vain to oppoſe Complaints and fruitleſs Clamours, as unprofitable Proteſtations againſt Injuſtice: That that was neither the Reſolution of a barren Diet, nor the hopes of ſome Men of Fortune, ariſing from frivolous Foundations, but Soldiers, ſtrong Armies, and a prompt and ſincere Union between all the Forces of the Allies, that muſt do, and theſe too muſt be brought to oppoſe them without any delay, if they would put a ſtop to the Enemies Conqueſts, and ſnatch out of his hands the Liberty of *Europe*, which was already held by him under a heavy Yoke: That as for himſelf, he proteſted to them, That he would neither ſpare his Credit, Forces, nor Perſon, to concur with them in ſo juſt and neceſ-

King William's Speech to the Congreſs.

eſſary a Deſign; and that he would come in the 1691.
ing at the Head of his Troops faithfully to make
d his Royal Word, which he had ſo ſolemnly paſ-
unto them. But tho this heartning Speech and ge-
ous Reſolution of the King brought every one in
Aſſembly to promiſe for his own part to furniſh as
y Troops as he could to oppoſe the Enemy, and
ur unanimouſly in the execution of ſo Noble a
gn; this did not at all diſcourage the *French* King,
thinking the only beſt way to divert the Coun-
aken againſt him, would, if poſſible, be to ſtrike
amp into the Confederates, and by ſome ſignal
on, thro the Terror of his Name and Arms, to
back the reſt of *Europe* that was not yet engaged
nſt him; he divided his Army into two formidable
ies, and early, even in *March*, the firſt of them
nced both by Sea and Land, and got to the Ter-
ies of *Savoy*, with a Reſolution to lay ſiege to
, of which take this ſhort Account, before we
to the other Body in *Flanders*. The Army under
ſieur *Catinat* inveſted the Place on the 13*th* of the
Month, from whence he ſent three Battalions
Villa Franca, which baſely ſurrendred after the
of one Cannon only; but the Caſtle, which is
d on a Rock, and environed with good Baſtions
a large Moat, ſtood it out yet; and ſo the *French*
ted it on the ſide of the Sea, but could carry on
ore than a ſimple Battery raiſed of great Barrels,
ots and Sacks of Earth, upon which they planted
Mortars and great Guns. This the Gariſon ob-
ng, after two Days marched out with all Enſigns
onour, and the diſciplin'd Soldiers were ſent by
o *Final*. On the 24*th* the Fort of *St. Auſpice*
alſo given up without making any Reſiſtance, and
the ſame Condition as *Villa Franca*. The Fort of
auban did the like, after it had ſtood a Battery of
Day; and this now gave the *French* opportunity
ttack *Nice* in earneſt, wherein they met with
er facility than they expected. For on the 26*th* *take* Nice.
Conſuls of the City ſent their Deputies to *Catinat*,
agreed with him at a certain Hour, and upon cer-
Signals, to receive the *French* King's Men into the
without the Governour's Privity, of which the
other

1691. other having notice, he attempted to make himſe
Maſter of one of the Gates to prevent the Deſign
but the Citizens being reſolved to ſecure their Hou
from the Ravages of the Bombs, had taken thei
Meaſures, and being got to their Arms, fired upon th
Governour's Detachments, and then having given the
Signal, the *French* entred, and took poſſeſſion of th
City about Midnight, having promiſed the Deputi
before, that the Citizens ſhould enjoy all their Priv
leges and Immunities, as formerly. The Governo
of the Caſtle finding how things went, endeavour
to fire the City Magazine, but failed; and bei
threatned, if he ſhot againſt the City, that the Gar
ſon ſhould have no Quarter, that did not deter hi
but that he plaid all the 27*th* on the chief Governou
Houſe, and one of the Convents. But the *Fren*
made three Attacks upon the Caſtle, which were carri
on with great vigour, notwithſtanding the Badneſs
the Way, and on the 30*th* one of their Bombs ſet fi
to a Magazine of Powder therein, which ſpread it ſ
in a moment through all the Caſtle, and blew up n
only a good part of it, but killed above 600 of t
Gariſon, and about fifty of the Beſiegers in their Tr
ches, by the Pieces of Stone and Timber which t
Powder carried thither. So that the Governour, wh
with this ſad Diſaſter, and that the *French* now h
made themſelves Maſters of the Covered Way a
ſecond Incloſure, thought it high time to capitula
and after all on the 2*d* of *April* ſurrendred the Pla
upon honourable Terms.

Siege of Mons. But the *French* Conqueſts did not reſt here, for
the contrary, to give the Confederates a convinci
Proof of their Readineſs not only to anſwer, but
attack them in the moſt ſenſible Part, they inveſted t
ſtrong City of *Mons* on the 15*th* of *March*, bef
which Place the *French* King arrived on the 21*ſt*
Perſon, and took a Round about the Town, being
companied by the Dauphin, and the Dukes of *Orl*
and *Chartres*. Whereupon the Trenches next d
were begun for draining the Moraſs, and other Tr
ches were undertaken for diverting the Courſe of
Troville, and forcing it to run on the other ſide.
the 26*th* the Trenches were advanced within a hund

nd fifty Paces on each ſide, and the ſame day the Hill of *Hion* was attacked with the Redoubt that co- ered it, and after a double Repulſe was carried by he *French* by main Force, with conſiderable Loſs on ach ſide. But things did not end here, for the *French* aving raiſed large Batteries with at leaſt five and wenty Mortars, they played continually both from he one and the other, and made terrible Havock in the own; and the Beſiegers notwithſtanding the Reſiſt- nce of the Gariſon, were advanced ſo far, that by he firſt of *April* they were able to fill up the Moat f the Hornwork, and attack it; they begun about hree in the Afternoon, and after the Loſs of a great any Men, made their Lodgment thereon: But the eſieged headed by ſome of their ſtouteſt Officers, ttempted to beat them off, and in effect conſtrained he Granadiers and the Guards to give way; yet at laſt he Beſiegers with the loſs of about 200 Men regain- d the Poſt, and puſhed on the Siege with great Vi- onr, and the rather becauſe they heard the King of *ngland* was come to *Vilvord* with the Confederates rmy, with an Intention when the Forces came up to ttempt to relieve *Mons*, tho indeed there was little ikelihood of it, all things being ſo unprovided as ey were, and not ſo much as the neceſſary Carriages eady for the Expedition; which neglect was laid to he Charge of the Marqueſs of *Caſtinaga*, Governor f the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. But the Beſiegers had not or all that by the 8*th* of *April*, and probably ould not in ſeveral Days longer have made ſuch a rogreſs in the Siege, as ſhould neceſſitate the Gariſon o ſurrender, tho they beat a Parley that very day; ut the Truth of the whole was, that they could not ell do otherwiſe, for firſt the Monks and Eccleſi- ticks, who were believed to be Friends to *France*, nd by their Inſtigation the Burghers of the Town ere importunate with the Governor to capitu- te, and upon his Refuſal threatned to open the ates to the Enemy, and deliver both him and the ariſon into the Beſiegers Hands: So that in ſhort, otwithſtanding all his and Colonel *Fagel*'s Efforts to he contrary, he was obliged to capitulate; and the ariſon marching out on the tenth of *April*, left the

1691.

Mons *ſurrendred to the* French.

1691. the *French* in an entire poſſeſſion of that importa
Fortreſs.

The *French* having gained this Point, thought no mor
for the reſt of the Campagn in *Flanders* but to act d
fenſively; indeed the Confederates under the King
England were ſomewhat ſuperior to them in Foot, b
in Horſe the *French* were the ſtronger. The King d
all he could to bring *Luxemburg* to an Engagement b
ſeveral Marches and Countermarches, as well as t
Umbrages he gave him of attacking *Maubeuge* or *Mo*
yet all would not do, the other as induſtriouſly avoi
ed fighting, and would give no Opportunity for i
but upon the greateſt Diſadvantage; ſo that the Ki
after he had firſt blown up the Fortifications of *Be*
mont, marched the Army towards *Aeth*, and lea
ing the ſame under the Command of Prince *Walde*
he continued for ſome time about that Place; but m
ving off about the 17*th* of *Septemb.* towards *Ben*
Luxemburg thought it a proper Opportunity to f
upon their Rear with a good body of Horſe, and t
beſt in *France*, and continued his deſigned March
ſwiftly, that upon the nineteenth he came up w
Engagement at Leuze. their Rearguard, as they were marching towards *Ca*
brun, before any of the Confederates knew any thi
of the matter; nay when *Tilly*, who commanded
the Rear, ſent the General an Expreſs of it, he co
hardly believe it. But the firſt Line of the Confe
rates was hardly drawn up, before they were ch
ged by the *French* King's Houſhold, while the C
manders were forming the ſecond of ſuch Troop
were ordered to paſs the River with all conveni
Speed. The Conflict was very terrible, and the f
Line of the Confederates was conſtrained to a di
derly Retreat, but they rallied again behind their
cond Line, which laſt gave ground alſo before
French. But the Confederates Cavalry rallied
ſight of them again, when the *French* contented th
ſelves with what they had done, having in this En
prize ſlain above a thouſand of the Confederates,
loſt above four or five hundred of their own Men,
ſo the Campagn ended in theſe Parts.

But if we look into *Catalonia*, we ſhall there
the Duke of *Noailles* advancing with part of
Fr

nch Army to *Belver* to make head againſt the *Spa-* 1691.
Troops, while he ſent the reſt under the Com-
nd of *Chazeron* to beſiege *Urgel*, which tho no ve- French
ndefenſible Place, beſides that it had a Gariſon of *take*
o men in it, and moſt of them conſiſting of Regu- Urgel.
Troops, yet they baſely gave it up in a little time,
themſelves both Officers and Soldiers to be Priſo-
s of War, only the Militia were diſmiſſed home:
d notwithſtanding the Court of *Madrid*, being
htily ſurprized herewith, ſent ſeveral Reinforce-
nts to the Vice-Roy, yet they could neither hinder
French from fortifying *Belver*, nor make any other
erſion; and 'tis matter of Shame to ſay, that when
Duke of *Medina Sidonia* advanced to attack *Pro-*
Melo, that moſt of his Troops forſook him. Nei-
r were the *Spaniards* in any better Condition by
, ſince they could not prevent the Mareſchal *d' Eſ-*
from bombarding *Barcelona* for two Days together,
which time he threw in ſeveral Bombs, which
ught a terrible Deſolation in the City.

Then as to the ſide of *Germany*, we ſhall even there *Campagn*
the *French* were rather Winners than Loſers; *on the*
tho their Deſign of ſurprizing the City of *Mentz* Rhine.
a treacherous Correſpondence they held in the Place
h one of the Emperor's Commiſſaries, utterly fai-
them by a timely Diſcovery of the Plot, yet they
ld not go out of that Neighbourhood without do-
ſomething; and therefore they attacked *Algeſheim*,
ch is not above five or ſix Leagues off, and after
e Reſiſtance took it, and they for the preſent reti-
towards *Creutznach*. Great things were indeed
ected from the Elector of *Saxony* and General *Scho-*
g; the firſt of whom commanded the Imperial Ar-
in chief this Campagn, and had Count *Caprara*
er him; and the *French* being apprehenſive the
rmans deſigned to croſs the *Rhine*, took all imagina-
Care to prevent it, by entrenching themſelves near
nheim, as ſuppoſing the others would attempt it
ewhere thereabouts. But the *Germans* actually
ed that River not far from the forementioned Place,
they could make no Benefit of it, but rather the
trary; for the *French* to divert them, paſſed the
ne alſo at *Philipsburg*, which after a hot Conſulta-

tion

1691. tion made the others to follow them, yet not with that Expedition and Succeſs, but that the *French* took the Town of *Portzheim* in the Marquiſate of *Baden Dourbach*, in a Neck of Land that gives an Inlet into the Country of *Wirtemburg*, which they had all along a Deſign to put under Contribution, and had never ſo fair a Proſpect of effecting it as at this time; with which and the taking of another little Place, called *Genbaci*, beſides the ravaging of that part of *Juliers* which belonged to the Elector *Palatine*, they compleated their Summers work that way.

But they made a much more conſiderable Progreſs on the ſide of *Italy*; for beſides the Succeſs already mentioned to have attended their Arms in the Spring of the Year, by their taking of *Nice*, the Summer was not far advanced, when they alſo took in *Villane* which indeed induced *Catinat* to lay Siege to *Carmagnola*, being a Place ſeated in the Marquiſate of *Saluzzes*, and not above nine Miles diſtant from *Turin*, the Capital of *Piedmont*. The Trenches were opened on the 8th of *June*, and three Attacks formed, which were carried on with ſo much Vigour, that the Beſieged finding themſelves ſo cloſely blocked up on all ſides, and remaining without Hopes of Succour, it was agreed the Diſciplined Men ſhould march out with their Arms, and the Militia with white Wands in their Hands, and be conducted to *Turin*. This was no ſooner done, but *de Feuquieres* was commanded with a conſiderable Detachment of Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, to inveſt *Coni*, a Place conſiderable ſtrong by Nature, and gariſoned with 700 *Vaudois* and *French* Refugees, and about 500 of the Militia of *Mondovi*, and ſome other Troops commanded by the Count *de la Rovere*; and before it was inveſted, the Regiment of *Saluzzes*, together with ſome other Troops to the number of near 3000 men, were ordered to throw themſelves into the Place. But *Feuquieres* having notice of their March, attacked them with a great deal of Vigour, and there were abundance of Men ſlain on both ſides; at laſt part of the Relief entred the Town, which was preſently inveſted by the *French*, to the number of 14000 Men, who puſhed on the Siege very ſmartly, while the Gariſon on their part was obli-

French *take* Carmagnola.

They beſiege Coni *in vain.*

inate in their Defence. So that now 17 Days were 1691.
t out, when the brave Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*
ſent with a Detachment of 4000 Horſe and 6000
t of the Militia of *Mondovi* to relieve it. *Cati-*
had no ſooner notice hereof, but he ſent an Ex-
s to *de Bullond*, who commanded now at the Siege,
to ſtir out of his Lines, with farther notice, that
etachment of 2500 men were on their March to
force him under *Sylveſter*. However the miſtake
ned, *Bullond* thought it convenient to raiſe the
e, and that with ſo much Haſte and Precipitation,
he left behind him one piece of Cannon, three
rtars, good Store of Bombs, Powder, and other
rlike Ammunition, beſides a great Quantity of Pro-
n, and other Military Utenſils, with ſeveral ſick
; but for his Reward *Catinat* had Order to ſeize

ut the *German* Succours, to the number of 8000
d Soldiers, with the Elector of *Bavaria* at the
d of them, being come into *Italy*, *Catinat* who be-
pretended to do no leſs than to beſiege *Turin* it
was forced to repaſs the *Po* with his Army, and
atched an Expreſs to Court to ſend him ſome Re-
rcements, while *Hoquincourt* in the mean time be-
ed and took the Town of *Montmelian*, the Duke
Savoy thinking to relieve it in vain; but the Caſtle
ired a greater Strength to maſter, of which by
by. We will firſt ſee what the Duke did with
good Reinforcement. They laboured all they
d to engage *Catinat* to a Battel, but he as induſ-
uſly declined it; ſo that the Confederates at laſt
ng it would not do, paſſed the *Po* near *Carde*; and
he 29*th* of *Septemb.* Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* in-
ed *Carmagnola*; and by the 3*d* of *Octob.* the Tren-
were opened, and twenty ſix great Cannon and
t Mortars were arrived from *Turin*: Three ſeveral
cks were raiſed the ſame day, between which
e Lines of Communication made on the 4*th*, from
nce to the 7*th* the Siege was carried vigorouſly on,
n they began to throw Bombs into the Town, and
he ſame time received Advice, that *Catinat* after
ng quitted *Foſſano*, *Savillana* and *Saluzzes*, was
eated towards *Pignerol*; ſo that on the 8*th* the
Gariſon

1691. Carmagnola *retaken.*

Gariſon beat a Parley, and the Capitulation was ſig
ed next Morning upon honourable Terms. You h
heard before how the *French* became Maſters of t
Place, but I did not mention that the Articles up
which it was given up to them were not perform
with that Fidelity they ought to have been; for t
French took from the *Vaudois* that were in Gari
their Cannon, Arms and Baggage, and threatned
detain them Priſoners, if they did not give up wh
was demanded of them without any Reſiſtance; b
for this the other reſolved now to be revenged of the
and therefore they waylaid the *French* upon the Ro
and attacking them with extraordinary Courage, th
took away their Arms and good part of their Bagga
which being obſerved by the *Germans*, they alſo
came quickly of Opinion it would be much better
be doing than looking on, and ſo they compleat
gleaned the poor *French* of what the *Vaudois* had l
them. *Catinat* made heavy Complaints of this ill
ſage, but all the Anſwer that he could get was, t
they were ſorry it ſhould ſo happen, but that he hi
ſelf had ſet them the firſt Example, however that
the future they ſhould take care to prevent any ſi
Diſorders. All this, together with the *Vaudois*, t
very next day after the Surrender of *Carmagn*
beating of 3000 *French* that were detached to
Miſchief into the Vallies, and the killing of abo
500 of them, made the *French* General very uneaſ
however this did not hinder the Council of *Fra*
from reſolving upon the Reduction of the Fortreſs
Montmelian, whither *Catinat* was ordered to rep
to take the Command of the Army upon him, wh
arrived before the Place on the 16*th* of *Novemb.* a
after a moſt vigorous Siege, wherein they were
conflict as well with the Rigours of the Seaſon as
deſperate Defence of the Gariſon, it was at laſt f

Montmelian *Fortreſs ſurrendred.*

rendered to them on the 22*d* of *Decemb.* and by
they became now entire Maſters of all the Dutchy
Savoy. In the mean time the *French* King was car
ing the Princes and States of *Italy* by his Amba
dor the Count of *Rebenac*, for fear the Apprehe
ons of the Dangers they might be in, becauſe of
Succeſs of his Arms, might move them to cloſe in w

Confederates, and thereby increaſe the number of Enemies, who as they ſtood, might prove too ma- 1691.
or him.

ut to ſay no more at preſent of the *Italian* Affairs, h thus terminated the Year, and but juſt to men- the ill Succeſs of the *French* Troops and *Iriſh* at Battel of *Aghrim*, where *St. Ruth* their General ſlain and they utterly defeated, which occaſioned Siege and Surrendry of *Limerick*, and conſequent- he final Reduction of that Kingdom under King *am's* Obedience: We will proceed to the next, 1692.
h produced Variety of Action of different Na- s, of which we ſhall now give the Particulars. King of *England* in the Spring haſting over to mand the Confederate Army in *Flanders*, the late K. *es* in conjunction with the *French* formed a De- of being reſtored now to his loſt Dominions; in order thereunto got a conſiderable Army to- er on the Coaſt of *Normandy* ready to imbark, on as the *French* Fleet, which was hourly expec- p the Channel, did appear. His Friends in *Eng-* were making all due Preparations privately to ve and aſſiſt him, and it was thought alſo that had been ſome bold Attempt made to infect the *iſh* Fleet: However it were, the Admiral's Ad- and Vigilancy kept them clear, whether it was *ames* and his *Iriſhmen's* Impatience to poſſeſs the es of *England*, or ſome other Intelligence the *ch* King might have to puſh him on, I know not; iral *Tourville* with the Fleet had Orders to make o the Channel, and to fight the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, e was not yet joined by the *Thoulon* Squadron *d' Eſtree*; accordingly on the 19*th* of *May* the *h* about eleven bore down upon and engaged the French *iſh* at ſome diſtance, and both Fleets continued fight- *beaten at* ill half an Hour paſt five in the Evening, at *Sea.* h time the *French* towed away with all their and the *Engliſh* after them. But tho it happe- o be a Calm all that Night, and extreme foggy Morning, yet about nine it beginning to clear up le, the *Engliſh* diſcovered the *French* Fleet about Leagues from them, very much leſſned in their er, not ſeeming to be above ſix and thirty Sail,

1692. after whom they made all the Sail they could, but a
ten it grew calm again, and about three the tw
Fleets came to an Anchor, but weighed about eleve
at night, anchored next Morning, and ſailed on t
21*ſt* again againſt the Enemy. Admiral *Ruſſel* himſ
ſteered towards *Barfleur*, and the *Dutch* and bl
Squadron towards the Race of *Alderney*, thro whi
part of the *French* eſcaped, the other thinking it n
adviſable to hazard their Men of War in the purſ
of them thro that dangerous Road. But Sir *Ralph de*
Val, Vice-Admiral of the Red, had better Succeſs,
he on the 21*ſt* of *May* burnt under *Cape de W*
near the Shoar, the *Royal Sun*, wherein was *Tourv*
Admiral of the *French* Fleet, that carried an hundr
and four Guns; the *Admirable*, a hundred and tw
the *Conquerant* eighty, with three more of a le
Rate; while the Admiral himſelf was no leſs ſucce
ful in the purſuit of another part of the *French*, w
hal'd in for *la Hogue*, in which Bay he anchored
the 21*ſt*, and next day ſtood in ſo far, that he
thirteen Ships haled in cloſe to the Shore: Where
on he on the 22*d* ſent in Vice-Admiral *Rook* with ſ
ral Men of War and Fireſhips, with the Boats of
Fleet, to endeavour to deſtroy them. But the *Fre*
had got their Ships ſo very near Land, that non
the Men of War, except ſome ſmall Frigates, could
any Service. However that Night ſix of the *Fr*
Men of War were burnt, and the other ſeven next M
ing (to ſay nothing of divers Tranſport Ships) whe
ſix were three-deck Ships, and the other carr
from ſixty to ſeventy ſix Guns, only one had but
ſix, and that Ship was overſet and utterly loſt.
Attempt was very difficult and dangerous, but it
made with that Conduct and Reſolution, and the
men in the Boats behaved themſelves ſo bravely,
they took poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the Enemies S
and drave the *French* with their own Guns from
Platforms on the Shoar. The *French* will not a
their Loſs to be ſo great, and only own that fifte
their Ships were burnt, and that not by their Ene
(as they would have it) but by their own Men,
they had taken out all their Cannon, and moſt of
Rigging.

the mean time, how unſucceſsful ſoever the *French* had been at Sea, that King was bent upon keeping up the Reputation of his Arms by Land, by making ſome farther Progreſs this Campagn in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, tho now in a much better ſtate than formerly, ſince the Elector of *Bavaria* became Governour, as he did the beginning of this Year; and therefore on the 22*d* of *May* he inveſted *Namur*, a ſtrong Frontier Town, ſon, in Perſon, before which the Trenches were opened on the firſt of *June*. And tho upon the News of our Naval Victory the King of *England* cauſed all the *Engliſh* Artillery in the Camp at *Bethlehem* to be carried to the top of a Hill upon the Right of the Army that look'd towards *Namur*, and placed the *Dutch* Artillery upon the ſame Hill to the Left, and that the whole Army was drawn up to expreſs their Joy for the Victory by a triple Diſcharge of all the Cannon and Muſquet Shot; yet it was ſaid, the *French* King made ſo little of it, that he ſhould ſay, *Here is a mighty Pudding indeed about burning two or three Ships*. But how little ſoever he might ſeem to take it, the Conſequence of it delivered it was the unhappieſt Blow that befel that Prince in the whole Courſe of the War, who never after durſt look the Confederate Fleet in the face, but thereby left all their Coaſt to be inſulted by them as they pleaſed. 1692.

It would be too tedious to give every Particular of the Siege of *Namur*, which was carried on with great Reſolution, and which K. *William* was not leſs ſollicitous to relieve, he reſolving, if poſſible, to fight *Luxemburg* who covered the Siege, and who upon information that the King moved towards the *Mehaign*, marched that way likewiſe; and upon the 18*th* of *June* the two Armies, which were very ſtrong, and pretty equal as to number, the Confederates being reckoned 80000 ſtrong, came in ſight of one another, the River remaining between them. The Confederates poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Poſts upon the River on their ſide, as the *French* did of two Villages ſurrounded with ſtrong Hedges and Thickets on theirs; but the Confederates by planting of Batteries at all their Poſts, became ſo far Maſters of the River, that the *French* Soldiers could not come for a Drop of Water to it. The

French *beſiege* Namur.

1692. same Evening the King gave Orders to build Bridg over the *Mehaign*, in order to pass it the next Day fight the Enemy; and the same was so ordered, th the whole Army might pass in Front at the same tim but the great Rains that began that Evening, held so on for several Days, that it broke the Brid made it unpassable for the Cannon, and rendred glorious Design abortive, the Consequence whe was the Surrender of the Castle of *Namur* on the of *June* (for the Town had been given up bef which, considering the Strength and Importance of Place, with the Shortness of the Siege, made People of opinion the *French* had some Intelligence the Place.

Namur *surrendred.*

King *William*'s Camp was at *Melle* when *Na* was given up, where he formed a Design to surp *Mons*; and the same was very near being exec when the *French* having Information of it, took of their own Preservation. From *Melle* the A marched to *Genap*, thence to *Notre dame de Hall*, on the first of *August* passed the *Senne* in several lumns, where they were joined by the *Ha* Troops, to the number of eight thousand fine The *French* encamped at the same time at *Eng* with their Right extended to *Steenkirk*, where King resolved to attack them.

In the Evening Orders were given out for six talions to be ready to march an hour before Day, to parrade at the Head of *Waldeck*'s Regiment. Battalions were the second of the first Regime Guards, the first of Sir *Robert Douglas*'s, Col. *Patrick*'s, Col. *O Farrel*'s, a Battalion of the D Guards, and the Queen's. Orders were likewise g for seventeen Men in each Battalion of *Churchil*'s gade, to be ready at the same Time and Place, a be commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Manwa* Their Business being to make the Ways thro th files, and as they were to join with the Van-guar time of Action, they carried their Arms with as well as Hatchets and Spades. The whole D ment was to be commanded by the Duke of *Wir burg*, as the Van of the Army. Orders were lik given for the whole Army to march very early

ning. All these Preparations were in order to k the *French* next day in their own Camp at *En-*, who the same Day as the Confederates marched *Genap* to *Hall*, decamped from *Soignes*, and made he haste they could to *Enghien*, lest the Confede- should get that Ground from them, and so oblige to go further to their own Conquests. *Luxem-*'s Right Wing lay at *Steenkirk*, his Left at *En-*, and he took up his Quarters at *Hove*. The chment parraded accordingly, and marched very in the Morning; the whole Army followed them, ing their Way to the *French* Camp thro nothing Defiles, being close Ground all the way, and was no other but such as was made by the chment for that purpose. About ten in the ning the Van-guard arrived at the advanced Posts he *French*; but *Luxemburg* having been informed he Design by *Tracy*, who commanded a Detach- t of Horse that Night between the *French* and Con- rate Camp, had taken care to possess himself of most considerable Posts in the Defiles; but notwith- ding this, the Van of the Confederates obliged *French* to retreat from them all, till they came to le Wood just upon the Right of the *French* Camp, pt a small Guard in a Village upon the Left of the federates Columns, almost a League from the *French* p, who upon the March of the Confederate Army all made Prisoners of War.

1662.

Battel of Steenkirk.

etween ten and eleven in the Morning the advanced rd of the Confederates under the Command of the e of *Wirtemburg* lodged themselves in the Wood fronted the Right of the Enemies Army, the *Danes* Battalion of Guards taking their Post upon the in the Wood, and *Douglas*, *Fitz-Patrick* and *O rels* on the Right of them. On the other side of Wood was the *French* Camp, a little Vally remain- between, and a great many Hedges, which they lved to maintain with all possible Vigour, tho they so easily yielded their advanced Posts. *Wirtem-* planted on a little Rising Ground on the Left of Wood, a Battery of Cannon, which began to about eleven, and another upon the Right by *glas*'s Battalion; and *Macrakan* of the same Re-

1692. giment pointed a Cannon ſo ſucceſsfully, that it p
whole Battalion of the Enemy into diſorder, ſwee
almoſt an entire Rank before it. Whilſt *Wirtem*
was playing upon them with thoſe Batteries of Ca
the Army marched up to the Head of the D
where it opened into a little Plain upon the R
not above half a League over, which terminated
the Right of the Wood, where the Vanguard
and from whence, thro ſeveral Rows of high T
they could ſee the *French* Infantry drawn up in
Lines, and making towards the Right to defend
Poſt upon the Wood. Upon the Right of the P
not far from the Trees aforeſaid, there was a pretty
ſiderable Farm, which the *French* ſoon after the
gagement ſet on fire to cover ſeveral of their Batta
by the Smoke, who were ordered that way, and
afterwards engaged with *Fagel*'s Brigade between
Houſe and the Wood, where the advanced Guard o
Confederates was poſted. From the Head of the
file, upon the left of the Plain, there went for a
half a Mile in length, a deep hollow Way with
Trees and Hedges upon the Banks of it, which rea
as far as the Wood, where the Van-guard was poſ
and where it branched it ſelf into two other
Ways, one leading thro the Wood to the *Dane*
tack, and to that of the Guards, and the other
the Right along the out-ſide of the Wood; betw
which two the Regiments of *Douglas*, *Fitz-Pa*
and *O Farrel*, were poſted. On the other ſide o
Deep Way that went from the Head of the Defile to
Poſt of the Van-guard, went ſeveral narrow Fi
which all along lay between it and a part of a Wo
which reached as far as the Confederates adva
Guards to their Defiles.

When the Army was come to the Head of theſe De
and juſt entring into the ſmall Plains, they were ord
to halt, except the *Engliſh* Life-Guards, and Horſe
Dragoons, which were commanded upon the Right S
of the Wood, where lay the Vanguard, with the R
ments of *Cuts*, *Mackay*, *Graham*, and *Angus*, which b
interlin'd with the *Engliſh* Horſe, were at the ſame t
commanded to the out-ſide of the Wood. The R
ments of *Heſſe*, *Louder* and *Leven*, who were alſo i

with the Left Wing of Horſe, were likewiſe poſted 1692.
e ſide of the Wood. Things being thus diſpoſed,
Duke of *Wirtemburg*, after he had cannonaded
French for above two hours, began the Attack with
Danes upon the Right, which was immediately
wed by the other four *Engliſh* Regiments that com-
d the Van-guard, and ſeconded by *Cuts*, *Mackay*,
us, *Graham*, *Louder*, *Heſſe* and *Leven*'s Regiments.
re was nothing heard for two hours together, but
ntinued Firing on both ſides; and the Confederates
-guard behaved themſelves in this Engagement to
a Wonder and Admiration, that tho they receiv'd
Charge of ſeveral Battalions of the *French* one
another, yet they made them retreat almoſt
heir very Camp, ſo far, that the ſecond Battalion
he firſt Regiment of Guards poſſeſſed themſelves
Battery of the Enemies Cannon, and placed a
ant and a Guard upon it; but the *French* having
off the Traces, and taken away the Horſes, they
e forced at laſt to leave them. *Douglas* with his
alion charg'd ſeveral of the Enemy, and beat
from three ſeveral Hedges, and maſtered a fourth,
re he was ſlain. All the other Regiments perform-
equal Wonders. Now to return to the Army it
as ſoon as they were come to the Head of the De-
the Left Wing of Horſe was more particularly or-
d to halt, that the Foot that were interlin'd with
, who were moſtly *Engliſh* and *Scots*, might
h up thro the Horſe: However it was, this Halt,
h could not yet be avoided, loſt the Confede-
s the Day; for the Ground was ſo narrow, and
French had ſuch Hedges, Copſes, and little Woods
over them, that there was nothing to do for the
ſe; ſo that when the Van-guard began to engage,
had none but part of the Infantry interlin'd with
Left Wing of Horſe to ſecond them, the Body of
Foot being almoſt a Mile in the Rear. However,
on as the Action began, the King of *England* us'd
Diligence poſſible to get the Infantry up, ordering
igade to march up to the Wood, and form a Line
Battel in the Plain with that Infantry that could
e up. The Soldiers ſhewed ſuch eagerneſs to come
he *French*, that they ran to the Relief of thoſe

1692. that were engaged so fast, that they put themselves in to some Disorder, which was the reason that the took more time to form their Battalions than was co venient at that Juncture; so that when they came u the Van-guard and Infantry of the Left Wing bei over-powered by the vast many Battalions of the *Fren* that charged them successively one after another, a lastly by the survening of *Boufflers*'s fresh Troo they were forced to retreat in great Disorder, and le the Wood, where they had posted themselves, entire to the possession of their Enemies.

In the mean time the King having formed a Line as many Battalions as could come up to the little Pla the *French* upon their Right planted a Battery of bout ten Pieces of Cannon to put them into Disord by their firing. The Confederates at the same ti brought another against it; and thus they contin firing upon one another for a considerable time, a the *French* did the Confederates here considerable D mage: There was likewise hot skirmishing between t Wood and forementioned Farm. Now the Van bei disordered for want of timely Relief, the King ord ed a Retreat to be sounded, which was done with a mirable Order: For tho the *French* followed them f some time, yet they did not dare to fire a Shot up them; the *English* Grenadiers brought up the Re and whenever the Enemy moved towards them, fa about, and made them halt; and thus the Army g back to *Hall* again. It will be a hard matter to m a just Computation of the Losses on either side: T *French* own it cost them between two and three tho sand Men, and among them many Persons of Quali especially the Prince of *Turenne* eldest Son to the Du of *Bouillon*; but that the Confederates Loss amount to nine thousand slain upon the Spot, and as ma wounded. They say they also took from them n Colours and ten Pieces of Cannon, but only thirt hundred Prisoners, the *English* refusing to ask Quart In opposition to this, our Accounts say, we had ab two thousand Men killed, and about three thous wounded, in which number they comprehend the P soners taken by the *French*. But how well soever t Matter has been minc'd, there is good reason to beli

this fatal Action coſt the Confederates between 1692.
and ſix thouſand men, and moſt of them the beſt
ops in the World, that thus periſhed for want of
g timely ſuccoured. Among the Slain were the
e General *Mackay*, Sir *John Lanier*, and di-
other gallant Officers. However, 'tis thought
good reaſon, that this Day had proved very fatal
he *French*, but that the Counſels of the Confede-
had been betrayed to them by *de Millevoix*, one
he Elector of *Bavaria*'s Domeſticks, who was
'd for it on the Right Wing of the Horſe; and
e'll leave this Matter.

the mean time *France* was pretty much alarmed
fear of a Deſcent upon her Coaſt from *England*,
re ſome Troops embarked, as if deſigned for that
oſe; but after they had been for ſome time on
d, they were ordered for *Flanders*, where landing
he 1*ſt* of *September*, they ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of
mude and *Furnes*, which they began to fortify, and
hich K. *William* ſeemed to have ſome Great Deſign
way; but all miſcarried, for both Places were quitted
ards the end of the Year to *Boufflers* by Count *Horn*.
he *French* ſeemed to neglect the Affairs of *Catalo-*
this Campagn, of which the lazy *Spaniards* would
e no advantage: But for what was tranſacted on
Upper *Rhine*, we find the *French* Army there un-
the Command of the Mareſchal *de Lorge*, oppos'd
he Margrave of *Bareith* and the Landgrave of
Caſſel, between whom there paſſed nothing con-
able till *September*, when *de Lorge* advancing to-
ds the *Rhine* with all his Forces, and forty Pieces
Cannon, the Landgrave and Margrave rejoined
Armies, and incamped at *Newſtadt*, and in ſome
after ſeparated again, the Landgrave marching
ſiege *Eberenburg*, whither he had not been long
, but *Bareith* ſent him an Expreſs that *de Lorge*
marching up, which made the Landgrave ſend
4000 Dragoons to the other's Aſſiſtance; but be-
they and the Body of the Army could come up,
Duke of *Wirtemburg*, who was gone before with a French
chment of about four thouſand Horſe, and poſted *defeat the*
elf near *Edeilſheim*, with a deſign to ſtop the German
ch, was by the favour of a thick Fog ſurpriz'd by *Horſe.*

them

1692. them in his Camp, and charg'd ſo briskly, that th
Germans had not time to put themſelves into a Poſtur
of Defence; ſo that about a thouſand of their num
ber were here cut off, and divers made Priſoners
among whom was the Duke of *Wirtemburg* himſelf, wh
was carried to *Paris*, while the *French* ravaged his Cou
try for a time at their Pleaſure, and obliged the Lan
grave now weaken'd by the Detachment he had ſe
away to the Margrave of *Bareith*, and afterwards b
another to ſecure *Heidelburg*, to raiſe the Siege
Eberenburg. But for this the Brave Landgrave w
pretty even with his Enemy before the end of t
Year; for the *French* having beſieged *Rhinfield*,
Place that would have been of great Importance
them, if they could have carried it, the Governo
made ſo brave a Defence, and the Landgrave made ſu
haſte to relieve it, that the *French* were conſtrained
raiſe the Siege with ſome Diſhonour, ſince they ſhew
ſo much Confidence of Succeſs in it at the firſt Und
taking, and with no ſmall loſs from the *Germans* Fi
and the rigorous Seaſon, which was much fitter
warm Quarters than cold Sieges.

French *beſiege* Rhinfield *in vain.*

Having now given an account of the ſtrong Effo
made by *France* on the *Flemiſh* and *German* ſide of
World, it's time we ſhould ſee what they were do
all this while in *Savoy*. It's certain there were fr
Propoſals made early in the Year to the Duke by Ch
ley in favour of *France*; but whether in the Form t
was afterwards made publick, is a Myſtery: Ho
ever, there was a Memoir printed at *Paris*, wher
they ſet to view all the Offers that had been made to
Highneſs, tho the Aim of this Writing ſeemed chie
to inſinuate into the Princes of *Italy*, that the Em
ror had no other deſign than to make himſelf Ma
of their Territories, under pretence of aſſiſting
Prince who had thrown himſelf into that Abyſs wh
in he found he was precipitated; with a great d
more to the ſame purpoſe. But this having not
deſired effect upon the Princes of *Italy*, nor yet u
the Duke of *Savoy*, he appeared to carry on this C
pagn with more Vigour and Succeſs than at any t
before: But the truth of it was, the *French* were
ſtrong in *Flanders* and *Germany*, that all they deſi

do in *Italy* was to defend their Posts, which they ld not do neither; for the Duke having drawn the my into the Field, and disposed of several Detachnts into the Vallies and other Places for the better urity of the Country, he marched in the Month of y at the head of 20000 men into the *Dauphinate*, ere, after they had pillaged *la Roche*, *Chantelouve*, some other Villages, they made themselves Masters the Castle and High-lands of *Guillestre*, and some er Passes, from whence they moved towards the Ci- f *Ambrun*, with a resolution to take it in; and on 5th of *August* all the Army crossed the *Durance* at *llestre*, and after a pretty brisk Siege of about nine ys, the Place was surrendred upon Articles, where Duke found twenty Pieces of Cannon, and a good antity of Provisions; and the City presently granted him 40000 Livres Advance, which they borrow'd *Grenoble*, besides which the Duke seized upon 6000 res in Gold, which was the King's Money in the ds of the Treasurer of the Army. All the *Ambru-*, with the neighbouring Towns and Villages, were he same time put under Contribution. From *Am-* the Army marched directly to *Gap*, a City upon Frontiers of *Provence*, before which Prince *Eugene* no sooner appeared, but it surrendred, and became er the same Obligations of Contribution as the o- Places. But tho the Consternation on that side of *nce* was incredible at this sudden Irruption, and that Parts where the Duke's Army came were sufficient- esolated, especially by the *Germans*, who utterly ed all the Places they came near; so that upon nputation there were no less than fourscore Castles, rows, Towns and Villages, burnt by them: Yet Duke's falling now sick of the Small Pox, and the sion among the Generals, hindred the Design that been formed of taking *Brianson* and *Quieras* to be in execution, and so did incapacitate them to keep t had been conquered in the *Dauphinate*. However, nake the best of a bad Market, they plundered the ntry, destroyed all the Provision they could not y away, got what Contribution they could, and t all that refused to contribute, except *Ambrun*, se Fortifications they blew up, and took Money to save

1692.

D. of Savoy *invades* Dauphine.

1693. ſave the Houſes, and ſo put an end to the Campagn *mode de France.*

We are come now to another Year, wherein we ſ the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets ready pretty early to p to Sea. The former was by a joint Commiſſion c manded by *Killigrew*, *Delaval* and *Shovel*; and th being alſo a great Fleet of Merchant-men, to number of almoſt four hundred Sail, conſiſting *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Hamburghers*, &c. prepared to to the *Straits* under the Convoy of Sir *George R* with a ſtrong Squadron of Men of War, the Gr Fleet was ordered to keep them company till they c to ſuch a Latitude, or (as ſome affirmed) till they certain information where the *French* Fleet was. H ever that were, they parted with him about the of *Biſcay*, and he leaving by the way the Veſſels bo for *Bilboa*, *Lisbon*, *St. Tubes*, and other Ports, u Convoy of two Men of War, he had now no m than one and twenty with him, with which ſailing he diſcovered the *French* Fleet about twenty Lea ſhort of *Cape St. Vincent*, which made him c Council of War, wherein it was agreed, that, Wind being freſh Weſterly, and giving them a opportunity to haſten their Paſſage to *Cales*, the M chant Ships ſhould make the beſt of their way thith That upon the diſcovery of the Enemies whole Flee the 16*th*, he brought to, and ſtood off with an eaſy S to give what time he could to the heavy Sailors to wo way to Windward, and ſent the *Sheerneſs* to order

French *attack the* Smyrna *Fleet.*

ſmaller Veſſels that were under the Shore, to en vour to get along in the night to the next Ports. bout ſix in the Evening the *French* Admiral and V Admiral of the Blew came up with the Leeward Steermoſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet, which were two three *Dutch* Men of War, who fought firſt eleven, ſeven Men of War of the Enemy, but were force laſt to yield. This made the *Dutch* Merchant that were there tack to the Shore, and the *French* them, which gave the Ships to Windward a fair opp nity to ſail off; and indeed this tacking after the D ſaved moſt of the Fleet. The *French* for all that nified the Action very much, and made the Loſs o *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to amount to thirty Millio

Li

es: However, it was indeed too much, and very 1693.
iderable, ſince they have acknowledged themſelves
there were thirty two of their Merchant-men ta-
beſides ſeven and twenty burnt, but ſome of the
ner belonged to Neutral Princes; and the greateſt
that befel the *Engliſh*, was the ſinking of four of
greateſt Merchant-Men in the Bay of *Gibraltar*.
ut to ſay no more of this unhappy Adventure, af-
which Sir *George Rook* made the beſt of his way
and got ſafe to *Ireland*; we are to paſs over into
nders, where we find the *French* this Year prodi-
s ſtrong, and by a Computation of Forces on both
s, they exceeded the Confederates almoſt by one
at the beginning of the Campagn. But K. *Wil-*
's Diligence in poſſeſſing himſelf of the Camp at
k entirely broke the *French* King's Deſigns upon
bant, which made the latter ſend a ſtrong De-
ment under the Dauphin and *Boufflers* into *Germa-*
and return himſelf to *Verſailles*, without making
Attempt, which was matter of much diſcourſe
in *France* and elſewhere. The *French* all this
le were incamped at *Meldert*, whoſe Convoy was
h moleſted by the Gariſon of *Charleroy*; yet it
ned a Trial of Skill between both Armies, who
ld continue longeſt in their Poſts, which at length
the 28*th* of *July* the *French* were forced firſt to
, and marched to *Heyliſſem* in their way towards
Meuſe, which gave the King an Opportunity to
a ſtrong Detachment under the Duke of *Wirtem-*
to force the *French* Lines in *Flanders*. While
was put in execution with very good Succeſs, and
Count *Tilly* General of the Troops of *Liege*, was
ching with a Reinforcement to join the King;
emburg being informed of it, immediately poſted
y ſome Troops to hinder that Conjunction, who
ſuch Celerity, that they in a manner ſurprized
Count in the hollow ways, thro which he was
ching, and briskly charged ſuch of his Troops as
could come at; but the Count making a Virtue of
eſſity, ordered his Men not to engage, but to retreat
aſt as they could, and the *French* purſued them al-
t as far as *Maeſtritch*, yet did them no conſiderable
nage, ſave the taking of their Baggage from them.

How-

1693. French *take* Huy.

However this incouraged *Luxemburg* to lay Siege to *Huy*, which was inveſted on the 9th of *July*, and the brought the Confederate Army to move nearer the Country of *Liege*; but when they came to *Tongres* they were ſurprized to hear that the Caſtle of *Huy* had capitulated: And this made the King upon a fur ther Information, that *Luxemburg* was drawing nea rer *Liege*, to ſend ten Battalions thither, who with very great difficulty got at length into the Place, which now abſolutely rejected the Neutrality *Luxemburg* had offered. The Mareſchal thereupon made as if he de ſigned to attack them, tho in reality he concluded to attack the Confederate Army, now incamped at *Neer heſpen*, ſo much weakned thro the ſeveral Detach ments the King had made to cover the Places that ſeemed moſt in danger, that it was generally compu ted the *French* at the time of the Engagement exceed ed the Confederates by 35000 Men. The King to know the certainty of the Enemies Deſigns, daily ſent out Parties of Horſe to get Intelligence, one of which returned with an account that they could not go beyond *Waren*, becauſe they met there a great Party of *French* Horſe, which was indeed the Left Wing of their Army upon the March, from whence the King, Elector and other Generals concluded they came up with a Reſolution to give Battel.

Things being brought to this Paſs, the King ordered Brigadier *Ramſey* with his Brigade of five Battalions to the Right of all, before the Right Wing of the Horſe, to guard ſome Hedges and hollow ways which there covered their Right, juſt upon the right of the Village of *Laer*. Here the *Brandenburg* Battalions were poſted, and to the Left of the Village alſo, and more to the Left the Infantry of *Hanover*: Theſe were afterwards reinforced by the firſt Battalion of the firſt Regiment of Guards, and the ſecond of the Scots Guards. Upon the Left at *Neerlanden*, the King ordered the Battalion of the Royal Regiment, *Churchil*, *Selwin*, *Trelawny*, and Prince *Frederick*'s Battalion of *Danes* to poſſeſs the Village that covered the Left of the Foot, which upon the Enemies Approach wheeled from the Left to the Right, to bring up their Left to the Brook of *Beck*; and the Ground being open

two

n *Neerwinden* and *Neerlanden*, the King ordered 1693.
trenchment to be made in the Night from the one
e other, which was indeed but a ſlight Breaſt-
to cover the Foot. Now the Remainder of the
of the Infantry was drawn up in one Line with-
e Retrenchment to defend it; and the Dragoons
the Left were ordered to the Village of *Dormal*
ard that Paſs upon the Brook of *Beck*; and from
e the Left Wing of Horſe reached to *Neerlanden*,
e 'twas covered by this Brook, and from thence
d off to the Right behind the body of the Foot.

ext Morning which was the 19*th* of *July* being *Battel of*
, the *French* by Sunriſing were drawn up within Landen *or*
non ſhot of the Confederates Camp, who played Neerwin-
them from their Artillery with good Succeſs; and den.
the *French* received with admirable Conſtancy,
bout ſix they made a Movement to come nearer
King's Retrenchments, and about eight *Luxem-*
ordered a ſtrong body of Troops to attack the
ges of *Lar* and *Neerwinden*, which they did
great Fury and various Succeſs, having gained
loſt thoſe Poſts once and again, but at length the
federates remained Maſters of them, and here it
that the Duke of *Berwick* was taken Priſoner.
his ill Succeſs of the *French* upon the Confede-
Right, did not diſcourage them from attacking
Left Wing at *Neerlanden*, which Poſt tho it was
veak in it ſelf, yet it was attacked with a great
roportion of Forces, and the firing was very
t on both ſides. The *French* gained and loſt the
ntage ſeveral times, but were at laſt after two
s hot diſpute entirely beaten off, and hitherto the
eſs of the Day was manifeſtly on the Confederates
and the *French* ſeemed by their Countenance as
ey deſigned to draw off; but *Luxemburg* having
everal Brigades of freſh Men, reſolved to gain
illage of *Neerwinden* a ſecond time, and to that
ttacked it with great Fury, and here the diſpute
a long time; but at length the *French* Numbers
iling, the Confederates loſt the Field, and leav-
loſt of their Cannon behind them, retreated to
without being purſued by the Enemy. As for
Computation of Loſs, the Confederates have aſſu-
red

1693. red us, that they thought theirs at first much grea than afterwards upon a Review it did appear, fi they did not miss above 5 or 6000 fighting men, kill wounded and taken Prisoners; whereas the *Fre* would have them to be few less than 20000 Men in besides, together with the Field of Battel, 76 piece Cannon, 8 Mortars, 9 Pateroons, 12 pair of Ket drums, Abundance of Arms, 60 Standards, and Colours that fell to their share; and would not o they had above 3000 of their own Men killed, 4000 wounded. However it were in reality, the C federates had great Reason to alledg the contr here, since it was past all doubt, that the Enemy 2000 Officers slain and wounded; and if we consider what Disadvantage they fought the Confederates the greatest part of the day, it will not seem incre ble, but that their Loss in the whole might amount near 18000 Men.

French *take* Charleroy.

However the *French* to make some Advantage their Victory, and to give some Reputation to th Assertions, at last resolved to lay Siege to *Charle* which was invested on the 31*st* of *Aug.* after t had been reinforced with the Troops from the Coast, and a great Detachment under *Boufflers* fr the *Rhine*. They attacked the Place with much Fu which was as bravely defended by the Besieged; tho they had little or no Prospect of Relief, yet t gallantly held it out till the 1*st* of *Octob.* and t made an honourable Capitulation: And indeed was the only Place that made a brave Defence in F *ders* since the War, and afforded no Suspicion o ny Treachery in the Surrendry of it.

I shall but just mention here, that the *French* on side of *Catalonia* were also Winners, by their hav *Roses* delivered up to them as early as the 5*th* of J but pass on into *Germany*, where we find the *Ger* so slow, and the *French* so forward, that the l passed the *Rhine* at *Philipsburg*; and without any position on the 28*th* of *May*, the Marquess of *Cha ly* with 2000 men invested *Heidelburg*, which been long threatned by them, and the Duke *de L* crossed the first Mountains with 30000 men to op the Prince of *Baden*, who this Year commanded

Rhine, but was yet in condition only to act defen- 1693.
y, and hardly that, ſo that poor *Heidelburg* was
ift for herſelf: But beſides the weakneſs of the
e, there was ſuch Diviſion between the Soldiers
Townſmen, that on the 29*th*, when the Regiment
conbeck was ready to enter in to reinforce the Ga-
, the Townſmen were ſo incenſed againſt the Sol-
s that they oppoſed their Entrance, which gave
ac an Opportunity to ſeize a Redoubt, from
nce he could batter the back part of the Works
e Town; and in ſhort the *French* on the 21*ſt* en-
the Suburbs with little Oppoſition, and their
adiers drove the Beſieged with ſo much haſte to
Caſtle-Gates, that they left about 600 of their Sol-
without, who were all put to the Sword. The
rnor of the Caſtle fearing the ſame Deſtiny, ſent
puchin with Propoſals to *de Lorge*, which the o-
was ſo far from allowing of, that he prepared
an Aſſault, which made the Governor accept of
Offers made him by the *French*; and on the 2*d*
Gariſon to the number of 1200 men, 2 pieces of
non, and 12 Waggons laden with Baggage were
ucted to *Wimpel*; but the Burning of this City
Caſtle by the Conquerors, with other Barbari-
harged upon them in the *Palatinate*, was highly
imed againſt in theſe times. Fluſhed with this
ſs, *de Lorge* advanced towards the *Neckar*, with a
n to attack the Prince of *Baden*, who was in-
ed on the other ſide of that River, over which
rench laid two Bridges in order to paſs it; but
were ſo warmly received by the *Germans*
here and afterwards at *Wimpſen*, where they
pted the ſame thing, that they were for-
o quit the Enterprize, and come off with the
of near 1000 Men. Sometime after the Dau-
having joined the Army, which was now near
o ſtrong, and finding the Paſs of *Zwingenburg*
d be of great advantage to them, they took the
Caſtle by Storm, after they had routed ſome Par-
ithout, and had a pretty hot diſpute with its Ga-
within, who yet found a way to eſcape. This
their other ſmaller Advantages, and their out-
ring the Prince of *Baden* very conſiderably, made

Heidelburg *taken and deſtroyed by the* French.

1693. *The Dauphin inclined to attack* Baden.

the Dauphin desirous to attack him in his Camp ne *Flein*: Wherefore tho he knew how advantageou he was intrenched, yet on the 21*st* of *July* he cr sed the *Neckar*, and advanced within four Ho March of him, who thereupon recalled all his Deta ments to strengthen himself, and so much the mo since he had certain Advice on the 31*st*, that the D phin resolved to give him Battel, and that he wo fall on next Morning: In short, the *French* advanc the same Day with all their Cavalry and 4000 Gra diers, and having raised some Batteries, let themsel to work to force the Intrenchments, and encompa the Left Wing of the Camp, which made the Pri send a Detachment of Horse into the Valley of *W burg* to dispute the Pass with them; and when ab two he thought the *French* would have begun the Fig they drew off and repassed the *Neckar* with some L And all that they did more this Campagn, was to p Garison into *Stugard*, and raise a little Contribu Money; tho they had such a strong Belief that Dauphin would engage the Prince, that publick Pr ers were put up every where for his Preservation that after he had sent the forementioned Detachm under *Boufflers* to the Siege of *Charleroy*, and ther into *Piedmont*, he returned in *August* to *Ver les*.

Wherefore leaving *Germany* for the present, if look into *Piedmont*, we shall there find that the D of *Savoy* being at length recovered of a long Indi sition, joined the Army which was considerably str and made the Inhabitants of the *Dauphinate* fea worse Irruption into their Country than the and to begin to provide for their Safety accordi But the Design of the Confederates seemed to the *French* first out of *Italy* by dispossessing the *Casal* and *Pignerol*, neither of which could be effe 'Tis true, *Casal* was blocked up for sometime, and Fort of *St. George* taken by Storm, which com ted the Blockade of that Place; but things we farther, and the Duke with the main Army laid S to *Pignerol*, took the Fort of *St. Bridget* that co it, after the loss of 1500 men, and such an obst Defence on the part of the *French*, that after

made a Doubt whether they ſhould carry on the 1693.
e of the Town or bomb it. All this took up ſo
h time, that *Catinat* being reinforced with more
ops, and particularly with the forementioned De-
ment from *Germany*, found himſelf in a condition
& offenſively, and therefore he deſcended into the
ns; this ſeeming to the Duke as if he threatned
in, he drew off from about *Pignerol*, and incam-
at *Marſaglia*.

aving drawn up the Army in Battalia, they march- *Battel of*
to the Neighbourhood of *Orbaſſan*, from whence *Marſaglia*,
obſerved the *French* Army towards the Hills be-
n that Place and *Pioſaſque*; but Night coming on,
the Armies drew further off from one another, to
r the Troops to repoſe themſelves. At break of
next Morning the *French* making uſe of the advan-
they had in the Ground, which was full of Woods
Vineyards, advanced towards the Confederates,
threw ſome Dragoons into the Village of *Pioſaſ-*
ſituate upon a Hill, to cover their Right Wing,
h did the Confederates ſome damage; but their
non being likewiſe very well poſted, did great Ex-
on among the *French* Cavalry: Yet the *French* a-
half an Hour after fell upon the Confederates
Wing with near 2000 Men, without firing a
having their Bagonets at the end of their Fu-
nd their Swords in their Hands, but they were
ſed and driven back very vigorouſly. However
bravely renewed the Attack, and took in Front
lank the *Neapolitan* and *Milaneſe* Horſe, who
puſhed by them on the *German* Horſe, who being
by put into Diſorder, and at the ſame time char-
y the little Gendarmery, were no longer able to
heir Ground, but fell upon the Infantry, which
ſo put into Diſorder. The ſecond Line being
ht up to repulſe the *French*, while the firſt Line
d, the Horſe gave way; whereby the ſecond
not being able to withſtand the Efforts of the
, was obliged likewiſe to give Ground. But
things paſſed thus ſo badly on the Left of the
derates, the *French* were thrice repulſed with
erable Loſs by the main Body, till the Horſe
had made the Confederates Left Wing give way,

1693. attacked their Infantry in Rear and Flank, who had
longer any Horſe to cover them on their Left,
were at the ſame time attacked by the *French* Fo
Here the Confederates made ſtout Reſiſtance, and t
Cannon which played upon the *French* was of g
uſe to them; but the *French* being more numerous,
alſo further reinforced, renewed the Charge, and
Confederates about four in the Afternoon were for
to retreat and leave them the Field with 10 or
Field-pieces. The *French* did hardly purſue them
all, there were a great many brave Men ſlain in
Battel, and among others Duke *Schomberg*, who c
manded the Troops in the King of *England*'s
who gave incredible Proofs of his Conduct and
rage in this Action, tho it coſt him his Life.
whole number of the ſlain is uncertain, the *Fr*
would have the Confederates Loſs to amount to
men, beſides 2000 taken Priſoners, 100 Colours
Standards and 34 pieces of Cannon, and will not
that they had above 1500 Men killed and wound
their Side: However it were, 'tis certain they ha
Advantage by a great deal.

But while *France* was thus triumphing every w
over the Confederates, ſhe felt a more dang
Enemy within her own Bowels, that ſwept aw
great many of her Inhabitants, and that was D
and Scarcity of Bread, that ſorely affected her in
but more in the following Year; and for all the
the King could take, made things look with a gl
Countenance. So that what with this and ſom
elſe, *France* pretty early made Propoſals of Pe
the Emperor, that in reſpect to himſelf were no
temptible, but it was impoſſible to disjoin him
his Allies; and therefore finding it would not
that way, it was given out then, that new Pro
of Peace were made to the King of *Spain*, the E
King of *England* and Duke of *Savoy*, by which
propoſed to reſtore all the Places taken ſince the
ty of *Nimeguen*, and withal to ſurrender ſome
were then fortified; but whatever there was
the Event ſhewed it came to nothing.

1694. The Confederates finding by Experience th
Succeſſes of the *French*, in the laſt and pr

1694.

pagns, were only owing to their Numbers, they ed, more especially *England* and *Holland*, con- bly to augment their Troops against the next er; but tho they also augmented their Naval gth, and that the Confederate Fleet was so early his Year, yet they were neither able to block up f *France* in *Brest*, nor to come at them to fight at Sea, which the *English* much longed for, and *rench* as much declined it; so that they would enture a Caper into the *Mediterranean*, whither actually went rather than hazard an Engage- But the truth of it was, that they had concerted vast Designs against *Spain* both by Sea and Land eason, that had it not been for the Confederate going into those Seas, they would in all likelihood made an entire Conquest of *Catalonia* before the went into Winter-Quarters. But before Admi- *ussel* had entirely left the Coast, and sailed with eet for *Spain*, he upon information that there was t of *French* Merchant-men in *Bertraume* Bay, l to the East-ward, detached Captain *Picard* and *oe-buck* Fire-ship, either to take or destroy them; he Captain executed his Orders so successfully, f fifty five Sail of them he burnt or sunk thirty besides the Man of War that was their Convoy, ran among the Rocks, and soon after blew up, her two Sloops of between 10 and 15 Guns. *Picard* having rejoined the Fleet, we'll leave them rsue their Voyage for *Spain*, and here give an nt of the Descent attempted by the *English* upon e, and even upon *Brest* it self.

The Descent upon Brest.

the 5*th* of *June* the Lord *Berkley* Admiral of lew parted from Admiral *Russel* with twenty Sail of Men of War for the Line of Battel, *h* and *Dutch*, besides small Frigates, Fireships, Boats, Bomb-Vessels, *&c.* in order to attack They anchored on the 7*th* in *Camaret* and *Ber-* e Bays in the Morning, where they had a world mbs thrown at them to no purpose; but while leet was preparing to come to an Anchor, the *Cuts* and Marquess of *Carmarthen*, with divers s, having boldly gone in to view the Bay, it was d that eight Men of War should be sent into

1692. the Bay to manage *Camaret* Fort, and the ſame
commanded by the Marqueſs of *Carmarthen*; but
met with a very warm Reception, not only from
Fort, but from three Batteries more, that all fired
them, and which they had never perceived, till
felt their Shot. But notwithſtanding all theſe Diffi
ties, the Marqueſs made a ſhift to poſt the eight S
in ſuch a manner, as gave great Succour to the
Forces, and did the *French* conſiderable Damage.
the other ſide, Lieutenant General *Talmaſh*, wit
ſmall number of Well-boats, went aſhore in a co
ſed manner, under a little Rock on the South-ſide
the ſmall Bay, nor was there any Proſecution of
regular Landing which the Lord *Cuts* propoſed,
had been agreed on: So that in ſhort, what with
and the great Strength and Readineſs of the *Frenc*
receive them, the Deſign utterly miſcarried, the B
Talmaſh loſt his Life, and a great number of o
valiant Men, at leaſt 700, beſides 400 men kille
three *Engliſh* and four *Dutch* Ships under the Marqu
Command, who had much ado to bring them
However, they loſt but one Frigate of thirty G
And thus this Expedition ended, which was ſo
monly talked of in *London* before it was undert
and undoubtedly ſo well known in *France*, that h
been otherwiſe, they had never made ſuch ſt
Works, and drawn together ſuch numerous Fo
near the Place where the *Engliſh* landed.

But to ſay no more of this unhappy Enterp
we are now to obſerve that the Prince and Biſho
Liege departing this Life in the preſent Conjunc
the *French* uſed their utmoſt Efforts to get the C
nal *de Bouillon* choſen in his room; but the Conf
rate Intereſt prevailing here, the Elector of *Cologn*
elected, who in ſome time after having got the pe
able Poſſeſſion of the Principality, this, together
the great Power of the Confederates in *Flanders*,
things look with no very pleaſing Aſpect upon *Fra*
For the Confederate Army now under the Comma
the King of *England*, encamped at *Mount St. An*
where they all joined, amounting in Horſe and
goons to 31800 men, all very well mounted and a
and of the Dragoons more eſpecially it might be

1694.

ſuch a Body, either for the Number or good Or-
they were in, had hardly ever been in the Field;
in Foot to 51000, beſides a Body of about 7000
under the Command of Count *Thien* near *Ghent*,
tho the *French* were not much inferior in number,
the Dauphin uſed all his Endeavours to decline
ting, and the King put him hard to it; ſo that
French Army was in a manner coop'd up by him
a time under the Walls of their Gariſon of *Huy*,
reduc'd to conſiderable Straits, where we ſhall leave
n and the Confederates in their reſpective Camps,
where they continued, while the *Engliſh* Fleet in
Channel were bombarding the Maritime Towns
France, to the great Terror of the poor Inhabitants,
ell as the utter Ruin of many of them.

Diep in *Normandy* was the firſt Town that felt the
y of the *Engliſh* Bombs, before which the Fleet on
12*th* of *July* being brought as near as poſſible, the
d *Berkley* ſent ſix Men of War and nine Bomb
liots away to their ſeveral Stations; and from that
y at night till four next Morning, they threw eleven
dred Bombs and Carcaſſes into the City, which ſet
Houſes on fire in ſeveral Places; ſo that the Townſ-
not knowing whither to run, and deſpairing to
nch it, were ſo frighten'd, that they ran away in
t Confuſion, which made the Marqueſs of *Bearon*
two Battalions of the Militia of *Bretagne* to in-
rage the Inhabitants; but the Diſorders were ſo
t, and the Fire ſo terrible, that the Soldiers fled
the reſt. So that if the Confederates had known
t had paſſed, they might in all probability have
eſſed themſelves of the Place; however, they ſo
ed it, that the whole was reduced to Aſhes. From
e the Fleet alarming all the Coaſt, ſailed towards
re de Grace, where on the 26*th* about three in the
rnoon, they began to approach the Town under
direction of Captain *Bembo*, into which between
and five they began to throw their Bombs, which
continued till next Morning, when the Wind
ing hard, they gave over ſhooting. But tho this
e was not entirely ruined, as *Diep* was, yet a great
of it was burnt, and ſo conſiderable a Damage
to it, as could not be ſoon repaired.

Diep, &c. bombarded by the Engliſh.

1694. If the *French* were thus put to it on the Coaſt, the Army was not a little ſtraitned by the Confederates in the *Netherlands*: For tho the Dauphin declared he had received Orders from his Father not to budg from his Camp at *Vignemont*, as long as the Confederates continued in theirs at *Mont St. Andrew*; yet not able poſſibly to ſubſiſt there any longer, he reſolved to decamp firſt: And tho he thought to have concealed his Deſign by ſending forth ſeveral little Bodies of Horſe, under pretence of foraging, to reinforce the Marqueſs of *Harcourt*'s Body on the other ſide of the *Meuſe*, which was to ſeize the advantageous Poſts of *Pieton*, and by that means get before the Confederates; yet the King, who was aware of the Deſign, decamped before him on the 8*th* of *Auguſt*, and ſoon gained the Poſts of *Pieton*, where there was no Forage for above four Days, and being informed of the March of the *French*, marched towards *Neville*, thence to *Leſſines*, having ſent Orders before for the baking of Bread at *Ghent* and *Aeth*. On the 12*th* the Confederate Army poſted it ſelf at *Chivere*, from whence that Evening a numerous Detachment of Horſe and Foot, with ſome Pieces of Cannon, went to poſſeſs themſelves of a Poſt upon the *Scheld*, and the main Army followed on the 14*th* with an intention to have paſſed the River at *Pont Eſpierre*. But tho the Confederates made great haſte to get thither, the *French* made much more to prevent it; for on the 15*th* the Elector of *Bavaria* having advanced towards *Pont de Eſchauffe*, with a numerous Detachment in order to attack the Paſſage of the River, he found the *French*, to the number of thirty thouſand Men intrenched on the other ſide up to their very Chins, that he did not think it convenient to proceed. Indeed that haſty March of the *French* coſt them more Men than they have been willing to own they had in ſome of their Battels. However, it muſt be own'd that it was a Buſineſs very much worth the while to hinder the Confederates from entring into *French Flanders*, into which if they had once broke, they would probably, together with ſome important Conqueſt, have ſecured Winter-Quarters there at leaſt, beſides other Damages that muſt inevitably have follow'd them; and this the *French* King was ſo ſenſible

he wrote a Letter, with Orders it ſhould be read 1694.
he Head of the Army, wherein he return'd Thanks
he firſt place to the Princes of the Blood, then to
Mareſchal *de Luxemburg*, as having a principal
re in the Conduct, to the reſt of the Mareſchals
France, and to all the General Officers, and laſtly
ll the *French* and *Swiſs* Infantry, Regiment by Re-
ent, beginning with that of the Guards, and ac-
wledg'd how much he was beholden to their Zeal
infinite Diligence for the preſervation of their
ntry, Lives, and moſt important Places on the
-Coaſt, and aſſured them he would acknowledg
n all Occaſions the ſame Teſtimony of their Affecti-
and deſired the Continuance of it.

French *King's Letter to the Army.*

n the mean time K. *William* finding the *French* very
nt to watch his Motion in a new Seat of War, he
hold of the Opportunity for the recovering of
; in purſuance of which *Tilly* paſſed the *Meuſe* at
len, with all the Horſe and Dragoons of the Dio-
of *Liege*, being followed by a Party of *Branden-*
Horſe, and ſome Battalions of Foot, and the ſame
inveſted the Place, where on the next there arriv'd
een Regiments of Foot, with the Duke of *Holſtein*
n, who was appointed to command at the Siege.
Town preſently ſurrendred, and by the 19*th* of
ember the Batteries were raiſed againſt the Caſtle,
the Artillery that conſiſted of ſixty Pieces of Can-
and thirty Mortars, came up, when the *French*
de a Sally upon *Cohorn* Quarters, in hopes to have
n three Field-pieces; but they were repulſed with
, and ſo the Works went on briskly till the 21*ſt* at
t, when the Beſiegers opened their Trenches,
ch they carried on with great Vigour till the 24*th*
he Morning, when a *Brandenburg* Under-Officer of
Regiment of *Anhalt* mounted the Counterſcarp of
t *Piccard* at the head of fifteen Soldiers only, and
with ſo much Courage and Bravery, that they
ed the few *French* that were there, threw a Tun-full
Granadoes into the Water, and took away a Bar-
of Powder, and ſome Arms, which he brought in-
he Camp; and all this in the ſight of the Duke of
ſtein Ploen, and other Generals, who were ſo ſatiſ-
with his Bravery, that the *Brandenburg* General
immediately

1694. immediately wrote to the Elector to desire him to
stow a Captain's Post upon him. The Besiegers
same day continued firing upon the Castle and
Forts, both which last were taken by seven hundr
Brandenburgers by dint of Sword, who in the heat
their Fury put 150 *French* to Death, but gave Quar
to seventy others, who were most of them wounde
and all this with the Loss only of twenty men. So t
being flush'd with this Success, they push'd on the Si
of the Castle with wonderful Vigour, wherein th
had made a considerable Breach, and had every thi
ready for an Assault by the 27*th*, when the Governo
beat a Parley, and surrendred, upon condition
Garison should be conducted to *Namur*.

Confederates retake Huy.

Thus ended the Campagn in *Flanders*, not very p
sing to the *French*, tho perhaps, all Circumstances c
sidered, with less disadvantage than they themsel
expected. But they made amends for it to purpos
Spain; for their Army under the Command of
Mareschal *de Noailles* being about thirty thous
strong, and consequently much superior to the Sp
ards, and very early in the Field to boot, arrived
the 26*th* of *May* on the Banks of the *Ter* in *Cat
nia*, which, notwithstanding they found the *Spani*
entrenched on the other side, they resolved to p
and having to that end sounded all the Fords that
ning, they forced their way thro after about half
hours Dispute, and constrained the *Spanish* Foot to
their Retrenchments without any great Resistan
But the Cavalry shewed a more than ordinary Va
and Conduct in their Retreat, which they perfor
in the best manner they could to cover their Fo
yet this could not prevent the Loss of their Bagg
tho what with the Defence the *Spanish* Horse m
and the Narrowness of the Ways, the *French* did
pursue them far. However this Point of passing
Ter was enough gained for them to besiege *Palamo*
Town by the Sea-side, which they invested on
30*th* of *May*, and by the 3*d* of *June* at night
Trenches were opened, and the Works carried
good way, tho not without disturbance from the
Shot and Cannon of the Besieged, which killed a g
many Men; and next day they made a Sally, a

French *Success in* Catalonia.

h good Succeſs; but they were at length repuls'd 1694.
ply'd cloſe with Mortars and Cannon both by Sea
Land: So that by the 7th in the morning all things
re in a readineſs to attack the Covert Way. This
Grenadiers did with great Fury, and were ſo far
loſing time to make Lodgments, that they puſhed
wards, and finding a Way to enter at two Breach-
where only one could paſs in Front, they entred the
y, plunder'd it, and put all they met with to the
ord; and of thoſe that were ſaved all were made
ſoners of War, only part of the Officers that were
ſt wounded, were ſent to *Gironne* upon their Pa-
s, not only, ſaid the Duke of *Noailles* in his Letter,
auſe they ſeemed to deſire it, but becauſe he con-
red the Terror that 'twould ſtrike among the Sol-
ry and the People. And what he ſaid was true e-
gh, for the *Spaniards* quickly withdrew their Gari-
out of *St. Felix Quinona*, and the Caſtle of *St. Elme*,
tho they pretended to make a ſtout Reſiſtance at
ronne, a well fortified City, that *Noailles* had actu-
laid Siege to by the 19th of *June*; yet they could
rce hold out for ten days, for they ſurrendred the
ce on the 29th of the ſame Month, and that on very
ominious Terms too; for the Gariſon was to march
without Cannon, and the Cavalry, except ten in
roop, to march away afoot with the Infantry, with-
their Horſes, and all the Ammunition and Proviſion
e left behind in the City. This being effected ſuc-
fully, the next Work was to attack *Oſtralick*, a
e Town upon the Road to *Barcelona*, which they
kly maſtered without any great Reſiſtance, and
reby enlarged the *French* Territories twenty Miles
xtent. But the Army, becauſe of the violent Heats,
inning now to be ſickly, they went into Quarters
Refreſhment upon the Banks of the *Terdera*, and
re they continued in a manner as unmoleſted from
Spaniards, as if they had been in the middle of
nce; but it was not ſo with the *Spaniards* on the
t of the *French*, for after they had been refreſh'd
y bethought themſelves of taking *Caſtle Folet*,
ttle Town in the way to *Gironne*, which they ma-
ed, after having firſt routed a Body of Country
litia that came to relieve it, and made the Gariſon
Priſoners

French *take* Palamos.

French *take* Gironne.

1694. Priſoners of War. But tho the *Spaniards* thought
take advantage of this Opportunity to re-take *Oſſ*
lick, which they actually beſieg'd with four thouſa
Foot and fifteen hundred Horſe, and had reduced
to that Condition, that the Governour was upon A
ticles of Surrendry, and Hoſtages were delivered
both ſides; yet ſo fatal was the Slowneſs of theſe P
ple to themſelves, in inſiſting that the *Miqueleys* ſho
be Priſoners of War, that the Governor in the mi
time having notice that *Noailles* was marching to
Relief, re-demanded his Hoſtages, and refuſing to ſta
to the Articles, the Siege was immediately raiſed.

But by this time the Confederate Fleet, and ſuch
one as thoſe Seas hardly ever ſaw before, was arri
in the Straits under the Command of Admiral *Ru*
much to the Mortification of the *French*, who expec
no ſuch thing, and now ſaw their Error in ſending th
Grand Fleet to thoſe Seas, where they muſt be coo
up in the Harbour of *Thoulon*, and be forced to le
all their Coaſt both on the Ocean, and in the *Medi*
ranean unguarded, and ſubject to every Inſult of th
Enemies. And tho *Tourville* once adventur'd out to S
with a deſign to ſlip by the *Engliſh* Admiral, yet
quickly found the other had ſo ſharp an Eye upon hi
that he was forced to return to Port again, and
contented to lie in Souce there for the reſt of the W
ter.

French *Fleet confin'd to* Thoulon.

Having no more to ſay on this ſide at preſent,
paſs croſs *France* into *Germany*, where we find
Prince of *Baden* at the Head of the *Imperialiſts*,
de Lorge commanding the *French* Army, which towa
the beginning of *June* paſt the *Rhine*, and advanced
order of Battel towards the Prince, incamped at *H*
bron, who believing they would fight, went out to m
them; but they conſidered better of it, and retre
toward *Wiſelock*, paſſed the *Neckar*, burnt the To
of *Lawdenburg*, and ruined the flat Country, whic
incenſed the Prince of *Baden*, that tho he were not
reinforced by the *Saxons*, yet he advanced to *Wiſel*
a Poſt near unto which there hapned a ſharp Renco
ter between a Detachment of *French* and *Germ*
wherein the former loſt near three hundred men,
the latter near half the number, but withal ga

Poſt, which *de Lorge* was ſo far from liking, that repaſs'd the *Rhine* on the 28*th* of *June*, which was e days after. After this we had nothing from both nies for a time, but that they had poſted themſelves beſt they could in order to obſerve one another, till ength the Prince of *Baden* being impatient for Acti- reſolved in his turn to croſs the *Rhine*, and to end ordered the Marqueſs of *Baden Dourlach* aſs the ſaid River at *Schwarzbach* and *Daxland*, three and twenty thouſand and eight hundred rſe and Foot, who was followed next day by the nce himſelf. *De Lorge* was no ſooner informed eof, but he marched towards *Landau*; but the Prince ancing, poſſeſs'd himſelf of divers ſmall Places all the Places as far as *Croon-Wiſſemburg*; and hty Expectations there were that the *Germans* would either force the *French* to a Battel, or ma- e their Affairs ſo, as to ſecure Winter Quarters on ſide the *Rhine*, or at leaſt compleat the Ruin of Country. But neither ſucceeded, for the firſt In- igence from them was their repaſſing the *Rhine* a- n, which was ſaid was chiefly occaſion'd by the at Rains that fell, which very much endanger'd breaking down of the Bridges which the Prince laid over that River. However, they made a Retreat, brought away with them fourteen thou- d Head of Cattel, deſtroy'd a great Quantity of age in the Country, and ſome Magazines of the *nch*, which put an end to the Summer's work on ſide.

1694.

Campagn in Germany.

here is but very little to be ſaid of the Affairs of *oy* this Year; for tho the Duke abſolutely refuſed Propoſals made to him by *France* after the Battel *Marſaglia*, yet he did, or would do little now in Field, where the *French* were not ſo conſiderable in ength, as they have been ſince. For beſides what Brave *Vaudois* did in the Valley of *Pragelas*, in ning ſome Villages of the *French*, taking ſome les laden with Proviſions, and the routing of e *Iriſh* Detachments that were ſent againſt them the Valley of *St. Martin*, which gave them Opportunity to make a Ravage into *Dau- ne*, as far as *Brianſon*; we have nothing to ſay

Campagn in Italy.

of

1694. of the main Army; for tho it was expected on
hands they would have beſieged *Caſal*, and the
ceſs of the Enterprize not much doubted of, yet
that was done, was the taking of the Fort of *St. Ge*
and thereby the farther ſtraitning of the Place,
whoſe Siege you ſhall hear more the next Year.

1695. The Duke of *Luxemburg* dying towards the clo
the laſt Year, the Duke of *Villeroy* was this Camp
made Commander in chief of the Army of *Franc*
the *Netherlands*, where their Force was very conſid
ble, but exceeded now in their Turn by the Confe
rates, who were computed to out-number them ab
20000 men. There were two Camps formed for th
one was at *Arſeel*, to be commanded by K. *Willia*
Perſon, and the other at *Ninove* under the Elector
Bavaria. When the King was come to the Army,
Elector had Orders to detatch the Earl of *Athlone* w
40 Squadrons of Horſe towards *Lovain*, in lie
which the King reinforced him with ſome other
gades; which being done, the King marched from
ſeel to *Becelaer*. *Bavaria* likewiſe decamped on the
of *June*, and advanced between the *Lys* and the *Sch*
near the *French* Lines, where he was quickly confr
ed by the Mareſchal *de Luxemburg*. The Confeder
might eaſily have bombarded *Ypre*, but they choſe
ther to attack Fort *Kenock*; but being not able to
off the Communication between it and the *French*
my, the Enterprize was given over, and the A
marched to *Roſelaer*, where the King left them u
the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and went towards the *M*
in order to form the Siege of *Namur*, for which t
had been vaſt Preparations made at *Maeſtritch*.
tho all this menaced that important Place, yet
French had brought all their Forces within their L
without keeping any body to guard the Paſſes of
Sambre; but however this came about, the King
the mean time ſent Orders to *Athlone*, incamped
Tilmont, and to the *Brandenburg* and *Liege* Force
inveſt *Namur*. *Athlone* accordingly marched wit
body of Horſe, and being joined by ſome *Brande*
gers, he left ſome of the Horſe at *la Faliſe*, but with
reſt of the Troops marched towards *Charleroy*.
Motion put the *French* in ſuſpence, whether the
feder

ates designed to attack *Namur* or *Charleroy*; and 1695.
Harcourt, who had passed the *Meuse* near *Di-*
to reinforce the Garison of *Charleroy* with a bo-
Dragoons. But *Athlone* having passed the *Sam-*
Chastelet below *Charleroy*, marched again down
ambre towards *Namur*, and pressed all the Boats
the River to make a Bridg of Communication,
n were brought down to the Abby of *Floref* upon
ambre, two Leagues from *Namur*; so that he took
e Posts from the *Sambre* to the *Meuse* of the Town-
about *la Falise*, but all on the other side of the
se lay open for want of Troops enough to do it,
n gave *Boufflers* an Opportunity, with six Regi-
s of the best Dragoons in the Army, to throw
lf into the Place, but he sent back most of the
oons Horses.

t while this was doing, the Elector of *Bavaria*'s *Confede-*
y, which was neareſt, marched with wonderful *rates be-*
rity to carry on this famous Siege; so that all the *siege Na-*
s were taken about the Town by the 23*d* of *June*, *mur.*
ing being come up the day before to it. Here
re to observe, that the Place had very much chang-
onditions since it fell into the Hands of the *French*,
spared no Charges to put their Frontier Garisons
the best Defence they could; for the Town at
ime of their taking it, was but weak, being ab-
ely commanded by a steep Hill that hangs over it
the Gate *la Fer*, to that of *St. Nicholas* near the
se; so that they had the Liberty to bring down
Batteries at first to the Descent of the Hill, and
en their Trenches at the foot of it near the
se, and it did not then hold out above five or
ays. But now to add a very considerable Strength
is weak part of it, the *French* had made a de-
d Bastion upon the Ascent of the Hill before *St.*
olas Gate, all of Stone-work, with a Casemotte up- *Its Fortifi-*
Bomb-proof. The Counterscarp of the *French* *cations.*
of Free-Stone, and the covered Way the same,
h pointed just upon the Top of the Hill, so that
Cannon upon the Plain could bear upon this Work
he Hills, but the Confederates were necessitated
atter it in reverse from the other side of the *Meuse*
the *Brandenburg* Batteries, which required some
time

1695. time before they could bring them to the Water-l
But this was not all, for upon the Right, towards
Gate *de Fer*, they had made two or three detac
Baſtions of the ſame work, juſt upon the Brow of
Hill and at the Foot of the ſame, before the Gate
Fer; and between the Hill and the Brook of *Werd*
they had a fourth, which hindred the Avenues
tween the Hills to this Gate. The Plain upon t
Hills was fortified with a double covered way pal
doed, to defend theſe detached Baſtions towards
Village of *Bouge*; and when the Confederates w
attacking the Place, they were working at a th
nearer to the Brow of the Hill, juſt before t
Works; ſo that the Town which before was but w
was now by theſe additional Works exceeding ſtr
and held out longer than the Caſtle. Again the *Fr*
attacked the Caſtle and *Cohorn* Fort upon the To
the Hill between the *Sambre* and the *Meuſe*, and
they took care afterwards to fortify, ſo as to lea
almoſt unattackable the ſame way they took it befo
for the *Cohorn* or *William*'s Fort fell into their Ha
by driving the Trenches round the Works along
Bottom, between it and the *Terra Nova* or upper
tle, which Work being embraced, and all manne
Communication cut off, was forced to ſurrender.
the *French* to prevent this another time, built a ſtr
Stone Redoubt juſt upon the Top of the Hill,
tween the *Cohorn* and *Terra Nova*, with a Caſem
upon it Bomb-proof, and that Work commanded
this Bottom to the *Sambre*, before which Work
had alſo made a very good covered Way, paliſa
from the Angle of the Gorge of the *Cohorn*, to
Brink of the Bill upon the *Meuſe*. Add to this a
good half Moon they had made upon the Curta
the Hornwork of the *Terra Nova*, beſides their
fying of the Devils Houſe, which flanks the ſid
the *Cohorn* towards the *Meuſe*, with a ſtrong Stone
doubt, which Place when the *Spaniards* had it,
but a ſimple Retrenchment about it. From the
part of the *Cohorn*, which is towards the *Meuſe*,
had made a very good covered Way, that goes
before the forementioned Redoubt, to the Edg
Hill upon the *Meuſe*: They had undertaken a

s Line cut into a Rock, all along the Top of the 1695.
near an *Engliſh* Mile in length, terminating upon
Edg of the Hill towards the *Sambre*, and the
Hill towards the *Meuſe* with two Redoubts at
end: The Line was finiſhed, and the Redoubt to-
ds the *Meuſe* very forward; but that towards the
bre was but juſt begun, which they made up with
ines upon the Arrival of the Confederates before
Place. In ſhort, the Caſtle was ſo ſtrongly forti-
upon the Top of the Hill with all theſe Outworks,
it would have been a very tedious piece of Work
e Confederates to have attacked it this way; but
weak ſide of the Caſtle and *Cohorn* was towards
Sambre, and the *French* had not provided for an
ck on that ſide. So that all thoſe prodigious
rks fell into the Confederates Hands, in leſs time
the *French* had taken this Place before, tho then
nferior to what it was now in Strength and Forti-
ions. To which if you add the Strength of the Ga-
n, being computed at near 14000 men, and moſt of
n of the beſt Troops of *France*, headed by a Ma-
al of *France*, and aſſiſted by Major General *de Me-*
y, one of the ableſt Engineers in *Europe*; it
ld look little leſs than a Wonder, that the Con-
rates ſhould carry it.

ut now to come to ſome Particulars of the Siege,
the Place had been inveſted, the King ordered the
f *Athlone* with moſt of the Cavalry to the Plains of
us, and ſo to the *Pieton*, to conſume the Forage there,
a good Reinforcement from the Army under Prince
demont to march towards *Namur*, where on the
of *June* the Beſiegers began to work on the Lines
Circumvallation, tracing the Ruins of that which
French had made when they beſieged the Place;
or want of their Cannon coming up, they did
pen their Trenches till the 21*ſt* of *July*, which was
done without conſiderable Diſturbance from the
ch; and by the 3*d* their Cannon began to play
a Battery of three pieces, from the *de Bouge*, a-
ſt the old Tower, and from the Edg of the height
t. *Barbe*. On the fourth a Detachment was ſent
einforce *Vaudemont*, upon Information that *Ville-*
ſigned to attack him, who to that end had made

1695. his Army as ſtrong as poſſible, and paſſing the Ly advanced to *St. Barbon*; of whoſe Motion the Prince being aware, he made a Movement of his Camp t *Wontergaem*, to bring his Right more to the Rear, t take up the riſing Ground of *Arſeel*, which he judg more defenſible, and then ordered Retrenchments t be made on the Left towards the *Lys* and *Walken*, they alſo fortified all the Riſing Grounds upon t Right of *Arſeel*.

The Prince had then with him about 50 Battalio of Foot, and 51 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoon and with them he was then reſolved to expect *Villar* tho the latter had near double the number, and w marching upon the 4*th* of *July* towards him, and ca up early enough to have attacked him; but wheth it was that he found the Prince's Camp ſo ſtrongly f tified, or that he would not then hazard a Battel, that he had Orders to ſtay till *Montal* had taken Poſt in the Rear of the Prince's Right Wing, betwe *Arſeel* and *Wirk*, to attack him there, he remained ſight of them that Evening, expecting to have fall upon the Prince very early the next Morning, and a manner to have caught him in a Net, by enviro him on the Right. But the Prince being informed *Montal*'s Motion, and finding he had already paſſed *Thielt*, wiſely changed his Reſolution of fighting; tho the time was very urgent and preſſing, he im diately with a moſt admirable Judgment, reſol upon and contrived a Retreat: He had wiſely provi for ſuch an Accident in the Morning, by ordering the Baggage away immediately by the way of *Dey* for *Ghent*, that it might not embarraſs the Motio the Army. Firſt he ordered the Cannon to be dr off the Batteries, and to march towards *Deynſe*, w was done with that Secreſy that the Enemy did perceive it; for he had cunningly ordered the Art ry to be moving from the Batteries all the Afterno ſo that when it went clear off, the *French* took it t the ordinary Motion: Then marched the two Line Foot upon the Left along the Retrenchment, to c which he ordered a Body of Horſe to go and themſelves in the Retrenchments, as it was quitted the Foot; the Foot at the ſame time marching out

Pr. Vaudemont's *Gallant Retreat.*

Pikes and Colours trailing to conceal their going 1695.
Neither did the *French* perceive this Motion, till
avalry mounted again, and abandoned the Re-
hment, by which time the Infantry was got into
ottom between *Arſeel* and *Wonterghem*, marching
rds *Deynſe*; but while the Foot were filing off
the Retrenchment, the Prince ordered Monſieur
irk with the Right Wing of the Horſe, interli-
ith *Collier*'s Brigade of Foot, to make a Line fal-
owards *Caneghem*, extending himſelf from the
mill of *Arſeel* towards *Wink*; and this Motion
order to make *Montal* believe, that this Line
eſigned to oppoſe his Attempt upon the Rear of
rince's Right, and his ſecret Orders were to
off by *Wink* to *Nivelle*, and ſo to *Ghent*. At
ne time that the Foot marched by *Wonterghem*
eynſe, the Earl of *Rochfort*, who was poſted
he Left Wing of Horſe and two Battalions to-
the *Lys*, made the Rearguard towards the Left,
Line of Foot upon the one ſide, and three Squa-
f *Eppinger*'s Dragoons upon the other. All this
contrived by the Prince from the Right to the
hat the Army diſappeared all at once, juſt as if
vaniſhed out of the Sight of the *French*. The
of *Wirtemburg* and other Generals kept to the
nchments, till all were marched off, forming
heir own Domeſticks and Attendants a little Bo-
Horſe, ſtill to impoſe upon the *French*, and fol-
the Army as ſoon as it was all got off. The
finding themſelves thus ſo ſtrangely amuſed,
at they could to overtake the Confederates, and
n their Rear, and particularly *Montal* endea-
to attack that Body which was commanded by
rk, whom he overtook with ſome Squadrons of
nd Dragoons; but the Defiles were good, and
er *Collier* had ordered all the Granadiers of his
to the Rear of all, to face the Enemy from
time as they advanced in the Defiles, which
well contrived, that the Granadiers with their
pt the *French* at a diſtance, and made good the
. They attempted the ſame thing upon the
f the Body of Foot, commanded by the Count
illes, with the like ill Succeſs. However two

1695. Squadrons of the *French* Dragoons, putting Gre
Boughs in their Hats, which was the Confederates ſig
nal of Battel, and ſpeaking ſome *French*, ſome En
liſh, as if they had been ſome of their own Rea
Guard, did by that means towards Evening come
cloſe to their Rear, and marched along with them
little way till they came to a convenient Place, wh
they fired upon them firſt, and then fell in with th
Swords, which put the firſt Battalion into ſome Di
der; but the other facing about, immediately c
ſtrained them to retire, after they had killed a f
Men, which was inconſiderable in compariſon of t
Great and moſt Renowned Retreat, which was as f
a piece of the Art of War as can be read in any Hi
ry, and can hardly be parallelled in it; and K. *Wi*
am in his Letter to the Prince upon this occaſion, g
an ample Teſtimony of it.

The Prince having made his Retreat in this Or
and the Army being poſted at *Deynſe* (where a G
ſon was left under Brigadier *O Farrel*, as *Dixmude*
with a good number of Men committed to the C
of Major General *Ellenburg*) and got as far as *Ni*
in his way to *Ghent*, there were Orders given to
and reſt there that Night; but the Prince, as he
ſelf ſaid afterwards, remembring a Maxim of
great General *Charles* the Fourth, Duke of *Lorai*
Father, That when an Army is upon the Retrea
muſt be ſure to retreat out of the Enemies Reach,
were ordered to decamp again, and by two i
Morning were got to *Marikirk* under the Wa
Ghent, from whence the Prince ſent a Reinforce
for the Security of *Newport*. And here at preſe
muſt leave them, as we do alſo the *French* Arm
Roſelaer, to ſee what is done at *Namur*, which
ſhall now proſecute with little or no Interventions o
ther Actions, till the Surrender of the Town.

Siege of Namur *proſecuted.* The Beſiegers, as it has been ſaid, having al
inveſted the Place, and began to raiſe their Line o
cumvallation; this Work, becauſe of the great
paſs of Ground it took up, kept the Soldiers and
neers imployed from the 3*d* of *July* to the 10
that on the 11*th* at Night the Trenches were o
againſt the Town in two Attacks, one along the

1695.

the other upon the adjacent Riſing Grounds: The *ch* at the ſame time made a Sally, but they were lſed with ſome Loſs. The Trenches next Night e carried on conſiderably with no Loſs, and ſo on ne 15*th*, when their Batteries were raiſed; and next the Trenches next the *Meuſe* were advanced from ſide to the other, and the day following they ad- ced three hundred Paces farther, at which time the eged fired very furiouſly, made a Sally, and af- ſome reſiſtance retired. But upon the 18*th* they e another Sally with twelve hundred Horſe, and Squadrons of Dragoons, and croſſing the *Meuſe*, ouſly fell upon the Trenches on the right hand of Bridg belonging to that River, took a Redoubt that unfiniſhed, and only ſtuffed with Sacks of Wool, fell with great Fury both in Front and Flank upon Beſiegers, who were at firſt forced to give way; reſuming freſh Courage, the *French* were beat back h the Loſs of three hundred Men, and 'twas ught the Beſiegers on their part did not come off heap: However the King finding that very day Trenches were advanced within Fuzil-ſhot of the nterſcarp, he ordered the ſame to be ſtormed that ning an Hour before Sun-ſet, which was done by Battalions of the Foot Guards commanded by jor General *Ramſey*, ſeconded by nine more of *Eng-* and *Scotch*; and on the Left by eight *Dutch* and o- r Regiments commanded by Major General *Saliſh*. e Attack was made with extraordinary Bravery, l ſuch Succeſs, that the *French* after a hot diſpute two Hours, were beaten out of their Works; up- which occaſion the Confederates had near 800 Men ed and wounded. But no ways daunted therewith, y on the 19*th* advanced their Trenches to the Vil- e of *Bouge*, towards *St. Nicholas* Gate, the ſame ng being alſo done on that ſide next the *Meuſe*, as ll above as below, with a Deſign to draw two Pa- els along the River on that ſide next the Suburbs *Jambe*, and oppoſite to the Caſtle Bridg, which de the *French* who were apprehenſive of the Deſign, fire to the Suburbs, which retarded the Approaches ich *Cohorn* had begun. On the 21*ſt*, a Battery s finiſhed on that ſide next *St. Nicholas* Gate, and

1695. the Trenches advanced an hundred Paces towards
Rivulet that runs into the bottom, which the Fr
had ſwelled with Water, and which was ſecured
a kind of a half Moon. Next day they begar
play upon a Baſtion, and the Works before *St. N*
las Gate, from a Battery of 18 pieces of Can
and on the 23*d* the *Brandenburgers* played upon
Waterſtop, in order to let the Water out of
Moat, yet with little effect, becauſe it was lined
large free Stone; but about this time the great R
that fell incommoded the Beſiegers very much. H
ever on the 25*th*, they continued pealing from
Batteries below the Village of *Bouge*, and on the
ther ſide of the *Meuſe*, at the *Brandenburg* At
and levelled the Works which they had attacked
the 18*th* with their Cannon, and took in an Out-B
on, where there was a kind of a Counterſcarp
ſame Night, conſtraining the *French* that defend
to ſurrender at diſcretion, ſo that the Siege went
briskly. And the Beſiegers by the 29*th* in the Mor
being lodged at the Foot of the Redoubt of *Ba*
made themſelves Maſters of it, and about 50 *Fr*
that defended it, were made Priſoners: But this
not all, for after great reſiſtance, they carried
lodged themſelves on the foremoſt covered way of
Nicholas Gate that Evening. But in regard the *M*
was low, and for that by reaſon of the vaſt numb
their Batteries, they had made great Breaches in
Nicholas Baſtion, the Demi-Baſtion of *St. Roch*, a
the end of the Counterſcarp of the Town, they
ventured to creep along the River, and to ſtorm
thoſe Poſts, from whence they were three times r
ſed gallantly by the Beſieged, but at laſt they
prevail; for the Aſſailants after a Combat of
Hours, not only lodged themſelves upon the fore
covered way, but upon the Point of the Counterſ
on that ſide next the River. Yet it unhappily fell
that ſome Sacks of Wool, wherewith the Beſieger
cured themſelves, took fire, which made them
time, lie open to the firing of the *French*, tho
ſoon made another Lodgment. While this was d
here, the Elector of *Bavaria* was not idle betw
the *Sambre* and the *Meuſe*, where towards the

Salſines, he not only forced the Intrenchments next 1695.
Sambre, but made himſelf Maſter of a Fort at the
d of thoſe Intrenchments, where his Curaſſiers
h the *Liege* and *Spaniſh* Cavalry, ſignalized them-
s very much, and vigorouſly repulſed four Squa-
ns that came out of the Caſtle, and had much ado
revent their being ſurrounded: But this was not all,
after the *French* had obſtinately diſputed the Wa-
ſtop almoſt all Night, the Beſieged at length poſ-
d themſelves of it. Then they laid a Bridg over
Sambre, in the midſt of all the Enemies firing,
all was not effected without conſiderable Loſs on
ſides.

ut there was now no looking back, ſo that the
was imployed by the Beſieged in intrenching
nſelves in the Poſts of the Ballance and Abby of
nes; and the ſame day 60 Grenadiers and as many
keteers were commanded out of every Regiment
ake an Attack on that ſide, near the Iron Gate,
h the *French* at firſt ſuſtained with great Courage;
they were at laſt forced to retire. And the ſame E-
ng, the Line of Communication near the Suburbs
ambe was attacked, ſo that the *French* were no
er in a condition to make Sallies on that ſide.
t day was ſpent in attacking two Lines the *French*
drawn before the Caſtle, between the *Sambre* and
Meuſe, both which the Beſiegers carried one after
her with great Bravery; and their Work on the
early in the Morning, was to attack the great
enchment of the old Wall before the *Sambre* and
Meuſe, which ſtill held out, from which after the
eged had made a long Reſiſtance, by the favour of
ne of Communication of one Redoubt and two
nches, yet being aſſaulted both in Front and Flank,
that too with exceeding Reſolution, they were
en as far as the Counterſcarp of the *Cohorn* Fort.
the Beſiegers purſuing them to the Devils Houſe,
re the *French* had ſeveral Cannon laden with Car-
hes, and above 900 Men lying flat upon their Bel-
when the Aſſailants were come within the reach
hoſe Guns, the Enemy let fly at them in a moſt
al manner, but they withſtood the Brunt with in-
ible Reſolution; and after they had forced the

1695. *French* to quit the Counterſcarp of the Fort, the made themſelves Maſters of it; yet not being able keep their Ground, they retired in pretty good O der. But the *French* in the mean time found themſel neceſſitated to quit a lined Redoubt, ſome advanc Batteries and their Retrenchment from the *Sambre* the *Meuſe*. There was alſo the very ſame Day a M ſprung at *St. Nicholas* Gate, which overturned a g part of the Water-ſtop into the Moat of the C and the Cannon played all the next day to widen Breach.

The Month of *Auguſt* was now come, on the 1ſt whereof the Beſiegers battered the Works and Breach that had been made at *St. Nicholas* Gate, fr whence they threw a great many Bombs, which conſiderable Execution; and next day towards Evening, they ſtormed the half Moon, Covert W and Demi-baſtion that lay on the Right Hand of Gate, where the Breach had been made, and after ing repulſed no leſs than three times, they at laſt ged themſelves on the Counterſcarp, and carried their Works as far as Fort *William* and the D Houſe; and next day all things being prepared f General Aſſault, Count *Guiſcard* the Governor w himſelf upon the Demi-baſtion, where he ordered white Flag to be put up in order to capitulate. The upon all the Batteries were immediately ordered t ſilent, and Col. *Macarty*, who waited upon Major neral *Ramſey* in the Trenches, was ſent to the *Frenc* know what the Count deſired, who asked to ſpeak the Major General himſelf; and thereupon comin him, after mutual Civilities, the Count told him, *Town of Namur ſurrendred.* *tho the Neceſſity and Condition of their Affairs not ſuch as to oblige them to capitulate, yet for the ſervation of the Town they were willing to give it up Honourable Terms.* Upon this *Ramſey* acquainted Duke of *Holſtein Ploen* with it, whoſe Quarters juſt by, and promiſed the Count an Anſwer in an H time; in which the King having notice, ſent *Ra* back with Power to exchange Hoſtages, and an preſs was ſent to the Elector of *Bavaria* to give notice of it, and to commiſſion a Perſon to treat bout the Surrendry; ſo that after ſome Conteſta

apitulation was ſigned on the 4*th* of *Auguſt* upon 1695.
urable Terms. And here for the preſent we muſt
Namur, and give the Confederates a Breathing
for the Siege of the Caſtle, and ſee how it fared
here with the *French*.

Maritime Towns of France *bombarded by the* Engliſh.

he *French* Grand Fleet being coop'd up at *Thoulon*
e *Mediterranean*, they had none in the Channel
ear; ſo that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were at full
ty to inſult their Maritime Towns. And firſt
began with *St. Malo*, where the Fleet under the
Berkly, arriving on the 4*th* of *July*, the Signal
given next day for the Frigates to ſtand into the
nel with the Bomb Veſſels, and to attack the
n. Whereupon Captain *Bembo* on board the *Charles*
, and *Darwy* Captain of the *Charles* Fireſhip,
a *Dutch* Fireſhip, had Orders to bear up with
Rock *de la Couchee*, and attack it, and then to ſet
o the Veſſel, which was vigorouſly put in Execu-
and a little after the Fort took fire, which con-
d burning for two Hours, during which time the
ſh Galliots and Frigates having got in, the former
ſo near, that in charging the Bombs they were
d to leſſen the Weight of the Powder. So that a-
ten the Eaſt-end of the Town was ſet on fire in
al Places, and about two in the Afternoon they
ſee a great Fire in the middle of the Town, that
nued burning till Night, and could not be quench-
without blowing up ſeveral Houſes that were near.
threw no leſs than 900 Bombs into the Place, a
part of which was reduced to Aſhes; and the
ſh perhaps were the more forward to put this Deſign
ecution, becauſe they had ſuffered more in their
ick and Navigation by the Privateers of this
, than from all the Ports of *France* beſides. But
e *Engliſh* might and really did exaggerate the
h Loſs, they on the other hand made it ſo diminu-
little, affirming that the whole Loſs did not a-
t to above a hundred Thouſand Livres, that it
ared very ridiculous. *Granville* another Town,
r from it, ran the ſame Fate, and ſome of the
h themſelves have frankly acknowledged it, to have
moſtly reduced to Aſhes.

But

1695. But how different ſoever the Relations were in ſpect to theſe Places, as they were afterwards a the bombing of *Calais*, which hapned about the mi of *Auguſt*, and the Deſign upon *Dunkirk*, the Fr did not like them (as you will ſee preſently) to w Army under *Villeroy* we are now returning. After Mareſchal had failed in his Deſign upon *Vaudemont*, alſo againſt *Newport*, as we have already noted, h dered *Montal* to lay Siege to *Dixmude*, which, th it ſelf but a very weak Place, yet conſidering Goodneſs of the Gariſon, it might have made a ter Defence, or at leaſt got better Conditions tha be detained Priſoners of War. But if there was Treachery in the matter, the Governour *Ellem* paid dear for it with the loſs of no leſs than his H and the Gariſon with hard Uſage, and a tedious priſonment by the *French*, who would not releaſe t according to the Cartel, till another Accident happ that brought them to a better Temper. *Deynſe* a defenceleſs Place, and its Gariſon, ran the ſame F But tho this came vaſtly ſhort of *Namur*, yet Damage done to *Bruſſels*, as it was of the ſame na with our attacking the Maritime Towns of *Fra* ſo the ſame was very conſiderable: For *V roy* being come to *Anderleck*, ſent the Governou Letter, importing, that ſince the Prince of *Orange* his Fleets to bombard the Maritime Towns of *Fra* tho without much advantage, his Maſter had ſent Orders by way of Repriſals to bombard *Bruſſels*; as ſoon as they ſhould have aſſurance that no more their Sea-ports ſhould be bombarded, they would their part forbear. The Governour having ſent an Anſwer, that he could not give him preſent ſa faction, as he inſiſted, in that particular, but wo procure the King of *Great Britain*'s Anſwer in and twenty hours, to whom it did concern; *Vill* went to work, and had but too much Succeſs in re cing ſome of the beſt and ſtrongeſt Edifices, and they alledg'd, two thirds of this beautiful City Aſhes.

Dixmude *and* Deynſe *ſurrendred to the* French.

Bruſſels *bombarded by the* French.

This done, the next thing was to relieve *Namur*; which end the Mareſchal being reinforc'd with all Troops that could be ſpared out of the Gariſons,

Forces from the Sea-Coasts, and being in expecta- 1695.
of a strong Detachment from the *Rhine*, which
after joined him, he marched directly that way
his Grand Army, which amounted, as they them-
es gave out, to no less than 100000 men, and with
ch they boasted to do the work effectually, and so
Peace to *Christendom*. But here they were mistak-
for *Vaudemont*, in conjunction with *Athlone*, was
before them to the strong Camp of *Massey*: The
nfederates had also a strong Detachment from the
ne to join them under the Command of that Brave
nce the Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*. So that the
e of the Castle went on vigorously, the Camp was
ngly fortified at the same time, and his Majesty was
ent in both, as there was occasion: For as to the
e, when all things were got ready, the Trenches
e opened against the *Cohorn* Fort on the 13*th* of
ust at night with 900 Pioneers; and they began to *Siege of*
with no less than 12 Batteries, when one of their *the Castle*
bs falling upon the Magazine of the Devil's House, *of* Namur.
up above a thousand Granadoes charged, ruined
eat Quantity of Arms, and killed and wounded
ral Persons, according to the Report of Deserters.
notice being come on the fourteenth that all the
es in the Castle stood ready saddled, and that
llers had a Design to break thro the Camp with his
lry, the King ordered good Guards to be posted
l the Places where the *Sambre* could be passed; the
being done all along the *Meuse* by General *Fle-*
, which prevented the said Enterprize. The Tren-
were carried on the following Days with great
es, tho the *French* fired furiously in the night-time,
with their great and small Shot, and made Sallies
sturb the Workmen. At last the Besiegers brought
s than a hundred and ninety one Pieces of Cannon
Mortars to play upon the Fort and Castle; but
Besieged began now to be more remiss in their Fir-
However, they made a Sally on the 18*th* with
Dragoons mounted, and five hundred Grenadiers,
eof 150 of the latter made their Attack on the
t hand, but were repulsed by the Count *de Rivera*.
upon the Left, where my Lord *Cuts* had just
d the advanced Guards to secure the Workmen,
and

1695. and a hundred Dragoons, fell upon a Lieutenant p
ed in the Plain of *Salsine* with 37 Fuzileers, who
ting them come on till very near, fired a round Vo
upon them, and then retreated to his Body: But
French Dragoons still pressing on, the *Spanish* and
varian Horse charged and drove them to the very C
Gate with Loss.

In the mean time the *French* Army being adva
as far as *Flerus* in order to the Succour of the Bes
that the latter might believe they were in earnest,
gave them a Signal of this Approach, by a Disch
of 90 Pieces of Cannon, which was answered wi
great number of Lights and Fuzees from the to
the Castle. Upon this the King leaving the Ca
the Siege to the Elector and Duke of *Holstein*
went to the Army to oppose the *French*, who se
now fully bent to fight him. In order to this *V*
drew out his Army in formal Array, and attacked
advanced Guard of the Confederate Horse, fo
gaining of an advantageous Post, which obliged
King to keep the Field from four in the Morning
eight at night; but the Mareschal being repulsed b
Hessian Horse, and finding it would not do that
he retired without any Noise in the night, and
day was seen moving along the *Mehagne*, exte
his Right Wing to *Perwys*, and his Left to *Bon*
the King at the same time advanced with his Arm
wards *Ostin*, and that way, to observe his M
But tho his Majesty saw them now secure fro
Assaults of *Villeroy* from without, yet besid
Troublesomness of such a Neighbour, Scarcity
to creep into his Camp; wherefore upon the
August, he with the other Generals concerted a
ral Assault for the next Day.

Disposition of the General Assault. To be a little particular in this matter, the D
tion of it was thus: My Lord *Cuts* with 3000 E
was to attack the Counterscarp and Breach o
Terra Nova, and that part of the Line of Com
cation between the *Cohorn* and the *Terra Nova*.
ra was to attack the Breach of the *Cohorn*, an
part of the aforesaid Line of Communication m
Cohorn, with 3000 *Bavarians* and others. Major
ral *Cave* was to attack on the Right of *River*

Brandenburgers, the upper part of the *Cohorn*, 1695.
art of the Communication to the *Caſotte*. *Swerin*
o attack the *Caſotte* with two thouſand *Dutch*,
t the ſame time a Colonel was to attack the lower
n with 600 men. The Signal was to be a conſi-
le Quantity of Powder blown up upon the old
ry near the *Bruſſels* Gate: The Word given by
lector of *Bavaria* was, *God with us*; and his Di-
ons to the ſaid General Officers were, that a cer-
number of Men ſhould be commanded in each
k upon the Forlorn Hope, another number to
n them, and the reſt to be upon the Reſerve;
t was ordered that *Rivera*'s Attack, and thoſe up-
e Right of him, ſhould begin ſome Minutes be-
he *Engliſh* Attack, becauſe that was like to be the
difficult. It was ordered by the Elector the
t before the Action, that all the Troops deſigned
he ſeveral Attacks ſhould march into the Trenches
e day, there to lie undiſcovered till the Hour of
l. *Cuts* having done this accordingly, found there
not room enough there for his Men, and therefore
as forced to place three Regiments in the Abby of
, and then he ordered his Matters thus: He com-
ded four Serjeants, each with fifteen Men (promi-
in the King's Name Advancement to the Serjeants,
Rewards to the private Men, if they did their
) to go upon the Forlorn Hope. Theſe were to
llowed by the Granadiers of the Guards, and
by the reſt of the Granadiers deſigned for the
k of the Breach, making in all ſeven hundred
. Three hundred Granadiers were ordered to
k the Line of Communication: *Courthop* and
kay's Regiments were to ſuſtain thoſe that at-
d the Breach, and the Regiments of *Hamilton*
Buchan were ordered to make the Reſerve. Now
Engliſh marching out of the Trenches, drew up
r the Enemies Fire, and notwithſtanding they had
hundred Paces March before they came to the *The Gene-*
ch, expoſed all the way to the great and ſmall Shot *ral Aſſault.*
he *French*, which fired ſorely all the while upon
Flank, they went on with a great deal of Firm-
and Reſolution.

The

1695. The beginning of the Attack looked very hopeful but the three Regiments at *Salſen* not marching, th ſome Miſtake or other, as ſoon as was intended, t *Engliſh* Troops that were already engaged were ov powered by the Numbers of the Enemy. There we abundance of Brave Men, both Officers and Soldier ſlain here, which contributed to the Miſcarriage, did alſo the Attack upon *Rivera*'s ſide, which did n begin as ſoon as was intended: For all the Fire that part of the *Cohorn* which was next the *Terra N va*, fell upon the *Engliſh*, which had been otherwi imployed, if every thing had ſucceeded as was inten ed. After ſome time the three Regiments from *Sal* arrived; but things were then in ſuch a Poſture, t they were forced to begin a new Attack: For Co *Nugent* and Monſieur *Labadie* were by this time co down by *Boufflers*'s Orders, into the Space that is b tween the *Cohorn* and *Terra Nova*, with twelve hu dred Foot and Dragoons of the *French* King's Ho hold, with whom they charged the *Engliſh* in Fla and Rear, who were already in the middle of ſix d ferent Firings. The Battalions from *Salſen*, tho th came too late for performing the intended Service, d not want their ſhare of Suffering. However, *Cut* this time being dreſſed of his Wounds, and finding t Affair of the *Terra Nova* not poſſible to be retriev but obſerving the *Bavarians* on *Rivera*'s Attack in very hot Fire, who (notwithſtanding *Rivera* w killed, and the Prince of *Holſtein Norburg* Brigadi wounded, and that moſt of the Officers of the *Bav rian* Guards were either killed or wounded) had fix themſelves upon the outermoſt Retrenchment of t Point of the *Cohorn* next the *Sambre*, and maintain the Poſt with a great deal of Obſtinacy, but cou gain no more Ground; he ordered two hundred M to be detached out of ſuch as were reſolved to carry t Point, or die by it, upon promiſe of diſtinguiſhi Rewards to ſuch as ſhould do any extraordinary Se vice; and at the ſame time *Mackay*'s Regiment w commanded to ſuſtain them, and that the other *Engl* Forces ſhould rally, and come after as ſoon as th could, he reſolving to bend his whole Force to ma good the *Bavarian* Attack. And as ſoon as he w com

to the Place of Action, he detached a Lieutenant 1695.
Party of choice Men, with Orders that he
attack the Face of the Sailant Angle next the
with Sword in hand, without firing a Shot;
ſhould paſs the Paliſadoes, and enter the Co-
Way; that if he could not maintain the Poſt,
uld make the beſt Retreat he could, but make a
nent ſomewhere, if poſſible. At the ſame time
nſigns of *Mackay*'s Regiment were commanded
rch directly to the Paliſadoes, and plant their
rs upon them. All which ſucceeded ſo well, that
id Lieutenant entring the Paliſadoes, beat the
from the Covered Way, and lodged himſelf in
ery of theirs, having firſt turned their Cannon
them, for which afterwards the King liberally
ded him. While *Mackay*'s Enſigns were ad-
g to the Paliſadoes, the *Bavarians* renewed their
with undaunted Vigour, inſomuch that this
as made good.

ing gained the Covered Way before the Breach
Cohorn, and the inferior Angle Sailant or Point
ds the *Sambre*; and the Confederates being indeed
ntly fatigued with ſo long an Aſſault, and the
Reſiſtance of the *French*, they contented them-
to make a Lodgment here, without any far-
ttempt upon the Breach. Now the *Engliſh* having
eaſonably reinforced the *Bavarians* and *Dutch*,
o imploy the Enemy very much in the defence of
angerous Poſt, it very much facilitated the Enter-
of Major General *Cave* upon the Covered Way
the Ravelin and upper Point of the *Cohorn*, and
ards towards the Caſotte, where he lodged him-
ithout any conſiderable Loſs. Major General
commanding the Right Attack of all before the
e, and ſo towards the *Meuſe* (which reaches to
ow of the Hill, and ſo had a very ſteep Deſcent
River) overcame the Enemies Reſiſtance, and
a very good Lodgment all along this Covered
and Retrenchment, of about three hundred Pa-
hich he extended to the Left, turning in towards
horn about a hundred and forty Paces more, to
to that of *la Cave*, which reached to the Rave-
the *Cohorn*. The *Dutch* and *Bavarians* had car-
ried

1695. ried it to the Sailant Angle towards the *Sambre*, the rallied *Engliſh* continued it to the other ſide of Angle before the Breach. So that they became Maſters of one of the greateſt Lodgments that had been made in one Aſſault, being near an Mile in length, tho they miſcarried in the great D of the general Storm. But all this could not be without conſiderable Loſs, and the Confederates ſelves, beſides ſeveral brave Officers, owned mounted to two thouſand Men, and make the L the Beſieged to be about two thirds of it.

However it were, there was now no looking ba the Beſiegers, and therefore the Cannon thundred tinually againſt the Caſtle the two ſucceeding and they continued to work hard to bring their to perfection under the Breach of the *Cohorn*; wh the 22*d* the Beſieged not daring to ſuſtain anoth ſault, beat a Parley firſt to bury their Dead, and turned their Thoughts wholly upon Capitulating which end Count *Guiſcard* went upon the Breach a before the Ceſſation was over, and calling for the jor General of the Trenches, told him he deſire ſpeak with the Elector of *Bavaria*, who there went to the Breach, and the Count offered to render the *Cohorn* Fort to him; but he re to capitulate for any part, but the whole, the replied, that *Boufflers* commanded in the Caſtle, that he would let him know it; but in the mean deſired that the Ceſſation might be continued. Reſult of the whole was an Agreement to ſurr upon Honourable Terms, and the Exchange of ges. Whereupon an Expreſs was immediately di ed to give the King an account of it at *Oſtin*, whence he was then coming to the Siege to orde cond Aſſault. The Capitulation was agreed o ſigned that very night both by *Boufflers* and *Gu* and perhaps was the firſt that ever a Mareſchal of had ſigned. This indeed was a very Glorious A the Confederates, at which the *French* themſelve ed to be amazed, who had made ſuch additional fications to the Place, which they preſumed coul be forced; and therefore they had ſet up this Inſc over one of its Gates, *Reddi, non vinci poteſt.*

Caſtle and Fort of Namur *ſurrendred.*

he ſame Evening the Caſtle capitulated, Orders 1695.
e given in the King's Camp for all the Officers to
n their Clothes, and the Soldiers to do the ſame,
their Arms ready for fear of any Surprize; but
was no danger, and it was then reported,
Villeroy was ſo extremely concerned at the Capitu-
n, that for ſome hours he would admit no body to
and at length he marched away to the Plains of
s with ſo much Haſte and Precipitation, that he
many of his Foragers and Out-Guards behind
But now to come and be a little particular in the
nation of the Place, the 26*th* of *Auguſt* being the
prefixed for the Gariſon to march out, four Bri-
of Foot were commanded to make a Lane on
ſides the *Terra Nova* up the Hill, and ſo down
to the *Meuſe*, a Bridg of Boats being laid over
mbre between the *Fauxbourg*, *St. Croix* and the
n, for the King to come over to be then preſent,
ikewiſe for the Troops encamped on the other
if there had been occaſion. About ten Mareſ-
le Boufflers's Guard *du Corps* went out firſt, then
omeſticks, and next himſelf, with the Count *de*
ard the Governour at the head of the King and
's Dragoons, as many of them as were mounted,
between ſeventy and eighty in all. The King and
ector were on Horſe-back before the Breach, and
ſaluted by the Mareſchal and Count with their
ds, when preſently Monſieur *Dickvelt*, who had
cquainted with the Mareſchal in his Embaſſies in
, accoſted him, and rid with him to the top of
Hill, where *L' Etang* Brigadier of the Bri-
of the Life Guard rode up to him with twelve
Guard, and arreſted him in the King's Name Boufflers
tisfaction for the Gariſons of *Dixmude* and *arreſted.*
; at which the Mareſchal ſeemed at firſt to be
uch incenſed, alledging the publick Faith of the
lation, wherein he was expreſly mentioned, ſay-
hat the *French* King his Maſter would reſent this
ment of a Man of his Character, and revenge it
utmoſt of his Power, and that for his part
defended the Place like a Man of Honour,
id not deſerve it. *Dickvelt* replied, that the
King his Maſter by detaining the Gariſons

1695. of *Dixmude* and *Deynſe*, contrary to the Capitulation which made them Priſoners of War, and conſequentl ſhould have been diſcharged within the time limite paying their Ranſom, which was offered, had forc them to that way of demanding Satisfaction for t Infractions of the ſaid Capitulations: That tho he w arreſted, it was not out of any Diſreſpect to his Per and Character, but on the contrary; for when it w propoſed to the King of *Great Britain* to detain t whole Gariſon by way of Reprizal, the King had preſt ſo much value for his Perſon, that he looked on him as a ſufficient Caution to anſwer for 6000 m the number of the two Gariſons of *Dixmude* a *Deynſe*. But at the ſame time he offered him his berty, by his Majeſty's Order, if he would paſs Word for ſending back the ſaid Gariſons, or ret himſelf a Priſoner within a Fortnight: To which Mareſchal anſwered, that he could not paſs his W of Honour, in a matter which he could not exec himſelf, but that it was in vain to reſiſt. Whereu he put up his Sword, and went back with his Dor ticks to *Namur*, where the Earl of *Portland* gave a Viſit, and told him as from himſelf, that he made doubt of his Releaſment upon his Parole of Honour aforeſaid. To which the Mareſchal replied, tha regard he knew not the Reaſons why his Maſter tained thoſe Gariſons, he could not engage for thing. From *Namur* he was conducted to *Maeſtr* and treated with great Reſpect; but his Confine was of no long Duration, for upon the Return of Gentleman of the Horſe, whom he had ſent to giv Maſter an Account of what hapned (who there gave the Confederates an Aſſurance of the Diſch of the forementioned Gariſons) he was immedia releaſed, as the Men were in ſome convenient after, with which the Campagn in *Flanders* co ded.

If from hence we ſhould traverſe *France*, and into *Catalonia*, we ſhall there find the *Spaniards* who had all along been on the loſing ſide, contra moſt Mens Expectations, pretty uppiſh, and bullyi *French*: To which purpoſe four Squadrons of *M lets* receiving Advice, that the *French* were marc

Bagnoles to *Gironne*, they encountred them in the and put them to the total Rout. With this Suc- ey were ſo fluſhed, that underſtanding that *St. re* was upon his March with 8000 Men, to re- *Caſtel Follet*, with a Convoy of all ſorts of ion, the lading of 3 or 400 Mules; a Body of *rds* in conjunction with the *Miquelets*, advanced ds the *French*, and attacked them with ſo much ge, that they killed about 2000 upon the Place, ok between 5 and 600 Priſoners, beſides all the except about 30 that eſcaped into the Caſtle the heat of the Action, which laſted ſix Hours. e News was ſo much the more welcome to *Spain*, it was ſeconded with the *Catalonians* and *Miquelets* ting another Body of about 2000 *French*, who arching from *Prats de Melo* to join the 8000 that eaten before. If the *Spaniards* had gone on as they they would have made ſomething of it: 'Tis hat after this Action they more cloſely blocked *tle Follet*, with a deſign to ſtarve it, and not to by Force. But they could not hinder the Duke *ndoſme* from putting Relief into it after all, and e their Forces retire from it with ſome Loſs. r had they any better Succeſs before *Palamos*, Place was inveſted by Sea by the Grand Fleet, he Command of Admiral *Ruſſel*, as well as by y the *Spaniſh* Army, with the additional Force 5000 Men from on board the Fleet. Indeed *ne* marching to the Relief of it the firſt time, himſelf too weak, but being reinforced with roops for that purpoſe, the *Spaniards* no ſooner ood his Intentions, but they drew off their own and the Reinforcement from on board the returned thither again; but the Truth of the was, that the Place muſt have been ſurrendred ot three Days at fartheſt, had not the Fleet ſtrained to bear away, upon Information re- that *Tourville* with the *French* Fleet was upon out of *Thoulon*, with a Deſign to ſail for an, tho after all it proved to be only an Amuſe- f the *French*, as appeared by the Conſequence

1695.

Campaign in Catalonia.

1695. The Campagn was not ſo inconſiderable in Catal but that it was much more ſo upon the *Rhine*, wh the *French* being at firſt ſuperior to the Prince of *den*, would feign have made the beſt of the Oppor nity, but to little purpoſe; but the Prince till he reinforced kept cloſe within his Trenches, and then in his Turn did all he could to bring the *French* to Engagement, but all with the like ill Succeſs. An we ſhall leave them, and paſs into *Italy*, where Campagn was leſs favourable to the *French* than in *many*, by their loſing of *Caſal* an important P which ſerved as a conſiderable Augmentation of Diſadvantages that befel them this Year, which, to the Truth of it, looked upon them with an evil pect almoſt every way. This Place had been blo up a long time by the Confederate Forces, but all noiſe this Spring was the formal beſieging of it, w at length was put in Execution about the middl *June*, when the Trenches were opened before the tadel, as they were alſo a little while after before Town; ſo that before the end of the Month, the *perialiſts* and *Piedmontois* had carried on their proaches ſo far, that they were in hopes in a ſhort to lodg themſelves upon the *Claſſis* of the Cou ſcarp of the Cittadel. By the 5*th* of *July* they gan to play their Bombs upon the Cittadel and Outworks, while the *Spaniards* alſo on their ſide the Beſieged with a Battery of ten great Mortars; in a few Days the Bombs and Carcaſes had very endamaged both the Town and the Outworks, w was ſtill the more increaſed by the *Imperialiſts* an *edmontois* ſpringing two Mines under the *Claſſis* o Counterſcarp of the Cittadel, with that Succeſs, they carried the Paliſadoes and the half Moo Storm, as they did alſo the Counterſcarp. which there were Orders given on the 9*th*, to d Parallel Line athwart the *Claſſis* of the Cittadel the Work was ſo effectually carried on, that th was finiſhed next Morning by break of Day, no ſtanding the continual Fire of the Beſieged, to their Progreſs. Wherefore the *French* finding t ſiegers now ready to ſtorm the Covered Way, thought fit to beat a Parley, and ſurrender the

French *ſurrender* Caſal.

he Hands of the Confederates; who the more became Maſters of it, by reaſon of its Remote- om the reſt of the *French* Dominions, and that t was obliged to ſend the greateſt part of his to ſecure the Coaſt of *Provence*, which ſeemed threatned with an Invaſion from the Confederate under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſel*. 1695.

eting with nothing elſe of moment within this l Revolution, we proceed to the next, where I enter into a Detail of the Conſpiracy formed in againſt the Life of K. *William*, and how the was to be executed. I cannot pretend to name who were at the bottom of the Deſign, which appily diſcovered and prevented; however 'tis n, the *French* under the Cover of reſtoring the . *James*, had projected to invade us, and many were not paſt in *Feb.* before it was a Publick Diſ- in *France*, that their Intent now was to re-eſta- he late King, and that the matter was ſo far con- , that nothing more remained but the Winds he Waves to do their part. In order to this, K. on the 18*th* of *Feb.* took Poſt for *Calais*, and diately upon his Arrival, the Troops which the computed to be 16000 old Soldiers, with the ery and Stores, were ordered to be put on board he utmoſt Diligence, while News was impatient- pected from *England* to ſet ſail; and ſo cockſure were in *France* of the Succeſs of the Enterprize, he Duke of *Orleans* in conſideration of his near ce with the Duke of *Savoy*, and with an aſſured ect of the Overthrow of moſt of the Confede- ſolicited that Prince in a very preſſing manner ke his Peace betimes. But if the Confederates ſomewhat alarmed before on the other ſide of the r at the *French* Preparations, as not imagining the Blow would fall, they were much more when they heard of the Arrival of K. *James* at , which made the Duke of *Wirtemburg* immedi- ſend a Perſon for *England*, to give the King no- f it. The Prince of *Vaudemont* who was at ls, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, both diſpatched ſſes by the way of *Holland* for *England*; but the of *Wirtemburg*'s Meſſenger arriving firſt, gave

1696.

French *deſign to invade* England.

1696. the King Information, that the Duke had ſtopped the Ships in the Harbour and Canal of *Oſtend*, well as that of *Bruges*, in order to tranſport the For over for his Service. But the villanous Contriv having been a little before detected, the King uſed Delay in ſending for a ſufficient Number of his Tr over, as he gave all neceſſary and expeditious Or to arm the Fleet. Admiral *Ruſſel* being immedia ſent down to *Chatham* for that purpoſe, and the R devouz appointed in the *Downs*, where all the Me War we had in our Sea-Ports were ordered to c and join the Admiral, which they did with ſuch Diſp and admirable Celerity, that in four or five Days Admiral had a Fleet of near 60 Men of War Line of Battel, paſſing by *Dover*-Caſtle, and ſt ing over directly for the Coaſts of *Calais* and *kirk*. And here indeed I cannot but remark the derful Providence of God, for the *Engliſh* outw bound Merchant Ships and their Convoys, toge with the Squadron deſigned for the *Straits*, had a long time detained by contrary Winds in their P which was very afflicting to our Merchants; an were ſorry that Sir *George Rook*, who now comma the Confederate Fleet at *Cadiz*, could not for this ſon be ſo ſoon reinforced as was neceſſary, to e him to defend the Paſſage of the *Straits* againſt Naval Preparations made by the *French* at *Th* But at the ſame time, that they appeared ſo much cerned at the Obſtinacy of the Weſterly Winds, had been now fixed for two Months, God who ſe things, and even the moſt ſecret Machinations an ſigns of Men, provided them for our Safety; an the Advantage *France* had by this intended Inv was our recalling our Fleet now home from the S for our better Security, whereby that of *Fr* which had been pent up and ſouced ſo long in the bour of *Thoulon*, had an Opportunity to retu their Ports on the Ocean.

Confederates burn the French *Magazine at* Givet.

In the mean time, as ſoon as the News re *Flanders* that K. *William* was ſafe, and *England* pily delivered from the Bloody Tempeſts that t ned her, the Generals (and it was thought to have the particular Contrivance of Prince *Vaudemont*

ght themſelves of making an extraordinary Bon- 1696.
or Joy, by burning the *French* Magazine at *Givet*.
which end after ſeveral Orders and Countermands
n to the Gariſon of *Namur*, the greateſt part of
were commanded to march with Proviſion for ſix
s; and being joined by divers other Troops, they
ed the *Meuſe* on the 12*th* of *March*, and were
wed the next day by the Horſe, under the Con-
of the Earl of *Athlone*, and Major General *Co-*
; and having croſſed the River *Leile*, the Earl
one part of this Body marched towards *Dinant*,
e *Cohorn* with the reſt ſat down before *Givet*; and
ng got all things ready by the 16*th* in the Morn-
he began his Work about ſeven with Bombs and
not Bullets, which firſt ſet fire to the Forage,
t the ſame time a certain number of Soldiers
commanded to enter the Town, with lighted
beaux in their Hands, who fired the Cazerns and
Edifices, where the Magazines of Oats and other
iſions lay; ſo that that vaſt Magazine was utter-
nſumed, and all this performed with the Loſs on-
nine or ten Men.

t notwithſtanding this Advantage, the Conſpira-
England, and other more than ordinary Affairs
e the Parliament, had ſpun out ſo much time, that
Villiam could not be ſo early this Year in the
p as was deſigned; ſo that the *French* took the
firſt before the Confederates, to whom in the
ning they were ſuperior in number, till the Junc-
of the *German* Troops, who ever came late, which
t all times a prodigious Diſadvantage to the Con-
ates. So that what with theſe things, but moſt of
or extreme want of Money to pay the Army,
the *Engliſh* Coin was called in, the Confederates
not act Offenſively, as they had done the pre-
g Year. But about the time that the King was
ed at the *Hague*, there hapned ſomething to fall out
h began to ſavour of ſomewhat elſe than the Toils
Inconveniences of War; for Monſieur *Callieri*
come thither from *France*, with Propoſals to-
s concluding a General Peace, by ſettling ſuch
minaries as might be a ſufficient Baſis to ground
eaty upon. It cannot be certainly affirmed whe-

1696. ther there was any real Diſpoſition in the *Fre* Court towards a General Peace before the Year 16 But the Loſs of *Namur*, *Caſal*, the bombing of Maritime Towns and other Diſadvantages, did with all doubt powerfully operate towards it, and noth could have retarded their Motions in order to it, the Plauſibility of the Invaſion of *England*, and t in ſo hazardous a Conjuncture, when our Coin wa ſo bad a State; but the former utterly failing the and there being a viſible Proſpect of our weather the difficult Point of Recoinage, there was now Room for, nor Occaſion of Delay.

But waving the Proceedings of the General Pe for the preſent, we are here to take notice, that our Armies could do little by Land this Campagn, the Fleet was not idle by Sea. I confeſs the bomb ding of *Calais*, which hapned before the Spring of Year was ſpent, and as ſoon as we could get our Bo Veſſels ready, had not that Succeſs the Confeder might have deſired. However ſome *French* Let owned, that there were 75 Houſes burnt and ſpoil beſides the Church and Convent, and ſome part of Cazern. But the Fleet had much better Succeſs their Attempt upon the Iſle of *Rhee*, where it arri on the 14*th* of *July*, under the Command of the L *Berkley*, when the Men of War came to an Anch while the Galliots advanced within three quarters Mile of *St. Martins* in the ſaid Iſland, and at nine night began to bombard it, which ſet the Town on in five ſeveral Places, three of which the *French* m a ſhift to quench, but the other two continued to b with great Violence. From three next Morning the ſame Hour in the Afternoon they forbore bomb at which time the Tide ſerving, they began t Work again, which continued till four the next Mo ing, whereby the Town was ſet on fire in ſeveral P ces, and the greateſt part of it conſumed or deſtroy as was alſo a Ship in the Road, beſides a Felucca la with Salt and Brandy, which they took at their g ing away. The *French* were indeed in a manner prized with this Attempt, ſo that what with that the dexterous Working of the *Engliſh* Bombarde there was greater Execution done upon this Pl

St. Martins, *&c. bombarded.*

n any other they had attempted ſince the burning of 1696.
p; tho they could not ſucceed ſo well upon *Olonne*
ich was next attempted) through a Miſtake of the
ation of the Place. But while theſe things were
ng by the Bomb-galliots and light Frigats, my Lord
kley landed in the Iſle of *Groa*, near *Port Lovis*,
in two other Places near *Bell Iſle*, where the Sol-
s deſtroyed about twenty Villages, burnt 1300
ſes, and brought away a Booty of ſixteen hun-
d Head of Cattel: Beſides which the Fleet took
nty Barks and a Veſſel from *Newfoundland*, toge-
with a ſmall Frigate which the Privateers of *St.*
lo had taken.

f from the Iſle of *Rhee* we make a trip into *Spain*,
ſhall there find the *French* and *Spaniſh* Armies
ty early in the Field, and the *Spaniards* ſtill con-
to be on the Defenſive, and perhaps would have
n fully ſatisfied to have lain unmoleſted in their
np near *Oſtralick*. But the *French* being not wil-
to that, *Vendoſme* paſſed the *Ter*, and underſtand-
the *Spaniſh* Cavalry who had been incamp'd within
r Lines, were advanced to obſerve him, he reſolv'd
ttack them firſt, which was done on the firſt day
June. The *Spaniards* finding nothing but Horſe
ear againſt them at firſt, they ſtoutly ſtood their
nd, and forced ſome of the *French* Squadrons to
oil; but when they ſaw their Numbers increaſe,
a good part of the Infantry come up to ſupport
n, the *Spaniards* thought it their beſt way to retire
nin their Lines, which they performed in very good
der, making a retreating Fight, till they got under
reach of their own Cannon, where the *French*
r of purſuit, were but illy entertained by the Ar-
ry, and forced to retire with Loſs. I know of no-
g elſe of moment that happen'd this way during
reſt of the Campagn; neither if we traverſe *France*
paſs into *Germany*, ſhall we meet with any thing
is memorable. The *French* in the Beginning of
Spring boaſted of their paſſing the *Rhine*, and for-
the Prince of *Baden* to intrench himſelf in his
np, to whom they offer'd Battel, which he durſt
accept; but now towards the latter end of the
, the Prince in his turn paſſed the *Rhine* near
Mentz,

Fight between the French *and* Spaniards.

1696. *Mentz*, and being joined by the *Heſſian* Troops, advanced to *Neuſtadt*; where the *French* were ſtrongly incamp'd, that there was no forcing their trenchments: However he had the Honour for ſeve days to cannonade them not only in *Neuſtadt*, but in very Trenches themſelves. It was alſo contrived General *Thungen* ſhould have paſſed the *Rhine* not from *Philipsburg*, in order to have attacked the *Fr* in the Rear; but they being aware of it, ſent *U* to oppoſe the Deſign: So that the *Germans* failing h in, yet making an Incurſion into *Lorain* with *P* Huſſars, after they had got ſome Booty and di Hoſtages for Contribution, they repaſſed the *Rhine* the eighth of *October*, and then marched into t Winter Quarters.

But the main Buſineſs of this Summer ſeemed to managed on the ſide of *Italy*, not ſo much in the Pro cution of the War, as in procuring a ſeparate Peace w the Duke of *Savoy*. I will allow that the *French* Ar on that ſide under *Catinat* was more formidable than dinary, and that they were much ſuperior to the C federates at the beginning of the Campagn; but t there was ſome underſtanding before this betwee Duke of *Savoy* and Court of *France*, ſeems to be very vious by *Catinat*'s Proceedings, who, notwithſtand his Strength and advancing near *Turin* unoppo gave the Duke time enough to fortify his Camp, reinforce his Army before that City, and to dra Line from the *Doero* to the *Po*; which being once fected, the *French* could not think of bombarding Place, or forcing the Confederates to a Battel. tho this Treaty ſeems to have been concerted bet amidſt the Devotions at *Loretto*, where ſuch a Buſi could be managed without being obſerved by the niſters of the Allies, yet all the Artifice imagin was made uſe of to cover the matter for a time which end *Catinat*, as we have ſaid, deſcended the Mountains of *Savoy* into the Plains of *T* threatning the Extirpation of the Name of the *P montois*, but ſtopt on a ſudden till he had ſlipt the portunity; and when he found he had given the D time enough to fortify himſelf, and under pretenc ſtrengthning the Army had got his Fortreſſes c

French get a ſeparate Peace with Savoy.

he Confederate Troops, the Mareſchal removed 1696.
er off towards *Pignerol*; which occaſioned various
ulations, and the more clear-ſighted began to ſuſ-
there was an Agreement under hand patched up be-
n the two Parties. And there was an Adventure
h happened much about the ſame time, that ſuffi-
ly diſcovered the Secret of the *French* Court in the
er, as well as the Aſſurance they had of their
k being done on that ſide. There was a Diſcourſe
ome Miſunderſtanding between *Catinat* and the
nd Prior of *France*, while the Army lay at *Rival*-
For the Grand Prior urging two or three ſeveral
s that the Mareſchal had favourable Opportunities
ave gained conſiderable Advantages over the Con-
rates, and ſtill deſiring the Mareſchal to make uſe
he Benefit of Fortune's Offer, the Mareſchal as
put him off with Refuſals; which made the other
e height of his Zeal, as believing *Catinat* to be
y of Negligence or Cowardice, to write his Ac-
ions to the *French* King, who (they ſaid) could
forbear ſmiling all the while as he read the Letter.
wever he was ſo kind as to ſend him an Anſwer,
to let him know that the Mareſchal had obeyed his
ers, and that he would ſoon ſee the reaſons of his
ended Negligence unravel'd. Not long after, *viz.*
he 12*th* of *July*, a Truce was concluded for a
nth, the Conſequence of which was the exchanging
Hoſtages, and at laſt the final Concluſion of a
ce, which was ſigned on the 29*th* of *Auguſt*; and *Treaty of*
orted, That the *French* ſhould reſtore to the Duke Turin.
Savoy all that they had taken from him during the
rſe of the War, as alſo the Town of *Pignerol* de-
iſhed; that they ſhould give him 4000000 Livres
ards the Reparation of the Damages which he
ſuſtained during the War; they were likewiſe
ged to aſſiſt him, with eight thouſand Foot and
thouſand Horſe; That his Allies ſhould quit
, and the *Spaniards* retire to *Milan*; and that he
ld join his Forces with the *French* to force them to
nd accept of a Neutrality on that ſide. And be-
e the Knot ſhould be tied faſt enough, his Daugh-
was to be married to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the
phin's eldeſt Son, without any Portion.

In

1696. In pursuance of this Agreement, the Duke at the Expiration of the Truce, which was to last till the fifteenth of *September*, put himself at the Head of the *French* and his own Troops to force his late Allies to Compliance with it: And in order thereunto laid siege to *Valentia*, a City in the Dutchy of *Milan* belonging to the King of *Spain*; which was carried on with much Vigor, while the Treaty was agitated on both sides, by the Prince of *Fundi* from the Emperor, the Marquess of *Leganez* on the part of the *Spaniard*, the Lord *Galway* for the King of *England*, and the Marquess *de St. Thomas* for the Duke of *Savoy*: And many Conferences were held before they could be brought to any Conclusion. But tho the *French* and *Savoyards* were so eager to take *Valentia*, they found a harder Work of it than they expected, having lost above three thousand Men before the Place, and the Approach of the bad Weather and Winter Season made the matter very dubious at last. So that now things on all hands were brought to this Crisis, whether the *French* should run the hazard and dishonour that would accrue to them of raising the Siege, or whether the Confederates would venture the losing of it, and so protract the War in *Italy*. But all Parties having considered the Advantages and Disadvantages, the Neutrality was agreed to, and signed on the 7th of *October*, containing chiefly the following Articles.

Valentia besieged by the French.

Articles of Neutrality in Italy.

1. That there should be a Neutrality, or a Suspension of Arms in *Italy* till a general Peace.

2. That the Imperial and *French* Troops should depart out of *Italy*, and return into their own Countries.

3. That in lieu of Winter Quarters, which the Princes of *Italy* were otherwise obliged to allow the Imperialists, they should furnish them with 300000 Crowns; that is to say, one third before their Retreat, and the Remainder at a time prefixed, upon sufficient Security.

4. That as soon as the Imperialists should begin to march off with some part of their Troops, the *French* should proportionably do the like.

5. That the Treaty should be ratified within [blank] Days by the Duke of *Savoy*, by the Emperor with

lonth, and within two by the King of *Spain*. 1695.
hings being thus concluded on in *Italy* in reſpect to
t particular Peace, there was a mighty Diſcourſe all
while of a General one with the reſt of the Confe-
ates; and Monſieur *Dickvelt*'s going about the ſame
e to the King's Camp, when News came to him of
former, made the ſame to be hotly diſcours'd of:
ple ſuppoſing he went to the King to give him an
ount of that important Negotiation; and what
firmed Men in this Opinion, was that *Dickvelt* made
Journey more than once between the Camp and the
gue. But however this was in reality, the Fruits of
nſieur *Callieri*'s Negotiations in *Holland* did not ap-
r till after the Beginning of the following Year; 1697.
en the Preliminaries of the Peace were fully agreed
and ſigned on the tenth of *February*, importing,

. That the *French* King conſented and agreed, that *Preliminaries of the Peace of* Reſwick.
Treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen* ſhould be
Baſis and Foundation of the Negotiation of the
neral Peace to be made with all the Allies.

I. That the City of *Strasburg* ſhould be reſtored
he Empire in the State it was when taken by the
nch.

II. That the City of *Luxemburg* ſhould be reſto-
to the *Spaniards* in the Condition it was at that pre-
t time.

But here you are to obſerve, that the *French* made
an Offer to the Allies by way of Equivalent for
the ſaid Cities.

IV. That the Towns of *Mons* and *Charleroy* ſhould
given up in the Condition they were at preſent.

V. That all thoſe Places in *Catalonia* which were in
French King's Hands, and which had been taken
ce the Peace of *Nimeguen*, ſhould be reſtored in the
e State they were taken.

VI. That the Town and Caſtle of *Dinant* ſhould
given up to the Prince and Biſhop of *Liege* in the
te they were taken.

VII. That all the Reunions which had been made
ce the Treaty of *Nimeguen* ſhould be void.

VIII. That *Lorain* ſhould be reſtored according to
Conditions of the ſaid Treaty.

But

1697. But here it was agreed, that in caſe the Conceſſion made in reſpect to *Lorain* ſhould not pleaſe, this Article ſhould be referred to the General Treaty, with Promiſes that greater Offers ſhould then be made, and that it ſhould be the firſt Point treated on in the Negotiation.

It was alſo farther agreed, that upon the Concluſion of the Peace, the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould acknowledg the Prince of *Orange* for King of *Great Britain* without any manner of Difficulty, Reſtriction, Condition or Reſerve.

That as for other Princes, whether in the Confederacy or not, their Pretenſions ſhould be reſerved for the General Negotiation, under the Mediation of the King of *Sweden*.

IX. That the Dutchy of *Deuxpont* ſhould be reſtored to the King of *Sweden* with all its Dependances.

X. That *Philipsburg* ſhould be reſtored to the Biſhop of *Spire*.

XI. That the Fort of *Kehl*, and other Fortifications made on the *Rhine*, ſhould be raſed.

XII. As alſo Fort *Lovis* and *Hunninghen*.

XIII. That *Trarback* and *Montroyal* ſhould be given up, but the firſt diſmantled, upon condition they ſhould never be fortified again.

XIV. That the *French* King ſhould agree not only to give up to the Elector Palatine all the Electorate, but alſo the Dutchies of *Simmeren* and *Lauthern*, with the Earldom of *Shanheim*; as alſo all other Places whereof he had been diſpoſſeſt till that preſent time.

XV. That the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* was to do nothing upon the account of her Pretenſions *via facti*, but might bring her Action according to Law in relation to the Elector.

XVI. That the Caſtle and County of *Veldens* ſhould be reſtored to their lawful Owner.

XVII. That *Biſweiler* ſhould be given up to the Count of *Hanau*.

XVIII. That the Signiories of *March*, *Marmont* and *Dagſtein*, and the Counties of *Louningut* and *Dagsbourg* ſhould be delivered up to the Count of *Overſtein*.

XIX. The

X. That the Signiories of *Salms* and *Valkenſtein* 1697.
l be given up to the Prince of *Salm*, or to their
ietors, ſeeing the ſame were ſtill in queſtion.
X. That the Signiories of *Latzenſteim* and *Altheim*
d be given to their Proprietors.
XI. *Otweiler* to the Houſe of *Naſſau*.
XII. That the City and County of *Montpelyard*,
urt, *Blainont*, and *Chatelette* ſhould be put into
oſſeſſion of the Houſe of *Wirtemburg*.
XIII. That *Germenſheim* ſhould be alſo given up
e Elector Palatine, notwithſtanding any former
ies to the contrary.
XIV. That *Stadeck* and *Lausbergne* ſhould be gi-
o the Count of *Veldentz*.
XV. That the Principality of *Orange* ſhould be
to its Sovereign.
t for all this, ſome of the Miniſters of the Allies
red, after they had conſulted their Maſters there-
, that as to what concerned the firſt Article, they
agreed to it; but for *Strasburg*, they farther in-
it ſhould be reſtored with its Fortifications and
ndancies, and that no Equivalent ſhould be ac-
d for it. They accepted of the Third, Fourth,
ifth Articles; only they inſiſted, that not only
ity, but the County of *Luxemburg*, and that of
y ſhould be given up; as they did, that the City *Treaty of*
aſtle of *Dinant* ſhould be yielded, together with Reſwick.
utchy of *Bouillon*, in the ſame State they were.
declared themſelves ſatisfied as to the ſeventh Ar-
touching the Reunions, but not ſo with the Agree-
made about *Lorain*, which they would have re-
d to the Duke its Sovereign, without any manner
ſtrictions.
urſuance of the ſaid Preliminaries, and *Reſwick*
Place of Treaty, being after many Difficulties
cruples fully agreed to by all Parties concerned,
onferences began on the 9*th* of *May*, and were
rried on to any conſiderable length before there
a Work of another nature done in the Field;
the *French*, as having made a Peace with *Savoy*,
have told you, laſt year, and being their laſt
t, were very potent this year, eſpecially in *Flan-*
nd *Catalonia*. In the firſt whereof they had ſtill
the

1697. the Advantage over the Confederates, from the
motenes of the *German* Troops, and the slowne
their March, who hardly came into the Camp till
French had done their Work in the Reductio
Aeth, which, tho it gave some further Reputatio
their Arms and Cause, yet it came far short of
Boasts they had made all the Spring, of attacking
less a considerable Place than *Namur*. But their gr
Design upon *Brussels*, the King of *England* by his g
Prudence, Courage and Celerity, utterly disapp
ed; so that their Intentions to become sole Mast
the Peace, and speak once more the Language of
meguen, came hereby far short of their Expectati
However neither this nor the Siege of *Barcelona*
designed by them to retard, but rather to quicken
Spaniards Pace towards a Peace: So that the Confe
ces between their Plenipotentiaries and the A
went on under the Mediation of the young King
Sweden (now that his Father *Charles* XI. had dep
ed this Life on the 17*th* of *April* this Spring) by
Intervention of the Baron *de Lilienroot* his Ambassa
After the Allies had made their Pretensions, they d
up a large Deduction of things in justificatio
them, of which they resolved to give the *French* P
potentiaries no Copies till they had declared they
received the King's Orders to make theirs: But
French having declared they had nothing to ask or p
tend to, and that they were ready to answer th
ther, the Allies changed their Thoughts, and
French had in the mean time several Conferences
those of the States General about Commerce, a
Cessation of Arms, which the former shewed th
selves very eager for, tho without any great Appear
of Success.

Aeth *taken by the* French.

Towards the end of *May* the *Spanish* Ambassa
presented their Grievances to the Mediator, w
the same time declared, that he was of opinion it w
very much contribute to the advancement of a P
if a Truce was agreed on by common Consent, f
the Clamor and Fury of War did more harm
good to the Negotiation; but this did not take
ther: And all the Parties were now in mighty e
tations of News from divers places, that might f

Spaniards *put in their Grievances.*

reſpective Intereſts; but more eſpecially from 1697.
d, where the *French* ſeemed to be cockſure that
rince of *Conti* would carry that Crown; where-
e Confederates had apparently all their Eyes
upon Prince *James* of *Poland*. But there was a
Perſon who ran away with the Bone in Contenti-
nd that was the Elector of *Saxony*; of the manner
hoſe Election on the one hand, and that of *Conti*'s
e other, I ſhall not enter upon the Particulars,
ake notice that the firſt News of *Saxony*'s being
n was a great Mortification to the *French* Pleni-
tiaries at *Reſwick*. However the Treaty went on,
the Ceremonial part being in a manner all adjuſt-
he *French* who had daily Conferences with the
ſters of the States General, and of other the Allies,
an Offer of an Equivalent for *Luxemburg* and
burg, they being willing for the former to give
the King of *Spain*, *Conde*, *Tournay*, *Melen* and
as they were for the other ready to conſign
the Emperor's Hands, *Briſac*, *Philipsburg* and
rg. But the *French* Plenipotentiaries had in the
time ſent the Pretenſions of the Allies to their
, while the Confederates proteſted, that they
d not be put by their Right, but that they ſhould
Liberty allowed them, every one to preſent his
vance to the Mediator. The Princes of the Em-
deſiring to be comprehended in the Treaty, inſiſt-
on the ſame thing, whereof neither the *Imperia-*
or the *French* made any great difficulty.

Divers Particulars of the Treaty.

out this time it was that the Plenipotentiaries
e States General declared aloud, with ſome ſort
dignation, that it was an unjuſt and falſe Report
was ſpread abroad, concerning their Maſters
g underhand concluded upon their Affairs with
ce; and to make this the more appear, they open-
ſſuaded the Miniſters of the Allies from conſent-
a Truce with the *French*, to which they were
emſelves deaf enough, and the rather for that
French had rejected the Pretenſions of the *Imperia-*
nd *Spaniards*, as being not willing to anſwer the
before the Confederates gave their Opinions con-
ng the Propoſitions *France* had made; which
. That the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies ſhould

1697. treat upon the Foundation propoſed on the 10th o
February laſt, and advance no other points, ſave thoſ
whereof there had been mention made before, to th
end there might be a Baſis and Foundation made fo
the Treaty. The which Propoſals being not yet agre
ed to (ſeeing the *French* gave out the Neutrality
Catalonia was concluded on) the *Imperialiſts* afte
wards made anſwer, that theſe Propoſitions were b
preliminary ones, and not abſolute, and that th
were allowed of but upon this condition; That in ca
any one Point were found to be imperfect or faul
the ſame ought to be amended by the ſucceeding Tr
ties. To this they alſo added, That they were re
deſirous to know the Anſwer of the *French* to ev
Particular propoſed by the Emperor and his All
Theſe Articles were allowed of, but not to be inſer
in the firſt Project of the Emperor's Plenipotentiari
and the ſame was admitted at the Importunity of t
States Ambaſſadors, as ſomewhat more partic
larly relating to their Intereſt, and that of *Engla*
But the *Spaniards* were of Opinion, that they ou
to keep cloſe to the point that had been once agre
on, and that to do otherwiſe would but retard the
gotiation: And ſeing that the firſt preliminary Po
agreed on did import, that the Treaties of *Weſtp*
lia and *Nimeguen* ſhould be the Baſis and Founda
of this Negotiation; according to the expreſs Con
of the *French* King, it was conſequently very evi
that thoſe preliminary Poſitions could not be
Foundation of all the Pretenſions the Allies could
upon *France*. But on the other hand, if the pre
ing Treaties had no Effect at all, it was then in
that they had made choice of a Place to confer in,
the *French* had better have ſtaid in *Paris*, and that it
to no purpoſe that Paſports had been granted, and
Aſſiſtance and Mediation of the King of *Sweden* deſi
That the *Imperialiſts* were amazed that ſo unnece
a Difficulty ſhould have been raiſed in ſo clear and
dent a thing. Whereunto it was alſo added,
they did not doubt, but that the Mediator and
States were of the ſame Opinion, that ſame
having been long enough debated in the Prelimin
and terminated in a general and unanimous Co

was no ſooner over, but the *French* diſpatch- 1697.
Courier to their Maſter, on whoſe part there
Propoſals made again concerning a Truce and a
Trade, as being the firſt ſtep towards a Peace.
theſe things came to nothing, ſo that the *French*
potentiaries now replying to thoſe Arguments
by the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards*, ſaid, that they
ſo ſtrictly limited to their Inſtructions, that
durſt not any manner of way exceed, or alter
ing from the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, as the Baſis
oſed unto them by their King; and that conſe-
ly it was in vain for the Allies to require any
beyond the Articles of the ſaid Treaty, ſeeing
King would grant them no Power for it.
e Allies were ſo far from being ſatisfied with this
ration of the *French*, that they gave them to
ſtand by the Mediator, that their Anſwer was
ous, and had no other Tendency therein than to
off the Treaty, or at leaſt to protract it; this
Declaration being directly contrary to what had
fully regulated, and abſolutely agreed on in the
minaries. And the Mediator himſelf being of the
Sentiments, he did thereupon lay the full Pre-
ns of the Allies before the *French* Plenipoten-
s, who made him anſwer, That the retarding of
egotiation ſhould with much more reaſon be at-
ed to the Allies, the laſt Inſtrument which had
reſented on the Emperor's part being conceived
oſe Terms, which they foreſaw *France* neither
nor ought to accept. Beſides this, they ſaid,
aniards thought it more convenient to have the
ean Treaty for the Baſis of this, which Propoſi-
ſaid they, was the Cauſe that made the *French*
upon that of *Nimeguen*. To this the Mediator
d, That he could not believe the *French* King was
ed, that all and ſingular the Allies had joined
er in the laſt Anſwer, as in an Affair that was
on to them all; that they were of Opinion *France*
have declared the ſame thing, were ſhe in the
Condition *Spain* found her ſelf in, *viz.* that the
of the *Pyrenees* ſhould be renewed in its full
The Allies offered it alſo as their Opinion, that
e avoiding of all theſe Difficulties and Diſputes,

1697. they thought it would be better the *French* should
ſwer each of their Propoſitions apart, which was
length agreed to.

The *Imperialiſts* in purſuance to this Reſolu
preſented to the Mediator a Project of the Method
be uſed of treating by Word of Mouth without
difficulty; which being read firſt to the Confeder
and a Copy of the ſame being delivered to them
fore it was ſhewed to the *French* Plenipotentiar
and that ſame being ſomewhat delayed, the other
contented Allies took a unanimous Reſolution to
monſtrate to the *Imperialiſts*, that they themſelves
alſo a ſhare in the Alliance, and conſequently
they ought to have deliberated with them concern
the Points propoſed, as well on the Emperor's pa
on that of *France*. About the ſame time the Medi
at the Requeſt of the *Imperialiſts*, propoſed to
French Plenipotentiaries the making choice of
other Days, beſides the ordinary ones, to hold
Conferences on, in order to haſten the finiſhing o
Negotiation. But the latter ſuppoſing the Allies
ſome particular end in the ſaid Propoſal, made an
they were not at liberty to comply with that Req
but that they were always ready to appear at the
pointed times.

It was not long after this, that the *Imperialiſts*
the *French* gave in reſpectively their Projects of P
but all the Articles of the *French* being drawn
for Word from the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, the
were rejected by the Allies, as being too oppo
the Intereſts of the Empire, with which they
never acquieſce, as alſo becauſe there was often
tion made, not only of the Allies of the Empire
alſo of thoſe of *France*, it being notoriouſly known
had no ſuch in the War, unleſs the *Turks* were
by it. Wherefore it was inſiſted upon, that the
ſhould more fully explain themſelves, and gi
clearer Project; for they would not allow of
Reſervations, nor of obſcure and equivocal
But for all this, the *French* in the beginning
required the Mediator to exhort the Allies to
of no delay, and apply themſelves effectually
terminating of this tedious Work. To wh

1697.

ator made anſwer, That he did not ſee how the retarded the removing of thoſe Points that were ided, but that it behoved the *French* to look to for all their Complaints; and added farther, he Allies had for a long time declared the ſin- Intentions they had towards it, but that the had not acted anſwerable thereunto, and that had ſent thoſe Points to *Verſailles*, in order to their King thereupon; that the ſincere Inten- of the Allies were manifeſted by their deſiring extraordinary Days to be appointed to hold their rences, which the *French* on their part had de- ; that the Allies were not ignorant therein of eſigns of the *French* Court, who had nothing in ſave the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and if that failed, voured to delay things till the Allies had found Mean that was not altogether contrary to that y, tho there might be ſome accidental difference

ſoon as the Mediator had given an Account of s to the Allies, they reſolved to conſult with one r daily, in order to find out a way to ſhorten Buſineſs: And in the firſt Conference it was agre- e *French* ſhould anſwer to every Point in diffe- as propoſed by the Allies; which when the o- came to know, they deſired to be informed ac- g to what manner the Allies were willing to de- he firſt Point, to the end that having once ſeen ginning of the Treaty, they might be able to ture, whether they had Power enough to treat nclude without any farther Orders from their But the *French* at the next meeting had ſtill hat of the old Leven, and inſiſted, that in or- add a greater weight to the Buſineſs, nothing ore likely to do it, than to treat according to eace of *Nimeguen*, and to change ſome Articles n according to the Deſire of the Allies. But the ator at the Requeſt of the Allies replied, That were not to treat alone according to the Treaty of guen, but alſo according to that of *Weſtphalia*, ng thoſe together that had been reciprocally pro- and accepted of in the Preliminaries, as the of this Negotiation; and that conſequently the

1697. Allies required the *French* would form a Project ac-
cording to thoſe two Treaties, to which the *Imperialiſts*
would promiſe a quick Anſwer. The *French* rejoined,
that this required time to deliberate upon, and at length
they declared they had not ſufficient Power to anſwer
to the different Propoſals of the *Imperialiſts*, but that
would give in a Project to the *Spaniards* if they would
accept of it; which the Mediator acquainted the Allies
with, as alſo that the *French* ſaid, they had no other
Power to treat than according to the Treaty of
Nimeguen. But the Allies aſtoniſhed thereat, came
in a particular Conference to a unanimous Reſolution
never to conſent to it, the ſame Treaty being contrary
to the Intereſt of almoſt all the Allies.

However the *Spaniards* at laſt conſented that the
French ſhould give in their Project, to which they
would make an Anſwer, which they were brought to
do, upon an Aſſurance from the Mediator, that the
ſame ſhould be made up of the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*
and *Nimeguen*. But the Mediator at the ſame time
put the *French* in mind, that they ought to propoſe
their Articles in ſuch a manner, as to leave no Repug-
nancy between them and the Plenipotentiaries, and to
be regulated according to thoſe two Treaties, upon the
fault whereof there would be no Advance made in the
Negotiation. It was given out now, and it was be-
lieved there was ſomewhat in it, that the Kings of
Sweden and *Denmark* had both declared to the *French*
that they ſhould be conſtrained to make War upon
them, unleſs they went more ſeriouſly on with the
Buſineſs, and cut ſhort all unneceſſary difficulties.
And here the Mediator repreſented to the *French* Ple-
nipotentiaries as his laſt Advice (becauſe he found them
as it were deaf to the laſt Propoſal) what he had ſaid
to them before in relation to the *Spaniards*: But the
French replied, they had given the *Spaniards* time e-
nough to deliberate; and for the ſame Reaſon they
required the ſame for themſelves. Whereupon the Me-
diator anſwered, that their Courier was already
come from *Paris*, and that without him they had no ſuf-
ficient Orders from their King to treat.

At length on the 20*th* of *July* the *French* gave in
their Project of Peace, founded upon the forementioned
Trea-

aties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen*; and in Sub- 1697.
ce offered to the Empire, to make void ſeveral Re-
ons made of Lands on that ſide by the Chambers of
tz and *Bezanſon*, and the Sovereign Council of
ſac ſince the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, to reſtore *Straſ-*
g, or give an Equivalent for it, to demoliſh the For-
tations of *Hunninghen* on the other ſide of the
ne, to reſtore *Lorain*, as at *Nimeguen*, to that Duke,
Nancy upon certain Conditions, and to demoliſh
ntroyal and other Places. Their Offer to the *Spa-*
rds being much the ſame as in the Preliminaries, I
s them over in this Place, and obſerve, that the Im-
ial Plenipotentiaries made a long, and as ſome
ught, a ſomewhat extravagant Anſwer to this Pro-
, which the *French* did not ſeem to regard much,
r main Buſineſs being to make up with the reſt of
Allies, upon what Terms they were willing to al-
them, and to ſave ſomewhat, if poſſible, of their
at and long Acquiſitions towards the *Rhine*, ſince
re was ſo little Proſpect of ſaving any thing elſe-
ere. Wherefore the *French* King finding much time
t to little purpoſe, by carrying on the Treaty in
iting, and not knowing what Accidents might hap-
, ordered his Plenipotentiaries to receive no Preten-
s nor Anſwers from the Allies in Writing, but to
at *viva Voce* with them; and tho the 10*th* of *Sept.*
s the utmoſt time the *French* would give to accept of
ir Offers, yet it was obſerved, that about this time
y began to demit ſomewhat of their accuſtomed
gour.

The 16*th* of *Aug.* was the firſt Day that an ex- *Extraordi-*
ordinary Congreſs was held at *Reſwick*, which laſt- *nary Con-*
almoſt the whole Day, and the next the Plenipo- *greſs held.*
tiaries of the Allies were together for the firſt
e in the Great Hall of the Royal Palace. Not long
r this, came the News to the Congreſs of the ta-
g of *Barcelona* by the *French*. It was indeed one
the ſharpeſt Sieges that hapned in our Age; The
riſon was numerous enough, and being animated
the Governor of the City, *Corſana*, but more eſpe-
lly by the brave Prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, they
de a moſt valiant Defence againſt the *French* Ar-
y under the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and plied them

1697. without Intermiſſion, with their Cannon, Bom
Granadoes and other Fire-Arms; nay ſometim
Siege of made four Sallies in one Night. They diſputed e
Barcelona. ry Inch of Ground in their Outworks with the B
gers, ſome of which they retook ſeveral times, a
at laſt made new Intrenchments within the old
tions, and in ſpite of the Prayers of the Inhabita
and Threats of the Common People, ſtood it
with an unparallelled Bravery to the laſt Extrem
and at laſt gave up the Place upon Honourable Te
to the victorious *French*, who outdid themſelve
this moſt memorable Siege.

The taking of *Barcelona* made the *Spaniards* v
uneaſy, and therefore they grew very preſſing
to have the Peace ſigned upon the Conditions offe
by *France*, and more eſpecially ſince by the Memo
given in to the Mediator on the 1*ſt* of *Septemb*.
French had made an Offer of giving up this Place
to them upon a ſlight Conſideration of a few Villa
belonging to the *Chaſteline* of *Aeth* to be ſurrend
to the *French*, for the Conveniency of the Trad
the Inhabitants of *Tournay*. But by how much
more eaſy the *French* ſeemed to be with the *Spania*
by ſo much the more bold they made with the E
pire, and now inſiſted poſitively upon the Deter
of *Strasburg*, and that the Emperor ſhould reſt c
tented with the Equivalent, which they ſaid would
more conſiderable to him, ſince he would have the
tire Sovereignty of thoſe Towns *France* quitted, whe
Strasburg if reſtored, muſt have been ſet at its
Liberty, as a free Imperial City; and if the Em
was ſtartled at this new Pace, they were not a
leſs at the definite Time fixed by *France* for their
ſwer, which was the twentieth of *September*,
which time they would be no longer tied to t
Offers.

This was ſtill the more mortifying to the *Germ*
ſince they began now to be ſuperior in Force to
French on the *Rhine*, and to act offenſively; a
this, that the Imperialiſts began alſo by this tim
be a little jealous, leſt ſome of the Allies ſhould ſe
ſeparate Peace and leave them out, and this occaſio
ſome Heats amongſt them. But tho the Silence of

concerning the Treaty did about this time a- 1697.
the *French* Plenipotentiaries, yet the Interview
en the Earl of *Portland* and the Mareſchal *de*
rs occaſioned various Speculations, and the
t was, my Lord's going to the *Hague* thereupon,
eclaring to the Congreſs by the King's Orders,
or what concerned his Majeſty and his King-
he was fully ſatisfied that all matters were ſo
djuſted with *France*, that his Concerns would
on no Delay in the General Peace, and therefore
neſtly preſſed the other Allies, and particularly
mperor, to contribute all that in them lay to-
concluding ſo great a Work.

length the 20*th* of *Septemb.* came, when either a
Peace, or a long and bloody War was like to
mine the Fate of *Europe*; when the *Engliſh*, *Spa-*
nd *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, after a long Confe-
with thoſe of *France*, and having adjuſted all
rs remaining in difference betwixt any of them,
ally ſigned the Peace a little after Midnight, and
complemented each other upon the finiſhing of
mportant Negotiation. The Articles between
e and *England* imported,

That there ſhould be a ſincere Peace and Friend- *Peace be-*
between *William* III. King of *Great-Britain*, *tween Eng-*
the *French* King, with their Heirs and Succeſ- *land and*
France.

That all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe by Sea and

That Injuries and Damages done to each other's
ts, ſhould be forgotten and not accounted for.

That the *French* King ſhould upon no account
ſoever, diſturb King *William* in the free poſſeſſi-
all his Dominions, favour no Plots nor Conſpira-
againſt him, nor aſſiſt any body either by Sea or
to moleſt him.

That there ſhould be a free uſe of Navigation
Commerce between the Subjects of both the

That the ordinary Adminiſtration of Juſtice
be reſtored throughout both their Dominions,
t the Subjects of each ſhould be free to claim
btain their Rights.

VII. That

1697. VII. That the two Kings ſhould reſtore what taken from each other, and Commiſſioners auth zed for that purpoſe.

VIII. That Commiſſioners ſhould be appoint determine their Pretenſions to the Pl ces in *Hud* Bay; but the *French* were to remain in poſſeſſi what they had taken from the *Engliſh* during the P that preceded that War, and the Capitulation m by the *Engliſh* on the 5*th* of *Septemb.* 1696. ſhou obſerved.

IX. That all Letters of Repriſal and Ma granted on both ſides ſhould be void.

X. That the Principality of *Orange*, and his Eſtates, ſhould be reſtored to the King of *Eng* with the Arrears of Rent.

XI. That the Elector of *Brandenburg* ſhould be prehended in this, and the Peace with the Duke of *voy* in 1696 confirmed.

This was the main Subſtance of this Treat which there was added a ſeparate Article, whereb berty was allowed the Emperor and the Empire t 1*ſt* of *Novem.* following to come in, and accept Propoſals lately made them by the *French*, but refuſal, that the King of *England* ſhould give the Aſſiſtance.

Treaty between France and Holland. As for the Agreement between the *French* a *Dutch*, beſides a firm and inviolable Peace that w remain between them, there was a general Act o livion for whatever had hapned to be on ſide during the War: That all Prizes take the future, ſhould be reſtored by either Party a limited time: That neither Party ſhould con any Treaties prejudicial to each other: That t tates confiſcated during the War ſhould be reſt and particularly the Marquiſate of *Bergenopzoom* be reſtored to the Count *d' Auvergne*: That all taken during the War ſhould be reſtored on both eſpecially the Port of *Pontechery* to the *French India* Company: That all Priſoners of War be releaſed on both ſides: That the raiſing of tributions ſhould ceaſe from the day of the Ex of the Ratifications: That the uſual judicial ceedings ſhould be reciprocally free, and all Le

al revoked: That they ſhould renounce all Pre- 1697.
s upon one another. The Treaties with *Bran-*
g and *Savoy* were likewiſe confirmed hereby.
n for the Treaty with the *Spaniards*, beſides the *Treaty be-*
Formalities of it which we ſhall paſs over, they *tween*
o have *Gironne*, *Roſes*, *Belver*, &c. beſides the *Spain and*
f *Barcelona*, reſtored to them; likewiſe the City *France.*
ounty of *Luxemburg*, with the County of *Chi-*
Charleroy, *Mons* and *Aeth*, with all their Depen-
s, except ſome particular Burghs, eſpecially be-
g to the laſt, that were reſerved for *France*.
over they were to have *Courtray* given up to
and all the other Places taken during the War
o be reſtored on either ſide. All Re-unions
by *France* ſince the Treaty of *Nimeguen* were to
d, except the Places in the Liſt of Exception;
e *French* were allowed to remove all their Artil-
Ammunition, *&c.* from the Places to be reſtored;
was to be reſettled, and all the Papers which
ench took out of the Cittadel of *Ghent* and
ber of *Liſle* were to be given up; and beſides
other things that are uſually matter of Form on-
Dinant was to be reſtored by *France* to the Biſhop
rince of *Liege*; the Iſle of *Ponza*, taken by the
rds in the time of War, to the Duke of *Parma*,
e Peace with *Savoy* in 1696 confirmed.

ing gone thus far with the Peace, give me leave
I come to the farther Particulars of the Nego-
s between the Emperor, Empire and *France*, to
ſhort Account in this Place of M. *Pointi*'s Ex-
on to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, from whence he *Pointi's*
ed about this time. He ſet out from *Breſt* to- *Expedition.*
the beginning of this Year, and in 55 Days ar-
at *St. Domingo*, from which Government he
onſiderably reinforced; and being alſo joined
the Buccaneers in thoſe Parts, he proceeded to
s Project in Execution: He was much farthered
n by one *Venner* an *Engliſhman*, who had ſerved
aniards many Years, and drew him ſeveral Plans
rthagena, by which he ſaw there was a Neceſſity
ſſeſſing himſelf upon his firſt Arrival of a conſide-
Poſt, called *Noſtre dame de la Pouppe*, or elſe the
rds would have an Opportunity to carry off
what-

1697. whatever they were desirous to save; but not being ble to effect that thro the Situation of the Place, he upon the Fort of *Bocca Chica* with all his Fury, notwithstanding the difficult Approaches to it, the tardliness of the Buccaneers (whom he himself, his whole Narration, how true I cannot tell, make be the veriest Rogues, Cowards and Villains imagi ble) and other Inconveniencies, he reduced it to strait in a little time, that they surrendred u Discretion, the Gates being thrown open to him, old *Sanchez Ximenes*, who had been Governor th of above 55 Years, came and delivered the Keys his possession. From hence they proceeded and in the Fort of *St. Lazarus*, and then attacked *Car-gena* it self both by Sea and Land. The Place was saulted and defended with a great deal of Vigour, the *Spanish* Succours not coming in time, and Breaches being made, they began at last to capitul whereby they were to march out thro the Breach, their Arms, Drums beating, and four pieces of C non; but for the rest all Silver without Exceptio Reserve should belong to the Conqueror, and that of the Inhabitants as staid behind, should enjoy they had, excepting their Plate, *&c.*

Takes Carthagena.

In pursuance of these Articles, the Governor ma ed out on the 6*th* of *May*, and *Pointi* entred it, notwithstanding the Agreement of having all the Si was in great Perplexity how to come at it: Where by way of Expedient he ordered it to be set upon principal Gates; that he would give the tenth to Proprietors, of whatsoever they honestly bro him, and a tenth to them that should inform him o ny Persons that did not declare their Effects. which he added his Threats of Punishment for mal Disobedience, which had the desired Effect the Generality of the People. Neither were the C ches and Religious Houses spared, tho *Pointi* was sed to soften that part with saying, *They gathered what was for the Decoration of them.* Yet after the Booty fell much short of their Expectations, the Place having taken the Alarm before their Arr all the Women of Quality and others with their els, and 120 Mules laden with Gold, were gone a

out of their Reach; and how baſely ſoever the 1697.
neers ſerved him, as he alledges, in this Expedi-
they had their aſſigned Portion of the Spoil,
ey were not all ſatisfied with it.

notwithſtanding the Importance of this Conqueſt,
rench did not think it adviſable to hold it; and
fore having demeaned themſelves as Conquerors
ſuch Circumſtances uſed to do, and ruined the
of *Bocca Chica* on the laſt of *May*, they put out
a on the 1*ſt* of *June*, ſtanding for Cape *Cuberon*,
an Advice-Boat from *Petit Guaves* came and in-
ed them, that 13 *Engliſh* Men of War were arri-
on the 27*th* of *April* at *Barbadoes* to look after
, which made them alter their Courſe for the
ts of *Bahama*, till ſix at Night, when they fell in
them, who proved to be much ſtronger than they
informed. The *Engliſh* preſently took a Flyboat
heirs, on board of which there was a conſiderable
ntity of Ammunition and Proviſion, and alſo the
Traverſier they had. But while this was doing,
the *Engliſh* Fleet that were got within Reach of
ſeemed to decline fighting, till the others to Lee-
could come to the Action, which gave the *French*
pportunity to get before them. But the advanced
of the *Engliſh* Fleet, having yet got to Wind- Pointi *eſ-*
of them, and within leſs than Cannon-ſhot, *capes* Ne-
French who ſaw no Remedy now, gave the Signal ville.
ighting: But the *Engliſh* Admiral *Neville* reckon-
here was no Safety for the *French* but to go before
Wind for the *Straits* of *Bahama*, ſlacked his Way,
oſing to get ſo much a head of them, as to hinder
Paſſage. Hereupon the *French* at the cloſing in of
Night, tacked about, and found the Succeſs of
working next Day, for they could reckon no
than 14 Ships following them in a Line, and they
ſo nigh by far as the Day before; which made the
ch continue the ſame Board, till they got within
Leagues of *Carthagena*, where they were on the
of *June* in the Evening, and there made a Signal
holding a contrary Courſe; and when it was quite
, gave three Guns for all their Ships to ſteer Weſt
ctly before the Wind, at what time there were
three of the *Engliſh* that kept within ſight of them,
and

1697. and they at a great diſtance; ſo that next day they clear of them.

From hence the *French* having made ſo narrow Eſcape, not without ſome Diſhonour to the En Commanders for want of better Management, ſa for *Newfoundland*, and put in for Water (of w they had not above what would have ſerved them ſix Days longer) to *Conception*-Bay, on the 4*th* of and afterwards ſailed for that of *St. John's*, where *Engliſh* Ships lay under Commodore *Norris*, who poſing the *French* (now much weakned with Sick to be much ſtronger than they were, declined put out to fight them, and ſo they eſcaped a Scouring cond time. But that they ſhould do ſo in their ſage from thence into *France* (where they arriv the 19*th* of *Aug.*) from ſix *Engliſh* Men of War attacked them, is more they owned, than themſ could have expected, in the pitiful Plight they reduced to, and ſo we ſhall ſay no more of them.

We muſt now return to the Treaty of *Reſwick*, obſerve, that tho the Imperialiſts ſeemed to be a concerned at the Proceedings of the other Allies, they thought it now the moſt adviſable way to a to a Ceſſation of Arms, and Expreſſes were imm ately ſent to the reſpective Armies on the *Rhine* to from any further Acts of Hoſtility; yet before vice could come hereof to the Prince of *Baden*, he taken the Caſtle of *Eberenburg*, and was alſo goin lay Siege to *Kirn*. But what was perhaps more tifying to the Imperial Miniſters than all the reſt, that Advice was not come a little ſooner of the derful Succeſs of the Emperor's Arms in *Hun* which in all likelihood would have a little cooled Eagerneſs of thoſe Powers that had already ſi the Peace, and made the *French* more compliant the Emperor and Empire's Demands.

Eberenburg *taken by the* Germans.

But as things now ſtood, the Imperial Plenipot aries applied themſelves wholly to adjuſt the rema Points in Controverſy in *France*, and the greatest ference ſeemed about *Strasburg*. It was alſo ſaid Imperialiſts would have the Equivalent ſomewha plified, as alſo that beſides *Landau*, all the ces poſſeſſed ſince the Peace of *Nimeguen* ſhou

d, as alſo *Saur-Lovis* to the Duke of *Lorain.* 1697.
French Plenipotentiaries had no Power to ex-
eir Orders, and therefore they could by no
comply with this Demand. The Imperialiſts
on would tie the *French* to the Performance
Promiſe made by them in the Preliminaries, and
they had ſo often repeated afterwards; and
re it was not without Reaſon that they main-
that all that was odious, ariſing from the pro-
g of the Treaty, ought to alight upon the
, and not upon the Imperialiſts, nor the Allies.
French were poſitive in their laſt Propoſals, as
to the Time they had limited for the accepting
m, ſo that there was yet but little Appearance
nging things to a final Accommodation. The
tant Princes of the Empire ſhewed alſo their
or their Religion; and therefore their Mini-
aving had a Meeting together, they appointed
erſons to deliver a Project to the Mediator, im-
g, That as to *Strasburg* (which now the Impe-
were inclined to concede to *France*) and other
of *Alſatia*, which belonged to the *French* King
ue of former Treaties, the *Lutheran* Religion
be tolerated, and enjoy all thoſe Rights and
ities it had in the Year 1624. But what Miſin-
nce ſoever might appear to continue between
ench and the Imperial Plenipotentiaries as to the
Points, it plainly appeared they agreed well e-
, or rather combined together to have the Popiſh
on exerciſed in the ſame State it now was, in the
ive Places that were to be delivered up, without
tice taken of the Reformed at all, which made
niſters of the Proteſtant Princes decline to ſign
eaty when concluded by them, and put forth a
ation in behalf of the Proteſtants, ſomewhat like
eſtation againſt ſuch Proceedings.

this ſignified little, for all things being agreed *Treaty be-*
the 30*th* of *Octob.* the Treaty was then ſigned, *tween the*
ing, That there ſhould be an univerſal Peace be- *Empire*
the Emperor and the Empire and *France*; That *and* France.
ſhould be an Oblivion of all Hoſtilities, and the
s on both ſides enjoy the Benefit of the Amneſ-
hat the Treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen*
ſhould

1697. ſhould be the Baſis of this; That all Reunions m
by *France*, in reſpect to the Places and Rights fr
out of *Alſatia*, during the War ſhould be void,
the Roman Catholick Religion to remain ſettled
in the ſame manner as now; particularly the Elect
Triers and Biſhop of *Spire* ſhould be re-eſtabliſh
their Rights. The Elector of *Brandenburg* was t
comprized in the Treaty; the Elector *Palati*
be reſtored to his Territories according to the Tre
of *Weſtphalia*, and to pay 200000 Livres yearly t
Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, till her Pretenſions ſhould b
tisfied; That the County of *Sponheim* and *Vald*
with the Dutchy of *Deuxponts*, ſhould be reſtore
Sweden; That *Leopold Lewis* Count *Palatine* ſhou
reſtored to *Valdents* and *Lautrec*, according to th
Article and Liſt exhibited by *France*; That the G
Maſter of the Teutonick Order and Biſhop of *W*
ſhould be reſtored by *France* to all his Command
Rights. *Dinant* was to be given up to the Biſho
Liege, Duke *George* of *Wirtemburg* was to be reſ
to *Montbeliard*, and the reſt of that Family to
reſpective Rights in *Burgundy* and elſewhere, e
to the Village of *Baldenheim*; the *Baden* Family
to enjoy the Benefit of this Treaty: The Cou
Naſſau, *Hanau* and *Leininghen* were to be reinſt
in their Territories: *Strasburg* was relinquiſh
France, but any of the Inhabitants were free to
part within a Year with their Effects elſewhere.
Fort of *Kiel* was to be given up to the Emperor
Empire, but that of *Pille* demoliſhed. *Friburg*,
fort, with the Villages of *Leken*, *Metzhauſen*
Kirchzarch were to be given up to the Emper
alſo *Briſac* (but the Bridg to be demoliſhed) a
Town and Fortreſs of *Philipsburg*. The *French*
obliged to demoliſh the Fortifications made o
gainſt *Hunninghen*, as alſo the Fort over againſt
Lovis, the Caſtle of *Trarbach*, and Fortreſs of
royal; likewiſe the Fortreſſes of *Kirn* and *Eber*
were to be demoliſhed, and the Places to be re
to the right Owners by *France*. The Duke of
was to be reſtored to his Country by this Treaty
to the City of *Nancy*, but with the Fortification
alſo to the Caſtles of *Bitch* and *Homburg* raſe

s were to be made void in favour of that Duke; 1697.
rance was to retain *Saar Lovis* with the Prefect-
f *Longui*, for which the Duke was to have an
valent; the *French* Troops were to have free Paſ-
through the Duke's Country to the Frontiers; Ec-
ſtical Benefices conferred by the *French* King were
main to the preſent Poſſeſſors; all Law Determina-
were to be of Force, only a Review of the Cauſe
o be allowed; the Archives, *&c.* of *Nancy* and
were to be reſtored to the Duke, who immediately
the Ratifications might ſend Commiſſioners to the
Dutchies to take care of his Affairs; no Innova-
were to be made in the Impoſts and Cuſtoms ſettled
70. the Cardinal of *Furſtemburg* was to be reſto-
o his Rights in the Empire; *Rhinfield* to be given
the Landgrave of that Name, and the lower
try of *Catzenelboguen* to the Landgrave *Erneſt*;
e Subjects of both Parties were to be reſettled in
Rights; Eccleſiaſtical Benefices were to remain
preſent Poſſeſſors; the Treaty with the Duke of
in 1696. was alſo confirmed hereby; the Archives,
rds, *&c.* and particularly thoſe of *Spire*, were
reſtored by *France*; Contributions were to ceaſe
the Ratification, and Commerce reſettled upon
g the Peace; and the King of *Sweden* particu-
with the *Swiſs* Cantons, *Geneva*, *Neufchaſtel*, &c.
comprehended in this Treaty.

e come now to another Year, wherein we find 1698.
e full of Jollity upon the Marriage of the young
of *Lorain* with *Elizabeth Charlotte*, Daughter to
uke of *Orleans* the *French* King's Brother. And
had at the ſame time ſerious Thoughts and Con-
tions about the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*,
had not been touch'd upon in the Treaty of
ck; and was ſo much of the more importance,
ſe the King of *Spain* had neither Iſſue of his own
, and was the laſt of the eldeſt Branch of the
of *Auſtria*; but was likewiſe very ſickly and in-
ſo that there was no Likelihood of his holding out
The *French*, ſo early as my Lord *Portland*'s
ſſy into their Country, gave ſome Intimations
ir Willingneſs, in concert with the King of *Eng-*
nd States of *Holland*, to come to ſome Tempera-

1695. ment as to this grand Point; tho it ſeems very plain to me by the Conſequence that their whole Aim was to have a *French* Man fixed upon the *Spaniſh* Throne but took the remote way of a Treaty of Partition to bring it about. In order to which the King of *England* and the States ſhewed themſelves ready to come any reaſonable Expedients upon this Head, for preventing another War. I will not enter upon an Enquiry into the Juſtice or Injuſtice of ſuch a Treaty, that ſeem'd to diſpoſe of a Prince's Dominions by mere powerful Neighbours without his own Conſent; Neceſſity and Conveniences were made uſe of as Arguments for it: And after they had agitated the Negotiation for ſome time, the three forementioned Powers on the 19*th* of *Auguſt* came at length to this Agreement.

Firſt Treaty of Partition. That the Peace of *Reſwick* ſhould be confirmed.

That in conſideration of the King of *Spain*'s State of Health, and for the preſerving of the publick Peace, in caſe the ſaid Prince ſhould die without Iſſue, it was agreed that the Kingdoms of *Naples* and Sicily, the Places then depending on the Monarchy of Spain ſituate on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*, or the adjacent Iſlands comprehended under the Name of *Sancto Stephano*, *Porto Hercole*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Portolongo*, *Piombino*; the Marquiſate of *Final*, the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, particularly the Towns of *Fontarabia* and *Sebaſtian*, and eſpecially the Port *Paſſage*; as likewiſe all Places on the *French* ſide of the *Pyrenees*, or the other Mountains of *Navarre*, *Alava*, or *Biſcay*, on the ſide of the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, with all the Ships, Gallies, and other Appurtenances belonging to the ſaid Gallies, ſhould be given, in conſideration of his Right, to the Dauphin.

That the Crown of *Spain*, and the other Kingdoms and Places both within and without *Europe* ſhould deſcend to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, of whom his Father the Elector was to be Tutor and Adminiſtrator till he came of Age.

The Dutchy of *Milan* was reſerved and allotted to the Archduke *Charles* the Emperor's ſecond Son.

The Treaty was to be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of *Bavaria* by the King of *Great Britain*

he States General, and that if they did not agree 1698.
nto, his Proportion, ſo not agreeing, ſhould re-
in Sequeſtration for a time, till things could
rought to a Temperament: And in caſe the
oral Prince of *Bavaria* ſhould come to inherit his
hare and yet die before his Father without Iſſue,
lector was to ſucceed him in thoſe Dominions,
is Heirs after him. Likewiſe the Dutchy of *Mi-*
as, upon the Refuſal of the Archduke to accept
s Share, to be ſequeſtred to, and governed by the
e of *Vaudemont*, and after him by his Son Prince
es of *Vaudemont*.

is being the Subſtance of the firſt Treaty of Par-
, 'tis not improbable but that the ſame might
taken effect, in caſe the Electoral Prince of *Ba-*
had out-lived *Charles* II. King of *Spain:* But
Prince dying on the 16*th* of *February* this Year, 1699.
ntly gave room for new Speculations and Deſigns.
e mean time, the Majority of the *French* Court
very intent upon the Ruin of the Archbiſhop of
ray, whoſe Tenets, that ſeemed to ſavour ſome-
of Quietiſm, they procured to be condemned at
, whither the matter was transferred from *France*.
ow it was that the Tariff about the regulation of
e was ſettled between *Holland* and that Nation,
eas the *French* Commiſſioners in *England* had all
while made nothing at all of it.

neet with nothing elſe material within this annual
lution; for the Conteſt between the Prince of
and the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, about the former's
nding to have himſelf declared Succeſſor to the
ipality of *Neufchaſtel*, I take to be a particular
, that does not relate to the Hiſtory of *France*;
d it not been for the Interpoſure of the King of
nd, who had alſo his Claim, but would defer it
he Deceaſe of the ſaid Dutcheſs, the *French* King
d have eſpouſed the Prince's Cauſe, and puſhed
matter much farther. Wherefore being arrived
at the concluding Year of the ſeventeenth Centu- 1700.
he moſt material thing we meet with in it, is ano-
Treaty of Partition, concluded between *England*,
e, and *Holland*, much upon the ſame foot as the for-
only inſtead of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* de-

1700. ceas'd (who was to ſucceed *Charles* II. King of Spain) the Archduke *Charles* was to have all the *Spaniſh* Dominions both within and without *Europe*, except what before mentioned to have been aſſigned to the Dauphin and *France*, and that the Duke of *Lorain* inſtead his own Country, which was to be given alſo to *France* ſhould have the Dutchy of *Milan* conferred on him and the County of *Bitſche* on the Prince of *Vaudemont*.

Second Treaty of Partition.

Tho the Deſigns of theſe Treaties ſeem'd to be mighty covert, eſpecially on the part of *France*, yet their Effects have been but too viſible in reſpect to Spain. And the former had Artifice enough, under pretence of not diſmembring the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, to form a powerful Faction in the *Spaniſh* Court, and procure a Will from that poor King, whereby he declared the Duke of *Anjou*, the Dauphin's ſecond Son, univerſal Heir of all his Dominions, which ſhould never be diſmembred nor united to the Crown of *France*; and after him and his Iſſue the Duke of *Berry* was to ſucceed and his Heirs, then the Archduke *Charles*; and laſt of all, the Duke of *Savoy* and his Family.

King of Spain's Will.

Charles II. King of *Spain* accordingly dying in the Beginning of *November* this Year without Iſſue, the *French* King inſtead of keeping to the Treaty of Partition ſo lately made between Him, *England* and *Holland*, preferred this Will before it; and that without ever conſulting or deſiring the Conſent of thoſe other Powers, which brought on a new Scene of Things, the Conſequence whereof Time muſt only determine. However ſo far as it has been ſince elapſed, we are to obſerve that the firſt thing we find done in *France* after the declaring of the Duke of *Anjou* King of *Spain*, was the forming a very remarkable Inſtrument quite contrary to the Meaning and Tenor of the ſaid Will, and that according to all the Forms of the Law, for the Preſervation of the Rights which the Birth of that Prince gave him to the Crown of *France*, in caſe the Duke of *Burgundy* his elder Brother ſhould die without inheritable Iſſue. This Pace made the neighbouring Princes and States uneaſy, and they began now generally to ſee, that the Houſe of *Bourbon* aimed at nothing leſs than the

e two Crowns, and conſequently an univerſal 1700.
archy by it.

l Europe ſtood in amaze at this Procedure; the 1701.
eror, as ſuppoſing himſelf the moſt aggrieved of
carried his Complaints to, and formed Negotia-
in moſt Courts. *Holland* was mightily alarmed
e Danger they muſt be expoſed to by ſo potent
ighbourhood, and by a Memorial moved the King
ngland to make good the Treaty made with their
in 1677. for the Support of it. Our King muſt
s reſent the Violation of the *French* Faith; how-
things were carried with a good Mien for the
nt both in *England* and *Holland*: But the great
arations made by the *French* King both by Sea
Land, began to alarm every Body to purpoſe; *The*
more particularly the States General, when they French
d the *French* Troops let into the Gariſons of the *enter into*
ſh Netherlands, that were wont to be a Barrier *the* Spa-
eir Country, and for the Defence of which they niſh *Towns*
expended ſo many Millions of Money. The man- *in the* Ne-
of it was briefly thus. On the 6*th* of *February* therlands.
e morning, they put into thoſe Places where the
ch were in Gariſon, *viz.* into *Namur* eight hun-
Men, two thouſand five hundred into *Luxemburg*,
h were to be attended by a thouſand Horſe; four
e hundred into *Mons*, fifteen hundred into *Oude-*
, ſix hundred into *Oſtend*, two thouſand into
port; and in a word, there was no Place at laſt
for their purpoſe without being thwack'd with
ops: And even *Antwerp* it ſelf, that claimed a Pri-
ge of being exempted from a *Spaniſh* Gariſon, muſt
nit to receive within her Walls what Numbers of
the *French* thought fit to put upon her. The
le matter was concerted before between the Elec-
of *Bavaria* (who was not a little cenſur'd for it)
the Marqueſs of *Puiſeguere*. And the better to
eal from the Publick the Knowledg of the Ap-
ch of theſe Forces, they marched all night with-
Beat of Drum; ſo that no body knew any thing
hem, beſides the Governors of the Places into
ch they were to be admitted, to whom the Elector
ſent ſecret Orders to receive them. The *French*
rding to their Finery called theſe Troops by the

1701. Name of Auxiliaries; however to keep ſome Decorum upon ſo great an Alteration, as ſoon as ever the Men were drawn up upon the Parade, Proclamation was made at the head of every Squadron and Battalion, That all Officers and others ſhould be puniſhed with Death, who ſhould offer the leaſt Injury either in word or deed to the Townſmen, *Spaniards* or *Dutch* that they found in Gariſon.

It's incredible how much the *Dutch* were concerned for their Troops now in the power of the *French*. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Don Quiros* put the beſt face he could upon ſo ſurprizing an Action, and not only acquainted the Penſionary with what had been done, but told him care ſhould be taken that thoſe Auxiliaries ſhould live in a good Underſtanding with the *Dutch* Troops in thoſe Gariſons. He back'd the ſame with a Memorial; and the Count *d'Avaux* arriving ſoon after at the *Hague* from *France*, ſignified to the States that he was come to ſupply the room of Count *Briord*, and to confer with them by their Deputies. In ſhort, matters were quickly brought to that paſs, that there was a neceſſity for them to acknowledg the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*, which yet did not remove their Uneaſineſs for the Safety of their Troops, which they had a great deal of reaſon for, ſince the *French* ſeemed ſtill loth to part with them, and it was not without many Delays and Difficulties that they were at laſt releaſed, and that by ſuch Methods and Regulations of their Marches, as if they had been in a manner an Enemy that had capitulated: But what was worſe, the *French* uſed ſo many Artifices to debauch the Soldiers, and delude them to deſert into their Service, that the Battalions came home very thin, and ſtood in extreme need of recruiting.

However having acknowledged the Duke of *Anjou*, the States muſt now go on; and therefore they immediately diſpatch'd a Letter to the *French* King to acquaint him with it; and not long after received an Anſwer from him, importing that their Letter confirmed his good Opinion of their real Sentiments; that he beheld with Pleaſure how acceptable his Grandſon's coming to the Crown of *Spain* was to their Lordſhips, and how deſirous they were to contribute towards the Continuance of the

Fr. King's Letter to the States.

public

blick Tranquillity happily re-eſtabliſhed by the laſt 1701.
eaties; that they needed not queſtion but his Intenti-
s were entirely conformable to their Deſires; and
ping in remembrance his own and the antient Ami-
of the Kings his Predeceſſors for their Republick,
ſhould be glad that his preſent Union with the King
Spain ſhould be ſerviceable to find out new Securi-
for their State, and new Advantages to increaſe
ir Trade. But before the Arrival of a Courier from
nſieur *Heemskirk*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador in *France*,
h this Letter, they had received a new Memorial
m *d'Avaux* much to the ſame purpoſe. But find-
it inſinuated thereby that they ſhould not arm for
ir own Security, tho they gave a very fair Anſwer
reunto, yet they uſed all poſſible Diligence to re-
it and augment their Troops; and for this purpoſe
otiated with the King of *Denmark* and divers
nces of *Germany* for many thouſands of Men to be
into their Service. In the mean time the *French*
oops in vaſt Numbers drawing nearer and nearer to
ir Frontiers, they were neceſſitated for fear of any
prize, to ſhut up the Sluices of *Lillo* and Fort *Fre-*
ick Henry; for which the Complaint of the *Spaniſh*
baſſador was little regarded by them.

n the mean time there was a ſort of a Negotiation
ried on at the *Hague* between *England*, *Holland*,
France; and the *Dutch* being unwilling to do any
g with the *French*, but by concert, and in conjuncti-
with the King of *England*, Mr. *Stanhope* his Ma- *Propoſals*
y's Envoy in *Holland*, delivered in a Project, as it *to* France.
e by way of Preliminaries; importing, That
reas there had been a Treaty of Partition made in
rch 1700. between *England*, *France*, and *Holland*,
preſerving the Peace of *Europe*, and that the *French*
g had accepted of the Will of the King of *Spain*
trary thereunto, the King of *England* and the
es ought not to loſe the Effects of that Treaty;
therefore it was inſiſted that all reaſonable Satiſ-
ion ſhould be given to the Emperor upon his Pre-
ſions to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, and that he ſhould be
itted and included in the Treaty now to be made
ween them; that the *French* King ſhould within a
time limited withdraw all his Forces out of the

1701. *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and ſend no more thither; but that *England* and *Holland* might ſend their Forces for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, when lawfully required to do it; that for the particular Security of *England*, *Oſtend* and *Neuport* with all that belonged to them ſhould be put into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; and that the King of *England* might change, augment, provide the Gariſons as often and in what manner he pleaſed, and have a full Command there, yet without prejudice to the Rights and Revenues of the Crown of *Spain*; that no Kingdom, Province or Place belonging to *Spain* any where, ſhould be alienated any manner of way to *France*; that the King of *England*'s Subjects ſhould enjoy their uſual Trade and all Immunities within the Dominions of *Spain*, and the Treaties between them renewed. This Memoir was ſeconded by another delivered the ſame day to *d'Avaux* from the States Deputies, and was the ſame directly in every particular, *mutatis mutandis*; only that inſtead of *Neuport* and *Oſtend*, which *England* demanded, the States required to have the Cities, Places and Fortreſſes of *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, *Stevenwaert*, *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Mons*, *Dendermont*, *Damme*, and *St. Donnas*, with all their Appurtenances.

States Demands of the French.

Theſe were Propoſals that no way reliſhed with the Court of *France*; and the King forthwith in a Letter to Monſieur *d'Avaux*, ordered he ſhould tell the Commiſſioners of the States, That *if they would obſerve the Peace of* Reſwick, *his Intention was punctually to obſerve or renew it, but that if they were reſolved to adhere to all the Points of their Demands, he would recal his Ambaſſador.* The truth of it is, they made ſuch a hectoring and bouncing at this time, as if nothing could ſtand in their way, and that the States were but Breakfaſt to them; but they were not ſo eaſily frighted. And Mr. *Stanhope* in the mean time having tranſmitted an Account of his Negotiation to the King, by a Secretary of State acquainted the Houſe of Commons therewith; importing, That the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague* had declared to the Penſionary of *Holland*, That the King his Maſter had no other Anſwer to return to the Demands of the States, but that he was ready to renew and confirm the Treaty of

K. William's Meſſage to the Commons.

, it being all the Security they were to expect, 1701.
that he had no Orders to give any Anſwer to his
eſty's ſaid Envoy; but if the King of *England*
any thing to demand, it might be done by his
baſſador at *Paris*, or to the *French* Miniſter at
don; and that he had no Commiſſion to treat with
but the States. And his Majeſty having alſo re-
ed two Reſolutions of the States, and a Memorial
n their Envoy in *England*, relating to the Ships
y were ſending to join the *Engliſh* Fleet, and the
cours they deſired might be haſtned to them, by
ue of the Treaty made in 1677. his Majeſty
ught fit to communicate the whole to the Houſe,
t they might be more particularly informed of the
ſent State of Affairs abroad, where the Negotiati-
ſeemed to be at an end, by the poſitive Anſwer of
French Ambaſſador to the States, which his Ma-
y recommended to their ſerious Conſideration,
matter of the greateſt Weight and Conſequence,
deſired they would give him ſuch Advice thereupon,
hould be for their own Security, that of the States
neral, and the Peace of *Europe*. The Commons
ing adviſed the King to purſue the Negotiations,
Treaty of 1677. with the *Dutch*, he was now
er ſome ſort of Neceſſity of acknowledging the
ke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*, as the States were
ore.

n the mean time the *French* King ſent more Forces
ly into *Flanders*, where he was now Lord Para-
unt, ſince a bare Letter of his had pack'd the Elector
Bavaria with his Awls for his own Country; for
Support of which Charge, and other the neceſſa-
Supplies of the State, he laid a very ſevere Capita-
n Tax upon his diſtreſſed Subjects. And as *Italy*
gan now to be menaced with an *Imperial* Army, the
reſchal *Catinat* was making himſelf ready to go
command the *French* and *Spaniſh* Troops in the
laneſe, which were daily augmented by new Sup-
s from *France*, chiefly by Sea, and thro the Terri-
ies of *Genua*; as the other Generals were prepar-
to go for their reſpective Poſts, either in *Flanders*
upon the *Rhine*, as they were ordered and appoint-

The Emperor in the mean time was not idle on
his

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his part, but made vaſt Preparations to have a good Army in *Italy* betimes, conſiſting of the beſt of his *Veterane* Troops, and carried on divers Negotiations with the King of *Pruſſia*, and other Princes and States (beſides the Grand one with *England* and *Holland* now on Foot) for ſome of their Troops to be put into his Service; and even in *Italy* it ſelf the Commonalty of *Milan* ſeemed to be better affected towards his Family than that of *Bourbon*. As for the petty Princes of that Country, little yet could be ſaid of them; there were ſo many Troops already in the *Milanese* under Count *Theſſe*, that were enough to cruſh any of them to pieces that ſhould look any thing favourably towards *Auſtria*; and for the Pope, tho he would not grant the Inveſtiture of *Naples* to the Emperor, he denied it to the King of *Spain*, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Uceda* could by no means bring him to ally himſelf with *France* and *Spain*, to keep the *Germans* out of *Italy*. The Republick of *Venice* was perpetually ſolicited by the Cardinal *de Eſtrees* to join with *France*, but they had Artifice enough to elude him for a while: But being preſſed very cloſe upon the matter by him, and he pretending that what *France* propoſed to them, was only out of a pure Motive of her ſincere Friendſhip, and a Deſire to ſecure the Republick from inevitable Misfortunes, which would befal her upon the Entrance of the *Imperial* Troops into *Italy*, from whence he ſaid they would never depart, till they had ſubverted their Liberty, and exhauſted all the noble parts of *Italy*; the Republick ſtill gave him Sugar Plumbs for his Sugar Plumbs; and in the mean time took her own meaſures to preſerve her Territories and Cities on the *Terra firma*, from Aſſault and Surprize. But the Cardinal for all this returning again to the Charge, they anſwered, that having conſidered the Poſture of the preſent Emergencies of their Republick, they found ſhe ought to look upon thoſe as her Friends, that had no Deſire to bring a War upon her State; that therefore having nothing to do to enter into the Reaſons, either of the *French* King, the Emperor and *Spaniards*, ſhe thought it juſt that both the one and the other of thoſe Princes would regard her with the ſame Friendſhip which they had ſo much

French *preſs the* Venetians *to declare for them.*

t to assure her of; and that she should always be 1701.
nemy, who should desire as such, to introduce
into her Dominions.

e Republick proving stanch against all the farther
rtunities of *France*, we shall leave them in this
Mind; and having already mentioned the King
ngland's acknowledging *Anjou* for King of *Spain*,
vaux hereupon represented to the States, That hav- D'Avaux's
ansmitted to his Master the Resolution delivered to *Memorial*
on the 1*st* of *April*, on their part signifying their *to the*
es to have the Conferences in conjunction with *States.*
King of *England*'s Envoy resumed, his Master, to
n he had given an Account of the Answer he himself
communicated to their Lordships, concerning the
ittance of the *English* Envoy, had intirely approved
e same, and been pleased with the Assurances giv-
y their Lordships of the Desire they had to pre-
the Peace: And as his Majesty continued in the
lution of maintaining the Publick Tranquillity,
would consent to every Expedient that might con-
towards securing the common Good and Repose
hristendom; and in order thereunto, he had no
r been acquainted with the Designs of their
lships to renew the Conferences, but that he had
manded his Ambassador to resume the same, and
inue at the *Hague*.

ere I must not pass over the Artifice of *France* in
e, before the King of *England* acknowledged
Duke of *Anjou*, there seemed to be nothing but
which could obstruct the Negotiation; yet they
d still keep the *English* Envoy out, and get the
s to treat separately: But the Deputies of the
s readily apprehending their meaning by the Am-
ty of their Memorial, had a Conference with
vaux, to know his meaning more particularly,
signified to him that the States neither could nor
d enter into any Treaty, but in conjunction
England, their Interests in this Case being insepa-
; and that therefore they desired a positive An-
as to that point, especially, that now the owning
he King of *Spain* had removed the chief Objec-
that was made against treating. The *French* Am-
dor hereupon desired time to send for new In-
structions

1701. ſtructions to *Paris*, which they were no ways forwa
to return, their Deſign being doubtleſs to draw
grand Affair, if there was any probability of it,
lingring Negotiation.

In the mean time we were amuſed in *England*,
the great Preparations of *France* by Sea, as if a Flee
ſixty capital Ships were coming into our Channel,
that they might throw what Force they would
us, unprovided as we were of any conſiderable
ber of Land Troops: But we were well provided
a brave Fleet by the end of *April*; and all the cer
Intelligence we had of the *French* were, that
were fitting up a ſmall Squadron in all haſte for *A*
ca, and they themſelves talked, with the reſt, of d
no leſs than blocking up the *Straits* Mouth, ſo as
neither *Engliſh* nor *Dutch* ſhould paſs it. Indeed
French King by his Agents in *Spain*, regulated th
as he thought fit; he reduced the Gentlemen of
young King's Chamber from 42 to 6, to ſave Mon
the Chamber of the *Indies* was ſuppreſt, and the C
cil of the *Finances* ſuffered very great Reformati
but the *Spaniards*, tho they could not help it, did
like theſe Reformations of pretended Abuſes *ala*
of *France*, and more eſpecially the Suppreſſion of
ſions and Imployments.

In *Italy* Count *Theſſe* having drawn a good Bod
French and *Milaneſe* Troops together, towards
end of *March*; on the 5*th* of *April* he appeared b
Mantua, and having ſeized the moſt advantag
Poſts, there were two Letters ſent to that Duke,
from the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and the other
Theſſe, to require him to deliver up his capital
into their Hands. The Duke, who was undoub
previouſly diſpoſed, and had conſented to a pr
Negotiation, took upon him however to hold a C
cil of War upon the Conjuncture; but the ſame
no ſooner broke up, than that he opened the
to the *French*, and ſo that ſtrong City fell into
Hands (yet not without large Sums) whoſe Situ
together with its Communication with the Lake *de*
da, which was the way thro which, in all probab
the *Imperialiſts* would have forced their way into
Milaneze, diſcovered what Obſtacle it might

Mantua *given up to the* French.

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rm. The *Italians* in general were much ſurprized s Pace of the Duke, but neither they nor the ror could prevent it.

this while the Negotiations at the *Hague* were tand; and *d' Avaux* having at length about the ning of *May* received an Expreſs from *France*, id, he had Orders brought him to return home; aving diſpatched a Courier away on the ſecond, an account of what had paſſed at the Conference d that day with the Deputies of the States, and ved an Anſwer on the 10*th*, he that day delive- Avaux's a Memorial to the States, wherein he acquainted *Memorial.* that he had tranſmitted their Reſolution of the his Maſter, expreſſing their Deſire to renew the erences jointly with the *Engliſh* Envoy, for pre- g the Peace, and eſtabliſhing their particular ſecuri- nd that his Majeſty did entirely approve of the An- the ſaid Ambaſſador gave to their Deputies, rning the Admiſſion of the King of *England*'s y at the ſaid Conferences, and that his Majeſty very well pleaſed with the Aſſurance the States of their Deſire to preſerve the Peace; and as his eſty perſiſted in the ſame Reſolution, ſo he would ad that ſuch means as were moſt conducing to the ral Good of *Europe*, might be found to ſecure the nquillity thereof; and therefore as ſoon as his ter was informed that the States propoſed to ſet the Conferences on foot again, he conſented that his aſſador ſhould renew the ſame. This was all A- ment and Jingle: There were indeed two or e fruitleſs Conferences held hereupon, in the courſe his Month, and the *French* ſtill inſiſted to have States treat alone, without the Concurrence of the *liſh*, to which they would by no means conſent. e mean time the King did all that lay in his Power pply them, for which end he ſent the three *Scotch* iments that were retained in his own Pay in *Scot-* over into *Holland*; and upon their Letter to his eſty, to deſire him to ſend the Men to their Aſſiſt- without delay, as ſtipulated by the Treaty of 7. and how their Country was blocked up every by the Lines and Forts the *French* made all along n the Frontiers; the Parliament reſolved to pro- immediate Succours for them. But

1701. But the *French* on their part ſtill kept their P they filled *Flanders* more and more with Troo they were fitting out a ſtrong Squadron under *D'E* for the *Straits*, the Duke of *Savoy* they gained tirely to their Intereſts; and the *French* King on 24*th* of *May* in the Morning, declared to the For Miniſters, and other Perſons of Quality at C the intended Marriage between the King of *Spain* the Princeſs of *Savoy*: But ſhe was ſo far from be a Fortune, that there was a round Sum of Money p the Duke her Father, by the *French*, to be Gener the Confederate Forces in *Italy*, yet upon condi he ſhould add eight thouſand Men of his own. H ever they amuſed us at this time with a Project of commodation, as if *Flanders* ſhould be given to Duke of *Lorain*, *Lorain* to the *French*, *Rouſſillon* to *Spaniards*, *Milan* to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and Territories to the Arch-Duke *Charles*.

But to leave theſe Shams and Amuſements, we a little ſee now what the Emperor was doing on part, in order to the Proſecution of the War in *I* intended to be begun by him on that ſide; tow which Country, Troops from divers Parts had b marching all this while, and the Army computed thirty thouſand Men, conſiſting of the beſt o Troops, the ſame being commanded in chief by brave Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who on the 20 *May* arrived in the Camp of *Roveredo*, where he a great Council of War; and next Day two Deſe came over to him, and reported that the *French A* which lay on the other ſide of the *Adige*, conſiſte two and twenty Battalions and ſome Cavalry, i pectation of a greater Reinforcement. Wherefor Prince on the 22*d* ſent out two Parties, one tow *Monte Baldo*, and the other towards *Corbelli*, to the Nature of the Places, and get ſome Intelligen the Enemy; while a third was ſent towards *Freda* with the ſame Inſtructions. On the 2 went out himſelf, with ſeveral of his principal O as far as *Chiuſa*, to view the Poſts the *French* po on the other ſide of the *Adige*. The next Day three Parties being returned, brought word, t would be a difficult thing to get over the Mo

ad viewed with the Cavalry and Artillery: How- 1701.
he Prince being returned, another Council of
was held, wherein it was reſolved that a large Germans
ſhould be opened thro a Wood, for which pur- *make*
great number of Peaſants were ſet to work for *their Way*
r three Days together; at what time every thing *into* Italy.
ready, the Army was divided into three Columns,
eginning to file off from *Roveredo* on the 26*th*,
ntred the Plain of *Vincenza* by the 28*th*, by two
t ways, while the Cavalry being ordered to
he Way of *Baſſano*, entred the ſame Plains near
and then the whole Army incamped at *Breonye*.
e Prince *Eugene* ſtopt here, and ſent Count *Palfi*,
Regiment of Horſe, ten Troops of Dragoons,
x Field pieces, to poſt himſelf where a Bridg
be moſt conveniently made over the River, and
ll the Boats he could find; the *French* ſuſpec-
he Prince had a Deſign to break into the *Veroneſe*,
whence he might either march to *Milan* or *Na-*
hey poſted themſelves in the following manner,
t and *Vaudemont* at *Goſſolongo* with nine Battali-
ve Battalions at *Piolbratano*, five near *Verona*,
t *Rivoli*, and nine were ſent with *Vauhencourt* to
the Paſſes into *Ferrara*.

s began the War in *Italy* with incredible Suc-
the *Germans* ſide, eſpecially in paſſing with an
and heavy Artillery over thoſe rugged Hills,
were thought unſurmountable, and has raiſed the
of the Brave General at the Head of them, to the
t pitch of Glory; ſo that Prince *Eugene* may in
meaſure be truly ſaid to have exceeded even the
Hannibal in croſſing the *Rhoſne* and the *Alps*, to
is way into *Italy*, ſince he confeſt himſelf he had
000 men, beſides a vaſt many Horſes and Beaſts
den; whereas we do not find it coſt the Prince
ſe of one Man. To purſue therefore a little the
ſs of the brave *Germans*, ſince their Arrival in
without interrupting the ſame any otherwiſe,
ſerving that the Elector of *Cologn* and King of
al were now brought over to the Intereſt of the
) they decamped from *Breonye* on the 24*th* of
and marched to *Stella Vera*, and from thence to
tonio, whither a Drummer was ſent from the
French

1701. *French* Generals, to let the Imperial Commander kno
that they were perſuaded his Imperial Majeſty's Ge
rals had given no Orders, nor had been informed, t
a Party of about 50 Imperial Grenadiers had paſſed
repaſſed the *Adige* the Day before, within half-M
ket-ſhot of one of the *French* Poſts, which was n
practiſed in a time of the ſtricteſt Union, and
profound Peace. But in regard the Innovation was
ly imputed to the Imprudence of the Officer
commanded the Party, the Imperial Generals m
underſtand, that it was merely out of that Conſid
tion, that they were unwilling to treat that Party
cording to the Rules which had been practiſed a
times: And in regard that they did not find their
ties had committed any ſuch Miſtakes, they hoped
Emperor's Generals would take care that no ſuch
regularity ſhould be committed for the future.
which they anſwered, That they were very well i
med, that a Lieutenant with ſome Grenadiers, ha
Chiuſa paſſed thro a *French* Corps du Guard, and
he could eaſily have brought away the ſaid Guard,
he not had poſitive Orders not to moleſt any bod
ſhoot firſt; and they wondred, that in the pre
Conjuncture, when the Imperial Army was fo
the *French* Troops ſhould make it their Buſineſs,
only to poſt themſelves in all Parts, but to take a
the Boats on this ſide the *Adige*, and diſpute the
ſage of that River with his Imperial Majeſty's Tro
for which reaſon they declared, that the Empe
Troops had Orders to treat as Enemies, all thoſe
diſputed the Paſſage of the *Adige* with them, and
der them from marching afterwards, whither his I
rial Majeſty's Service ſhould call them, more eſpe
ly in a Country, where the ſaid Paſſage ought t
as free for the Imperialiſts as the *French*.

But to be a little more particular in reſpect to
Germans paſſing the *Adige*, we are to take notice,
while the Prince was incamped at *St. Michael* an
Martins near *Verona*, and Count *Palfi* at *Cologna* b
Legnano with a body of 4000 Horſe, Prince *V*
mont and *Catinat* on their part changed their Po
Goſſilongo, and took up their Head Quarters at *C*
di David, and formed two Camps more, one at *Z*

Count *Theſſe*, and another at *St. Giovanni* under *velli*; the Incampment at *Rivoli* ſtill remaining, was under the Marqueſs of *Crenan*, the Cavalry continued over againſt *Legnano*. But notwithing they were thus ſo advantageouſly poſted, they not hinder the *Germans* in ſight of all their Squa- and Battalions about the middle of the Month, paſſing near *la Badia*, in the ſame Place where was poſted with his Cavalry. 1701. Germans *paſs the* Adige.

er they had thus paſſed the *Adige*, they lay ſtill veral Days, which they ſpent in getting Proviſi- gether neceſſary for their Subſiſtence, and ſending arties to view the Country. On the 27*th* of *June* advanced to Canal *Bianco*, near *Caſtel Gulielmo*, d a Bridg there, and ſent over ſome Horſe and and by their various Movements amuſed the *h* very much. But leaving them here for a little and obſerving only that the Cardinal *d' Eſtrees* ow imployed at the Courts of *Parma* and *Mode-* s well as with the *Venetians*, to feel their Pulſes, o endeavour to engage them in the *French* Inte- as there was another Miniſter ſent to the States *abia* ſitting at this time, with a Deſign to hinder from engaging in the Intereſt of the Emperor, ow publiſhes his Manifeſto, and cites the Duke of *ua* to anſwer for his Defection, as a Feudatary of mpire; We proceed to the remaining part of the tiation at the *Hague* (if it may be ſo called) and we find *M. de Avaux* perceiving all his Wheed- ould not do, as his laſt Effort pretends to put the Game upon the States: For after ſome little ings, in his Memorial preſented to them to- s the end of *July*, he ſaid that he ſhould abuſe laſter, ſhould he write to him that any Succeſs o be expected from the Conferences; That his r had too diſcerning a Judgment, after the King *reat Britain*'s Envoy had declared, That his Maſ- ould never depart from the Intereſt of the Em- ; That he would not enter upon any Propoſals commodation, unleſs Satisfaction were given that e; That the Ties between their Lordſhips and ing of *England* were too ſtrict, and had too well known their blind Submiſſion to the Sentiments

1701. of that Monarch, and no doubt that they had already taken Reſolution, to make the ſame Declaration to the moſt Chriſtian King's Ambaſſador. Indeed they had done it already beforehand, by declaring that their Commiſſioners ſhould not continue the Conferences without the Intervention of the *Engliſh* Envoy; ſo that if he excluded himſelf, the Conferences were ſuſpended; and therefore it would be to no purpoſe for the moſt Chriſtian King's Ambaſſador, ſent only for the ſake of thoſe Conferences, to continue longer at the *Hague*, where if he had not the Satisfaction to fulfil his Majeſty's Intentions, in eſtabliſhing a durable Peace between him and the United Provinces, yet it would be ſome Conſolation to him, that he made known the King's Deſire to contribute whatever depended upon him to prevent a Rupture of the Publick Peace; That he had taken Arms in the Defence of his Grandſon only, and that if it had been his Deſign to make new Conqueſts, he might have done it, when his Forces on the Frontiers of their Republick afforded him means to have made his Advantage of their Weakneſs. Laſtly, he wiſhed their Lordſhips, convinced by his Majeſty's Conduct of the Sincerity of his Intentions, would while it was yet time, take ſuch Reſolutions as might be conformable to their true Intereſts.

D'Avaux *Memorial.*

The States having made the Count an Anſwer accordingly, the Negotiation quite broke off; and I will leave him now to pack up his Awls, and prepare to return home, and paſs again over the *Alps* into *Italy*, where we left the Armies laſt about the *Adige*; towards the end of *June*, a Detachment was ſent under the Imperial General *Vaubonne* over the *Po*, which a ſmall Party of *Germans* defeated another of the *French* under *Pracontal*, killed 38 of them, 3 Officers and took about 30 Priſoners, with the Loſs of 2 Men only, and 10 Wounded. But this Detachment over the *Po* ſeemed to be only a Stratagem of War; for to gain the Paſs at *Carpi*, in order to have a free Communication with *Germany*, was the great Work that agitated Prince *Eugene*'s Mind, and which was gallantly performed in this manner. He ordered a Bridge be made over the *Po*, to amuſe the Enemy, and

ng drawn all his Forces together, upon the 8th of he took the Way to *Triconto* on the *Tartaro*, toward *Caſtel Gulielmo*, marching in two Co-ns, the Left commanded by Prince *Commercy*, and Right by Prince *Eugene* himſelf; and the Deſign kept ſo ſecret, and ſo punctually executed, that two Bodies arrived almoſt at the ſame time, be-n two and three next Morning, upon the Banks of *Tartaro*, where two Bridges were making. To ent the Diſcovery of which, Col. *Daun* was poſ-n the Iſle of *Villa bona*, with Orders to obſerve Enemy, and (if they ſhould march to prevent the ng of the ſaid two Bidges) to paſs the River, and ge them in the Rear. Count *Weiner* alſo General he Artillery, had Orders to ſend 20 pieces of Can-to Col. *Daun*, and to poſt himſelf with the Left e *Caſtel Baldo*, and to fire upon ſuch Reinforce-s as the Enemy ſhould ſend to their Detachments *Carpi*. But contrary to Expectation, the *French* red the two Bridges upon the *Tartaro* to be fini-; ſo that notwithſtanding the Rain and Darkneſs he Night, the Imperialiſts continued their March ſcovered, and unknown to the *French*: And the t Column commanded by Prince *Eugene* himſelf, nced towards the Enemies firſt Poſt at *Caſtagnano*, e Canal *Bianco*; but the Left commanded by *Com-* and *Palfi*, could not come on ſo faſt, having a Circuit thro a Road both deep and narrow.

1701.

owever, Prince *Eugene* being unwilling to loſe , attacked this firſt Retrenchment, and having d the Enemy after a ſtout Reſiſtance to quit it, ed his Men in it. From whence advancing to a d of the *French* Retrenchments, where the Canal co comes out of the *Adige*; they were juſt ready ll on, when the Enemy retired to their Camp at . Here the *Germans* made but a ſhort ſtay till the f the Forces came up, and then advancing to , fell upon the *French* in their third and grand In-hment on that ſide, which was ſo much the more ult to be done, becauſe the Ground thereabouts marſhy and full of Buſhes; ſo that the Imperia-could hardly ſee one another at the diſtance of Paces, which was the reaſon that a Regiment of

Fight at Carpi.

1701. Curaſſiers advancing too far from the main Body, an being ſtrenuouſly charged by the *French*, had ſuffere very much, had they not been ſuccoured by ſome Pa ties of Foot, and part of another Regiment of Cur ſiers. The Engagement was obſtinate on both ſid but the *French* at laſt were forced to quit their l trenchment, with the Loſs of 1700 Soldiers, beſi one Brigadier-General, two Colonels, and 40 oth Officers ſlain, four Captains, five other Officers, a 100 common Soldiers taken Priſoners; ſome part their Baggage, the reſt having been ſent away in t Heat of the Fight, was alſo taken, with a pair of K tledrums and 200 Horſes. On the *Germans* ſide w ſlain, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Cornet, and common Soldiers, with about 50 Wounded, as was ſo Prince *Eugene* himſelf in the Left Knee, and an A de Camp in his Right Shoulder. The *French* ind ſent a body of Men from *San Pietro di Legnano*, ſuccour their Friends; but finding it was too late, fearing to be attacked by the Imperialiſts, they re red in ſome Diſorder.

After the Imperialiſts had in this manner made th ſelves Maſters of the Poſt at *Carpi*, the *French* q ted *Rivoli*, and all the other Poſts upon the *Adi* leaving the *Germans* a free Communication with Country of *Tirol*, the main thing which the *Fre* had all this while been endeavouring to hinder. the other ſide, the Imperialiſts the next day after Fight, advanced and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Franca*; not far from whence *Catinat* ſtood with Army in order of Battel, and every body expe an Engagement; but the Imperialiſts kept cloſe in t Camp, ſo that *Catinat* decamped next Day for the ver *Mincio*, and paſſing the ſame, incamped not from *Goito*, a convenient Paſs to prevent the *Ger* from doing the like.

Prince *Eugene* on the 18*th* of *July* by break of went along the *Mincio*, as far as *Peſchiera*, to ob the Country, and in his way ſaw the *French* Cam the other ſide at *Goito*. On the 19*th*, the Imp Generals went out again to view the Paſſes and nues, and found the *French* Camp acceſſible on ſide; at the ſame time *Serini* was ſent with a D

1701.

nt into the *Mantuan*, where he did ſome Executi-
Nothing more of moment hapned till the 23*d*
y the *French* ſeemed to draw Lines, and ſo to for-
themſelves, as if they reſolved to diſpute the Paſ-
of the *Mincio*) but on that day, Prince
demont ſent a Trumpeter with a Letter to Prince
ene, importing, That ſince it ſeemed both Armies
e like to proceed to open Hoſtilities, he made no
ple to be the firſt that ſhould deſire a Cartel. To
ch the Prince anſwered, That tho he had no Com-
ds from the Emperor, yet he was willing to enter
a Treaty to that effect, upon the ſame Foot the
tel was made in *Piedmont*, or upon the *Rhine* du-
the late War, on condition the Cartel was
e between the Emperor and *French* King. Now if
French had agreed to this, they muſt have made
nſelves Principal in the War, which would have
ed very groſs indeed, whereas they would be
ght only Auxiliaries, tho they managed all; when
he other hand, it would have been unreaſonable to
ct the Emperor ſhould enter into a Cartel, with
e whom he alledged to be his Subjects, and in the
ne of a Prince, whoſe Title he was ſo far from
ing, that he could look upon him as no other than
lſurper of his rightful Inheritance.

audemont on the 15*th* made another Eſſay to Prince
ene for ſettling a Cartel to no purpoſe; and on the
day the Duke of *Savoy*, after having received the
ey promiſed him from *France*, arrived in the
ch Camp, now conſiderably reinforced with his
other Troops, which yet did not at all diſcourage
brave *Germans*, who were reſolved, if poſſible, to
the *Mincio*: In order to which, the Army about
t Night marched in three Columns, the Left Wing
he way of *Villa Franca*, *St. Luica* and *Balzane*,
Right marched to the Left of *Villa*; and before the
guard of both Wings, marched a Squadron of Dra-
s, and three Companies of Granadiers, and each
mn had 16 Guns with them: The reſt of the Ar-
y with the Baggage made the third Column, and
their way to *Summa Campagna*, *St. Georgi*, &c.
with 1200 Horſe had Orders not only to cover
March of the Army, but alſo to advance to the E-

Germans *paſs the* Mincio.

1701. nemies Camp at *Goito*, and alarm them, that in case they hapned to have any notice of the *Germans* March, and made any Motion, he might give them a Diversion as long as possible. At the same time, Adjutant General *Riedt* was ordered to lade divers Boats and other Materials for Bridges upon Waggons, which were got together with great Privacy at *Gossolingo*, and to bring them by ten at Night to *St. Leonce* on the *Mincio*, where the Army arrived on the 29*th* by break of Day. Prince *Eugene* was got thither before, but *Riedt* could not come till 8 in the Morning, and brought only Materials for one Bridg, which was finished by Noon, and the Forces by night were all got over to the other side. Every body expected there would have been an Engagement that day, seeing the Bridg was so near the *French* Army, that they might have rendered the Passage of the *Germans* very difficult, if not wholly impossible; but they neglected the Opportunity, and the *Germans* quietly incamped their Army between *Peschiera* and *Ponti*, in order of Battel. *Vaubonne* on the 29*th*, killed 200 of the *French* advanced Guard, and drove the rest to their very Camp. The *Germans* thought to have marched on the 30*th*, but being informed the *French* were in full March toward *Capriana*, it was delayed till next Day, when early in the Morning they advanced in two Columns to their new Camp, upon the Rising Grounds of *Desenzano*, and seeing they marched within a little Mile of the *French*, it was expected they would have attacked them, but they stood in order of Battel, without making any Motion.

I shall not pursue the particular Marches or Countermarches of either *French* or *Germans*, but content myself to observe, that the latter almost in all Skirmishes and Rencounters, had the better by much of the other; that they took *Castiglione*, and *Castelgodofredo* in which *Mantuan* opened its Gates to them; that the Inhabitants of *Capriana* submitted themselves to the Emperor; that *Volta*, *Chidizuolas*, *Pimbesa*, *Ceresari*, &c. did the same. But the *French* being by this time considerably reinforced, and *Villeroy* (who was dispatched on purpose from *France*, to command the Army after their Defeat at *Carpi*) having on the 24*th* of *Au*

iewed the ſame, he found they conſiſted in all of 1701.
Battalions and 88 Squadrons, with which he had
itive Orders to give the *Germans* Battel; in order
which *Pracontal* was diſpatched with ſome Troops
a great Number of Trumpets to alarm the Ene-
on the ſide of *Palazzuolo*. On the 29*th* of *Aug.*
ut Midnight, the *French* began to march in three
umns, the Cavalry in one, the Infantry in another,
the Artillery and Baggage in the Center: The
laſt paſſed over the *Oglio* upon two Bridges that
been prepared with great Expedition. the Horſe
led it; and the whole Army having got over with-
any Oppoſition, encamped at *Rudiano*, having one
al on their Right, and another on their Left. On
30*th* they advanced within two Miles of the *Ger-*
s, who on the 31*ſt* poſſeſt themſelves of *Chiari*; and
eral *Guttenſtein* was poſted there with two Battali-
of his Regiment, and ſome pieces of Cannon, and
eaſtwork was caſt up to cover their Foot. They
ſome Forces alſo into the Mills and Houſes on the
of *Chiari*, the reſt of their Infantry were drawn
n two Lines, and the Cavalry behind them in the
Order; on each ſide the Town, their Artillery
placed amongſt the Infantry: And in this Poſture
expected the *French* and other Confederates to at-
them. Accordingly on the 1*ſt* of *Septemb.* they
d them beat a March before break of day, upon
h the *Germans* drew up in order of Battel. A-
ten in the Morning the *French* General Officers,
had a ſtrong Guard with them, approached near
German Line, but ſome of their Cannon firing
n them they retired; and ſoon after they were in-
ed by a Priſoner, that the chief Deſign of the
ch was to attack the Houſes and Mills already men- *Battel of*
ed, where ſome of their Troops were poſted; and *Chiari.*
fect about two in the Afternoon, they advanced
ttle and little till they came ſo near the *Germans*,
their advanced Guards were forced to retire. A-
half an Hour after two, the *French* with three
ades of *Normandy*, *Anjou* and *Auvergne*, and
half the Brigade of *Vaiſſeaux*, attacked thoſe
ſes, where the *Germans* defended themſelves for-
time, but were at length obliged to retire (which

1701. they did in very good Order) and yield those Po
to the *French*, who did not long keep poſſeſſion
them; for the Battalions of *Guttenſtein*, and the G
nadiers of *Nigrelli*, *Herberſtein* and *Daun*, that w
poſted behind them on the Left, and one Battalion w
the Company of Granadiers of *Mansfield*, that w
poſted in like manner behind them on the Right, c
up and attacked the *French* there, and cutting them
to pieces, recovered thoſe Poſts. In this Action
Germans took four Colours of the Regiment of
mandy. At the ſame time the *French* attacked a
that was guarded by one of the Battalions of *Gu*
ſtein, but were repulſed with conſiderable Loſs:
about the ſame Juncture alſo, part of their Army
tacked the Battalions of *Nigrelli*, *Herberſtein*
Kirchbaum, that were upon the Left, who perm
them to advance very near, and received them
ſuch a fire, that moſt of them were killed upo
Spot. The *French* imployed in theſe Attacks 17
talions of their beſt Troops, which were ſuppo
by all their Infantry; but they met with ſuch vig
Reception, that they were forced to retire in Co
on: But on the *German* ſide only one Battalion of
field, two of *Nigrelli*, one of *Guttenſtein*, two of
baum, and the four Companies of Granadier
Mansfield, *Nigrelli*, *Herberſtein* and *Daun*, ha
ſhare in this Action. The *Germans* indeed h
much the Advantage of Ground and otherwiſe
at the ſame time, 'tis hardly credible with how
Bravery all their Troops behaved themſelv
ſay nothing of the great Conduct and Courage o
Generals. The *French* in this Action had at leaſt
Men killed and wounded, among whom were 20
ficers; and the *Germans* took 16 others, who were
rouſly wounded, and about 100 common Soldiers
ners; whereas on their ſide, they had only 36 M
led, 2 of them Lieutenants, and 81 wounded, 3 o
were likewiſe Lieutenants. This is the Subſtance
Account given by the *Germans*, concerning the
of that Day, from which the *French* themſel
not much vary, only they highly magnified the
of their Troops, tho they were beaten, and do n
ſo many Men to have been ſlain, yet make the

e very conſiderable, and of the Number of the were divers Officers of note. The *Germans* ha- thus bravely maintained their Poſt, we ſhall leave for the preſent, ſending out divers Parties to an- their Enemies with very good Succeſs; the Particu- whereof being too minute for a Hiſtory of this , we are to take notice that as there was an open ture in *Italy* without any formal Declaration of r, every thing ſeemed to concur towards it on our of *Europe*; the Conferences were entirely ceaſed, Count *d'Avaux* had left the *Hague*, and was gone *France*; and the Death of *James* II. late King of *land* (as the *French* managed it) which hapned at *Germains en Lay* on the 6*th* of *September* O. S. t neceſſarily tend towards making the Breach wi- by the *French* King's owning his pretended Son for g of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. What his cy therein was can hardly be penetrated into: e general Opinion was that he deſigned thereby to o up the *Jacobite* Party ſtill in the Nation, and ſo all he could to perpetuate our Diviſions; tho others e looked upon it to have been an Action ſavouring e of Madneſs than of true Wiſdom, at ſuch a cri- l Juncture when the Friendſhip of any neighbour- Prince or State was ſo neceſſary to him, and that Council by a great Majority were againſt it. King *liam* who was then at *Loo*, was no ſooner informed this unaccountable Pace of the *French* in ſetting up, the old Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, a new *Perkin War-* to be King of his Dominions, but he ſent (as I have n credibly informed) a Courier to the King of *den*, as Guarantee of the Treaty of *Reſwick*, to e him an account of this manifeſt Violation of it; on the ſame day ſent another to my Lord *Man-* *ter* his Ambaſſador in *France*, to come away forth- h without taking any leave.

1701.

bout the ſame time Mr. *Pouſſin* the *French* Secreta- reſiding at *London* was ordered by the Lords Juſti- to withdraw by a limited Day out of the King- n; about which time there was a ſcandalous Paper nted, as 'tis ſuppoſed, by his Directions, entituled, French *King's Reaſons for owning the pretended nce of* Wales *King of* England; and given out

French *Reaſons for owning the Prince of* Wales *King of* England.

to

1701. to be communicated in a Letter from *Paris* to a G
tleman in *London*; and the ſame contained in
ſtance, That as the *French* King had treated him
Prince of *Wales* during his Father's Life, it was a
tural Conſequence that after his Deceaſe he would
him King of *England*; That no Umbrage could be
ken at that, ſince they did not apprehend there lay
them any Engagement or Obligation to the contra
That there could none ariſe from the Treaty of
wick was obvious enough, ſince the fourth Article
ported only, that the *French* King ſhould not tro
the King of *England* in the Poſſeſſion of his Do
ons, and that he ſhould not either with Troops, Sh
or any other Supplies aſſiſt ſuch as would give him
Diſturbance; That he had punctually obſerved
Article, and the Character which the pretended Pr
of *Wales* thought himſelf indiſpenſibly obliged to
after his Father's Death, did not entitle him to
Succours from *France*, beſides ſuch as his Father
received ſince the Treaty of *Reſwick*, and were
ſigned only for his Subſiſtence, and to condole
under his Misfortunes; That the *French* King's
neroſity would not permit him to abandon e
the pretended Prince or his Family, and that his
jeſty being no Arbitrator between the King of G
Britain and the pretended Prince of *Wales*, he c
not do ſo deciſive a thing againſt the latter, as to
cline owning him by the Title which (they
was derived to him from his Birth; That it was
new thing to continue to Children the Titles of K
doms which their Fathers had loſt; That it had
done without Scruple by Princes, who at the ſame
were at peace with the preſent Poſſeſſors; That H
ry furniſhed them with frequent Examples among
Kings of *Navarre* and *Naples*, and that they
that the Kings of *Poland* of the Houſe of *Vaſa* ret
the Stile of Kings of *Sweden* ever till the Peace o
va, tho that Treaty was made long after their E
ſion, and that they had engaged in ſtrict Alliances
with King *Guſtavus* and Queen *Chriſtina* in the
rim; That the *French* King had declared that h
tention was only to treat the pretended Prin
Wales with the ſame regard he had expreſt to

King *James* ſince the Peace of *Reſwick*, and had no Thoughts of diſturbing the Repoſe of upon any pretence whatſoever. The Reaſons ſo weak as not to be worth refuting; however I ave to ſay, that it had been no ill foreſight in our tentiaries at *Reſwick* to have brought in a Clauſe Treaty concerning the Succeſſion of the Prin- now Queen of *England*, as matters then ſtood. he reſt, I take it to be a direct piece of Falſ- affirm, that there were ſtrict Alliances be- the Kings of *Poland* of the Houſe of *Vaſa*, g *Guſtavus* and Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*, be- Peace of *Oliva*, wherein the latter any way the former the Stile of Kings of *Sweden*. It's hey might own the others whether in Peace or r Kings of *Poland*, ſince they really were ſo, er of *Sweden* either before or after that Trea- m the time that *Charles* IX. King *Guſtavus* his aſſumed that Crown. Then for the other Exam- *Navarre* and *Naples*, I ſay, thoſe pretended Kings *rench*, uſually ſupported in their Pretenſions *ch* Power, tho with ill Succeſs enough; and any other Nation regarded or thought them of that Title.

1701.

to leave this unaccountable Procedure of the in reſpect to his pretended Highneſs being enti- Majeſty, if we ſhould reſume the Account of the in *Italy*, we ſhall find the *Germans* after the s Action at *Chiari*, not only maintain their Poſt, their Parties procure daily Advantages over the ; more particularly that performed by Prince of *Vaudemont* is worth relating. That Prince e *German* Forces that were on the other ſide of *lio*, conſiſting of eight hundred Horſe and undred Huſſars, paſſed the *Adda* on the 30*th* *ober*, and next morning by break of Day ſur- near *Tracaſſone*, *Albignano* and *Caſſano*, the Re- of Dragoons of *Montroy*, Part of *Valdeſuen-* d two Troops of *Copola*'s Regiment of Horſe. ok *Montroy* his Major, and ſeveral other Offi- iſoners, whom he found moſt of them in their he alſo took eleven Standards, one pair of Ket- ns, and five hundred Horſes, with as much of

Young Pr. Vaude- mont *de- feats the Enemy.*

the

1701. the Enemies Baggage as he could bring off, and ſtroy'd the reſt. His Men gave quarter to above Troopers, and killed about five hundred with the of but two Men; while the Duke *del Seſto* and *fuente*, who commanded theſe Forces, had much to make their Eſcapes.

I ſhould have mentioned before that there had a kind of an Inſurrection in the Kingdom of *Nap* favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but that the ſame ha been ſuppreſt, and ſeveral Perſons concern'd therei to death, while others were impriſoned, Prince E ſent a Letter to the Governor of *Milan*, to let him un

P. Eugene's *Letter to P.* Vaudemont.

ſtand that he had received the Emperor's Order treat the Officers who were his Priſoners in the manner as the Viceroy of *Naples* ſhould deal by Perſons he had impriſoned for their good Intention ſerve the Emperor, and particularly the Baron of *tinet*; and that his Imperial Majeſty's Good was to be admired, for that he had taken no venge for the infamous Uſage that the Coun *Sangro* and ſeveral others had ſuffered; that was perſwaded it wasquite contrary to the nerous Sentiments of thePrince of *Vaudemont* t prove of ſuch rigorous Proceedings of the Vic (no doubt the *French* wereat the bottom of it whom he deſired the Prince to impart the E ror's Intentions in that matter with all the ſpeed might be.

In the mean time the *French* and *Spaniſh* Pri were put under a cloſer Confinement; and now Confederate Generals quite contrary to their Boaſt conſtrained in every thing to give way to P *Eugene*, and no longer able to contain themſelv mong the Confluences of ſo many Rivers, in a C try which they had quite devoured for many round about, and tired out with fetching their Fo with ſo much Loſs and in continual Danger, beg think of ſhifting their Paſture, and to remove like *Samoedes* and *Tartars* into more plentiful Qua

French *decamped firſt in* Italy.

To this purpoſe on the 12*th* of *November* at they began to move, at what time the Imperial guards gave notice to Prince *Eugene* that they hea great noiſe in the Enemies Camp, and could di

that blazed in divers Places; upon which ſeveral 1701.
s were ſent out to get Intelligence, but finding
Out-guards poſted after their uſual manner, they
not get near enough to obſerve things exactly:
ext morning they had Intelligence, that the
h had decamped about midnight without Beat of
, and in great precipitation. Whereupon Prince
e went out with a ſtrong Party himſelf, and find-
e Relation true, he cauſed ten Field-pieces to be
ed on the Banks of the River, where a ſtout De-
ent of Granadiers was alſo poſted, while another
a Body of Horſe was ſent over one of the Bridges
the *French* had laid over the *Oglio*, but in their
March had not time to break down. The Impe-
s fired upon the Enemy with their Field-pieces and
Arms, and did ſome Execution, and particularly
areſchal *de Catinat* was wounded in the right
with a Musket-ball. Next day the *French* advan-
Calza in terrible weather and deep ways; and
the 15*th* Intelligence came to the Imperial Gene-
at the *French* had gariſoned *Soncino* and *Fontanel-*
d were marched to *Picerigo*, while Prince *Eugene*
ſame time ſent away his Artillery to *Caſtiglione*,
ing only twelve Field-pieces with him. Soon
General *Vaubonne* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Caſtle
iano in the Territory of *Bozzoli*, which he had an
pon: the *French* had indeed ſuffered extremely in
wet low Camp at *Ponte Oglio*; and the Duke of
and his Forces leaving their Camp about this
and returning home, brought them ſtill into a fee-
Condition: Whereas the *Germans* who before were
inferior to them in Numbers, daily expect-
Reinforcement of ſix thouſand *Danes*, and
mperial Regiments of Foot, which arrived in *I-*
ot long after, towards the Beginning of *Decem-*

the mean time Prince *Eugene*, as ſoon as the
were decamped, broke up from *Ponte Oglio*,
way his right Wing, the Foot under Count *Gui-*
Staremburg, the Horſe under the Prince of *Vau-*
t, and the Train of Artillery under Count *Wei-*
wards *Palbuino*. Two days after the reſt of the
decamped, and the whole Army was quartered,
the

1701. the right Wing near the Place before-mentioned, t
Left under the Command of Count *Trautſman*
near *Verola Vecchia* and *Verola Nueres*, all the Infa
try near *Maneco* and *Breſcia*, and the Artillery
Germans *take* Caneto. *Gonde d' Iſtrella.* While the Prince lay at *Palbu*
the Fort of *Caneto* after a Siege of three or four d
was ſurrendred to him at diſcretion; to which
bold and daring Act of a Soldier in the Regiment
Daun did not a little contribute, who ſwimming
Moat, clambered up the Walls of the Town, and
ting to the Draw-bridg, cut the Rope that pulled
held it up; ſo that the Bridg falling down gave
trance to the Imperialiſts, who marched directly
the Caſtle, upon which Colonel *Maulevrier*, who
thrown himſelf into the Place but a day or two bef
would have capitulated, but they were all made Pr
ners of War.

The *French* to revenge this Loſs in ſome mea
obtained an Advantage over Colonel *Merci*, who
ing advanced into the *Mantuan* with about five h
dred *Germans*, *Teſſe* having Intelligence of it,
eight hundred Horſe againſt him, each with a Gr
dier behind him; nevertheleſs the *Germans* bra
defended themſelves, till being overlaid by Num
they were put into Diſorder; ſo that *Merci* was ta
and near two hundred of his Men (according to
French account) ſlain. But that which made m
than amends for this, was the continual Progre
Prince *Eugene*, who had poſſeſt himſelf of all the
ces abandoned by the *French*, whereby he was be
Maſter of all the Dutchy of *Mantua* except
and the Capital it ſelf, where *Teſſe* commanded a
merous Gariſon of eight or ten thouſand Men. In
mean while Prince *Eugene* had his head Quarter
Borgo Forte, from which, upon the private Invit
of the Dutcheſs of *Guaſtalla*, he ſent thither a
tachment of *Germans*, who packed away the F
without their Arms, and poſſeſſed themſelves
They likewiſe in a manner cut off the Communic
between *Goito* and *Mantua*; and the Duke of *M*
having bravely withſtood all the Threats and Imp
nities of the *French*, now at length admits a Bo
Germans into his ſtrong Fortreſs of *Berſello*, a Pl

Conſequence to them both for Situation and th; after which they went into their Winter ers on both ſides the *Po*, where at preſent we ave them, tho they will not long reſt here, as ppear by and by. 1701.

how ill ſoever things went with the *French* on e of *Italy*, they ſeemed to proſper but too much at of *Germany*. They by their Money had ſure of the Dukes of *Wolfenbuttel*, and the E- of *Cologn* began now to act barefac'd in their ; for on the 22*d* of *November* he received *French* s into *Nuis*, *Keyſerwaert*, and *Zons*, and at the ime they were admitted into *Liege*; *Rhineberg* ſo filled in the ſame manner, and moſt other Pla- Conſequence except *Bonn*, while the Magiſtracy *logn* reſolved to receive in a Body of *Dutch* s for their better Security. Divers Efforts were both now and before by the King of *England* he States General, as well as by his Imperial y, to bring this ungrateful Elector off from the Intereſt, but in vain. However the *French* to pal- he matter agreed with him that their Men ſhould nder the Denomination of *Auxiliary Troops of rcle of* Burgundy. In the mean time, to ſhew ood Nature and Authority, they preſently after Admiſſion into *Liege*, ſeized the Baron of , the Grand Dean of the Chapter of St. *Lam-* nd ſome others, and ſent him to *Namur*; and reported *Montrevel* the *French* General's Lan- to the Citizens oppreſt with the Soldiers was, *uſt learn to obey, for 'tis the King's Pleaſure it be ſo, and I command it*; and the Deputation Chapter ſent to Count *Berlo* about this Affair d juſt nothing, ſince he was not in a Condition them any Service. French *enter* Keyſerwaert, Liege, *&c.*

notwithſtanding this forward Pace made by towards a Rupture with the Empire, ſhe was ſtill ding Peace, and the Maintenance of the Treaty *ſwick*, and laboured by her Miniſters in foreign s to throw the blame upon others, alledging, he Troops ſent by the *Dutch* into the Dutchy *iers*, at the Requeſt of the Elector *Palatine*, warmly alarmed the Elector of *Cologn*, he ſent French *juſtify themſelves.*

to

1701. to the Elector *Palatine*, desiring to surcease all Actio
of Mistrust, which the March of Foreign For
might give to the Provinces of the Empire; That
Elector *Palatine's* dubious Answers increased the Elec
of *Cologn*'s Jealousy; so that from that very time
might have demanded Succour for the security of
Fortresses; but that he rather chose to leave them e
posed, than to draw upon himself the Reproach
contributing to the raising of a War in *Germa*
That in the mean time the Elector *Palatine* ha
caused the *Dutch* Troops to cross the *Rhine*, in
der to enter the Country of *Juliers*, the Elector
Cologn had been forced to crave Aid of the *Fre*
King, which the Elector admitted into his Fortr
under the Name of the Auxiliary Troops of the Ci
of *Burgundy*; that they were not designed to begi
War, but that they were entred into those Fortre
only for their own Security, and the Preservation
the Person of the Elector of *Cologn*, and to maint
Peace in *Europe*, declaring they should retire when
Appearances of War ceased.

To these the *French* King added other Letters
some of the same Ministers, conceived in differ
Terms, but still tending to the same Points, *viz.* T
the King had been given to understand that his Tro
had taken possession, not only of all the Elector of
logn's Fortresses, except *Bon*, but of the City
Cittadel of *Liege*; that all had been done by the
der of the Elector himself, and that they accompli
their Work without any Obstacle; and that the
Elector would be certainly upbraided for having
mitted Foreign Troops into the Empire. But be
that the Right and Sovereignty of the Empire allo
him to receive the Succour of Princes, who were
Enemies to the Empire, certain it was that the Ele
Palatine had first of all called in Foreign Aid;
they were entred into his Dominions, and had p
the *Rhine* with a Design to attack the Elector o
logn's strong Holds; that they marched to *Liege*
the King's Troops were admitted into it, so that
Elector of *Cologn* was forced in Prudence to take
a Resolution, which he could no longer dispense
without exposing his Person and States to evident

And laſtly, that they were convinced that they 1701.
ſhould judg impartially upon the Poſture of Af-
would acknowledg that the Elector *Palatine* by
onduct, had been the occaſion of the King's For-
ntring into the Electorate of *Cologn*; and that if
ality cauſed Men to have other Sentiments, it
better for the Elector of *Cologn* to find himſelf
ed to falſe Judgments, than to be threatned with
oſs of his Dominions.

ich about this time the Magiſtracy of *Cologn* re-
l a Letter from the *French* King, wherein he of-
a Neutrality for that City, and to keep a good
eſpondence with them as a Neighbour and Friend;
hat Letter wrought no change in their Reſolu-
ſo that when they had peruſed it, they deter-
l not to depart from the Reſolves of the Circle
Veſtphalia, but conform to the Determination
the Commiſſioners of that Circle had taken, or
l hereafter take, in reference to the Affairs of the
t Conjuncture.

to leave theſe Parts, and reſume the remainder 1702.
s Winter Campagn (as I may call it) in *Italy*:
Eugene had not been long in Quarters of Re-
nent before he formed a Deſign of ſurprizing *Cre-*
the head Quarters of the *French* Army; and
duly weighed the Advantages and Dangers that
l attend ſuch an Enterprize, he went to work
the Aſſurance, that there was a private Paſſage
n old neglected Aqueduct, whereby he might get
ith the Help of Guides, a ſufficient number of
o open one of the Gates, to let in the reſt of
roops. In purſuance of which, the Body of Men
ed for this Service being arrived at the general
vouz, they received their ſeveral Orders in this
r: A Sub-Lieutenant of *Geſchwind*'s Granadiers
4 Granadiers led the Van, after whom followed
Hoffman Major of the ſame Regiment, a Cap-
Lieutenant and an Enſign with two hundred
next came the Major of the Regiment of *Lo-*
with as many Officers and Soldiers of the ſame
nent, as alſo a Company of Granadiers, and a
ed of *Bagni*'s Men; after theſe marched the
mant Colonel of *Heberſtein*'s Regiment, with a

1702. like Number of Officers, Soldiers and Granadiers to which were joined a hundred Men of *Geſchwind's* Regiment: In the laſt place marched a Lieutenant Colonel with a Company of *Bagni's* Granadiers, consiſting of a hundred Men, a hundred of his own Regiment, and two hundred of *Heberſtein* and *Bagni's* Men. To theſe they added a Captain, a Lieutenant, an Enſign, aud inferior Officers proportionably.

As for the Horſe they were ſo diſpoſed, that the Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Lorain* with four Captains, five Lieutenants, four Cornets, four Watch-Maſters, fourteen Corporals, and two hundred and twenty three Maſters ſhould lead the Van, and ſhould be followed by a Lientenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Taff*, with three hundred and twenty five Horſe under their Officers, with the Kettle Drums and ſix Standards of the Regiment; next unto them went the Major of the Regiment of *Lorain*, with the like Number of Officers, Horſemen, Standards and Kettle Drums; and theſe were followed by the Major of the Regiment of *Neuburg*, with the reſt of the Regiment's Standards and Kettle Drums; and laſtly *Paul Ack* brought up the Rear with the reſt of his Huſſars. In this Order they began their March an hour before Night towards *Cremona*, with all the ſilence that could be.

Germans *attempt* Cremona. On the 1*ſt* of *February* Prince *Eugene*, Prince *Commercy*, and General *Staremburg* got within an *Italian* Mile of *Cremona*, where they waited for the Troops, who by reaſon of the badneſs of the Ways, and unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather, did not all arrive till break of Day, at what time they began to proceed for the Surprize of the City, in this manner: The Major of *Geſchwind's* Regiment, with the Lieutenant that commanded the twenty five Granadiers, and the Carpenters and Smiths appointed for this purpoſe were to march with all poſſible ſilence, and take the way to the City which his Guide ſhould ſhew him. And being got in thro the private Paſſage aforeſaid they were to keep themſelves concealed till the Lieutenant Colonel of *Heberſtein's* Regiment, and the Major of *Lorain's* were alſo entred the City, when the three were to ſeize the Gate, to put the *Corps du Guard* to the Sword, and poſt themſelves at the Gate, and alſo upon the Rampart.

ccordingly the Major of *Geſchwind*'s Regiment ed *St. Margaret's* Gate, after he had put the *Corps* *uard*, and others that came to their Aſſiſtance the Cazerns, to the Sword; *Heberſtein*'s Lieut Colonel did the ſame, but becauſe he could not the Governor's Houſe, he poſted himſelf in another no leſs advantageous. The Gate being thus ed, Count *Mercy* rode in a full Gallop to the *Po* , where the *French* had planted Cannon to defend rt they had on the other ſide the River; but tenant Colonel *Scherzer* could not arrive ſo ſoon his Men. All the Horſe being got in, except of *Neuburg*, and *Paul Diack's Huſſars*, ſcoured Streets, and made themſelves Maſters of all the *za*'s and great Streets in the City; while *Neuburg* *Diack*'s *Huſſars* ſtaid without to beat the Roads prevent Eſcapes. In the midſt of this Conſterna- the *French* rallied together in four parts of the , eſpecially the *Iriſh* towards the Tower called *Po Tower*, and the *French* near the Caſtle Gate, cading themſelves in almoſt all the Houſes, Con- , and Streets in thoſe Quarters; nevertheleſs the *ans* performed Wonders, killing and taking Pri- s all they met with. The Mareſchal *Villeroy* Gene- f the *French* Army was ſeized as he was rallying of his Men, with an Intention to have retired the Caſtle, together with Lieutenant General *n*, and a good Number of other Officers.

t in regard the *Iriſh* had their Quarters near the *ate*, and for that Lieutenant Colonel *Scherzer* not arrive as ſoon as was expected, by reaſon he o cut his Way thro with his Sword; Count *Mer-* s forced to retreat, and poſt himſelf about fifty from the *Iriſh*: So that it being impoſſible to force ate, Count *Bruyer* was ſent to the young Prince of *emont* to haſten his Paſſage over the River, but had neither Pontons nor Barks enough for that ſe, which was the Reaſon that the Infantry arrived te; and being wearied alſo by the harſhneſs of Weather and badneſs of the Ways, it made it ſible to accompliſh the Deſign. On the other they could not make uſe of a greater Number of for the Enterprize, ſince that would have raiſed

1702. a Jealousy in the *French*, who were suspicious there might be some Design upon *Cremona*; besides that it would have been impossible for the *Imperialists* to have kept their Ground in a City where the *French* were almost treble the Number of the Assailants, and Masters of one part of the City and Citadel to boot; to which may be added the fresh Succours they might have brought thither in a little time from their Garison in the adjacent parts.

However if we consider the Action as it passed, we shall hardly meet with any thing equal to it in History. The Enterprize could have been no longer delayed because the *French* had begun to raise a Counterscarp where the City was to be surprized; but notwithstanding all these Disappointments, from Day break till onward in the Night, there was nothing but Fire and Blood, and the greatest part of the *Germans* were forced to charge seven or eight times; so that it was high time to retreat, the Cavalry led the Van, and *Staremburg* brought up the Infantry, which was done slowly and in good Order, to the end the *French* might have no opportunity to make any Attempt upon them.

About a Mile out of Town the Prince made a halt till all the Troops were come up. As for the Loss sustained by the *Germans* in this daring Enterprize, the greatest was of some brave Officers, particularly of the Count *Leiningen*, Lieutenant Colonel *Freiburgen*, with two Captains of the same Regiment. Among the wounded were the Count *de Mercy*, and the Lieutenant Colonel of *Hoberstein's* Regiment, who was so dangerously wounded that he was left behind in the Town; and Count *Dietrichstein* who was on the other side of the *Po* with Prince *Vaudemont*, had one of his Legs shot off, and is since dead of his Wounds. As for the Number of common Soldiers, they did not miss above five hundred in all, who were at first supposed to be killed or taken Prisoners, but that Number dwindled afterwards to near half; when the *Germans* that were left behind in the Town, some drunk, others straggled from their Colours in hopes of Booty, came to be picked up and exchanged for so many *French* Prisoners. As for the Loss of the *French*, the Accounts from *Venice* mak-

em to amount to above a thouſand Men ſlain, and two 1702.
ndred Officers, beſides four hundred Soldiers taken
iſoners; to ſay nothing of the Captivity of a Ma- *A Computation of Loſs on each ſide.*
ſchal of *France*, and General of the Confederate
my: But the *French* will not allow their Loſs a-
unted to near ſo many; however upon a modeſt
mputation of both the Accounts, it manifeſtly ap-
ared to an unprejudiced Perſon to be greater than
t of the *Germans*. The Conſequence, or rather
ncomitant of this Action, was the *French* quit-
g all their Poſts upon the *Oglio*, with ſo much Pre-
itation, that they left the greateſt part of their Ammu-
ion and Proviſion behind them, and that the Prince
Vaudemont took *Buſſetto* in *Placentia*, where he
de two hundred *French* and *Iriſh* Priſoners.

This done, we leave both Armies after ſo many Fa-
ues, to reſt in their Winter Quarters, the *French*
ſend the Duke of *Vendoſme* to command theirs in
ly, inſtead of *Villeroy* carried Priſoner into *Ger-*
ny, and to haſten vaſt Reinforcements into *Italy* to
port their deſpirited Countrymen. And before we
nclude this Hiſtory we ſhall obſerve the face of things
Europe, in this critical Conjuncture: We find *France*
d *Spain* in a manner united into one, and but for the
geantry of a nominal King of the latter, governed
olutely by a ſingle Head in *France*.

Now if we take a View of their Friends and Ene-
s; as for the *Italians*, the Duke of *Savoy*, beſides
er Engagements, has the Ties of Nature upon him,
ſupport the Intereſt of his two Daughters, the
tcheſs of *Burgundy* and Queen of *Spain*; the Duke
Mantua has been long in the boat with them, let
get out how he can; *Modena* ſeems hitherto to be
re an *Auſtrian* than a *Bourboniſt*; *Parma* like the
pe, is neither Fiſh nor Fleſh; the *Venetians* fix'd
iticks, ſeems to be an exact Neutrality; *Genua* by
eaty, as well as a ſenſe of her Imbecillity, muſt give
ſage to the *French* Troops; and for the grand
ke of *Tuſcany*, Money and Eaſe is his Delight,
to have his Dominions unmoleſted is as much as he
nes, tho perhaps he ought not to expect it. The
ſs Cantons by their Conduct appear to have a great-
Opinion of the Juſtice of the *Imperial* Pretenſions,

1702. than of the Uſurpations of their Enemies, tho they can more unwillingly forſake a Neutrality, than their Subjects engage on different ſides, to cut one another's Throats. It ſeems the Houſe of *Bourbon* has made the King of *Portugal*, if not an entire Friend and Confederate, yet diſengaged him from being an Enemy. The Elector of *Cologn*, and Biſhop and Prince of *Liege*, having already received *French* Troops into his Fortreſſes, is intirely in that Intereſt; his Brother the Elector of *Bavaria* has undoubtedly entred into Engagements with *France*, if not of coming actually into the War, yet of ſupporting a Neutrality in the Empire, and the Circle of *Bavaria* has hitherto harped upon the ſame String; tho if the *French* Remittances of Money fail, in reſpect to their neceſſitous Prince and Country, he may change his Note. The Princes of *Wolfenbuttel* were entirely Frenchified, and had a pretty many Troops raiſed with *French Lewis d'or's*, to make a Diverſion on that ſide, for which the other Branch of the Houſe of *Lunenburg* by the Concurrence of the Emperor, muſt quickly call them to an Account, without any poſſibility of Relief from their grand Ally.

On the other hand, his *Imperial* Majeſty, who is the principal Party concerned in the Succeſſion of Spain, has not only made the two great Powers of *England* and *Holland* his Friends, but gone a great way to engage the Empire in his Quarrel; the Circles of *Auſtria*, *Swabia*, *Franconia*, and the *Rhine*, ſeem to favour him; the Elector *Palatine* is his faſt Friend, the poor Duke of *Lorain* is paſſive, but his Brother the Biſhop of Osnabrug has choſen the *Auſtrian* Party; the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* appear to have more good Will than Power to ſupport the *German* Eagle; the Biſhop of *Munſter*, after ſome fluctuating Thoughts, has fallen in with the common Cauſe; the Juſtice, Goodneſs and Generoſity of the brave Landgrave of *Heſſe* Caſſel will not allow him any other Sentiments or Intereſt; the King of *Pruſſia* is ſtanch to his *Imperial* Majeſty, and is together with the Elector of *Hanover* and Duke of *Zell*, under too many Obligations to flinch from him; the *Dane* had too many Troops on foot to maintain them himſelf, and *England*, *Holland*, and the Empe-

eror have had the Addreſs to be the higheſt Bidders; 1702.
King of *Poland* is certainly a Friend to the Houſe
Auſtria, and might do conſiderable things in favour
at Cauſe, were his Hands free; but for the *Swede*,
ithſtanding his Convention with the King of *Eng-*
a Man muſt have a more than ordinary ſtock of
tration to fathom his real Deſigns, or ſo much as
how far the young Man intends to travel. Thus
s ſtood in *Europe*, when Alas the fatal 8*th* of *March*
that cut off the Thred of his Invaluable Life,
was the common Father and Defender of its Liber-
I mean the Great *William* III. King of *England*, of
Glorious and Immortal Memory; which admi-
ing to *France* an occaſion of new Speculations and
gns, I ſhall not at all enter upon them, but cloſe
Hiſtory with the beſt of Princes Breath.

The End of the Hiſtory of France.

OF THE Antient, Modern, AND PRESENT STATE OF FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

Of the King and Royal Family.

THE Kings of *France* are entituled the *Moſt Chriſtian*, from the Signal Services formerly done by them to the See of *Rome*; and for the ſame Reaſon they have alſo been called eldeſt Sons of the Church, and as ſuch have med a Precedency before all other Kings in *Chriſten-*, tho it has been frequently conteſted with them, more particularly by the *Spaniards* at *Venice* in 8. and ſince at *London* in 1662. in both which Pla- it was adjudged in favour of the *French*.

. *Lewis* IX. had five Sons, of whom *Philip* the his eldeſt Son and Succeſſor, and *Robert* his fourth left Iſſue, from which *Robert* Count of *Clermont*, who

who became afterwards Lord of *Bourbon*, are de
ſcended the preſent Royal Family, as follows,

This *Robert* married *Beatrix*, the only Heireſs
John de Bourgogne, Count of *Charolois*, and of *Ag*
the Daughter of *Archambant* the Young Lord
Bourbon, who bore him *Lovis* Lord of *Bourbon*;
favour of whom the Lands, Seigniory, or Baro
of *Bourbon*, was erected into a Dutchy and Peer
by *Philip* of *Valois* in 1329, which Seigniory belong
to him in right of his Mother, and whoſe Name he
ſumed, purſuant to the Contract of Marriage betwe
his Father and Mother.

Lewis begat *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Jam*
Count of *Ponthieu* and *la Marche*, Conſtable
France; but becauſe the Male Line of *Peter* fail
we'll purſue that of *James*, who had a Son named *J*
de Bourbon, by *Jane de Chatillon*, Daughter to
Count of *St. Paul*.

This *John* had by *Catherine de Vendoſme*, Siſter a
only Heireſs to *Bouchard* the laſt Count of *Vendoſ*
James King of *Naples*, who leaving no Children,
Right of Primogeniture devolved upon his Broth
Lovis.

Lovis of *Bourbon*, Count of *Vendoſme*, Grand-M
ter of *France*, had by his Wife *Jane*, the Daughter
Guy Count of *Laval*, Lord of *Gaure*, *John* II.
that Name, Count of *Vendoſme*.

This *John* by *Iſabel de Beauvay*, Daughter of
Lord of *Preſſigny*, had *Francis* Count of *Vendoſ*
and *Lewis* Prince of *la Roche-ſur-yon*.

Francis of *Bourbon* had five Children by *Mary*
Luxemburg, Counteſs of *St. Paul*; the eldeſt
which was *Charles*, made Duke of *Vendoſme* by *Fr*
cis I.

Charles I. of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme*, had ſe
Sons by *Frances*, Daughter of *Rene* Duke of *Alen*
of whom only two left Iſſue, *viz.* *Anthony* of *Bour*
who ſucceeded in Right of Primogeniture, and wa
terwards King of *Navarre*; and *Lewis* of *Bour*
Prince of *Conde*, Duke of *Anguien*, Marqueſs of
ri, Count of *Soiſſons*, who among other Children
Henry I. of that Name Prince of *Conde*, whoſe
Henry II. Prince of *Conde*, was the Father of *L*

rince of *Conde*, of *Armaud de Bourbon* Prince of , and of *Anne Genevieve de Bourbon* Dutcheſs of ueville, of whoſe Deſcendants more in its proper

nthony de Bourbon Duke of *Vendoſme*, had by *Jane* lbret Queen of *Navarre*, the Daughter of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and of *Margaret* of *Angoulême*is, Siſter to *Francis* I. King of *France*, *Henry* III. of *Navarre*, who uniting the two Crowns, was d *Henry* the Great, King of *France* and *Navarre*, Father of *Lewis* XIII. and Grandfather of *Lewis* . now reigning.

his Prince by *Maria Thereſa* of *Auſtria*, eldeſt ghter to *Philip* IV. of *Spain* (who died on the 30*th* uly, 1683.) had ſeveral Children, whereof *Lewis* Dauphin, now living, was the eldeſt, he being on the 1*ſt* of *Novemb.* 1661. Their other Chil- are all dead, and they were theſe, *Anne Eliza*born *Novemb.* 28. 1663. who died *Jan.* 10. 1664. y *Anne*, born *Novemb.* 17. 1664. who died the of *Decemb.* the ſame Year. *Mary Thereſa*, born 2. 1667. who died the 1*ſt* of *March* 1672. *Philip* e of *Anjou*, born *Aug.* 5. 1668. who died *July* 10. . And *Lovis Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, born *June* 1672. who died *Novemb.* 4. the ſame Year.

he Dauphin in 1680. married *Mary Anne-Chriſti-Victoria* of *Bavaria* (deceaſed *April* 20 1690) whom he has had *Lewis* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Aug.* 6. 1682. and married on the 7*th* of *Decemb.* . to *Maria Adelaida*, eldeſt Daughter to the Duke Savoy, by whom he has yet no Children. 2. *Phi*Duke of *Anjou*, born the 19*th* of *Decemb.* 1683. by the ſuppoſed Will of *Charles* II. late King of , declared in *Novemb.* 1700. Univerſal Heir of all Territories. 3. *Charles* Duke of *Berry*, born on 31*ſt* of *Aug.* 1686.

hilip Duke of *Orleans*, *Valois*, *Nemours*, *Chartres* *Montpeſier*, the only Son of the late *Philip* Duke Orleans, Brother to the preſent *French* King, by rlotte *Elizabeth* of *Bavaria*, Daughter to *Charles* is, ſometime Elector *Palatine*, was born the 2*d* of . 1675. and on the 18*th* of *Feb.* 1692. married rances *Elizabeth Mademoiſelle de Blois*, a natural Daughter

Daughter of the *French* King, by whom he has had veral Children, whereof only the Males (if there any) can inherit the Crown after the direct Line, ſo I need not mention his Daughters, nor Siſter Dutcheſs of *Lorain* upon this Occaſion.

The Eldeſt Son of the Kings of *France* is entitu Dauphin, and the ſecond called Monſieur, without Quality; but after the Dauphin, the younger B thers are Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Orleans*, *Anjou*, *Alen Valois*, *Tourain*, *Berry*, Peers of *France*, and have o Appennages. Thoſe younger Sons bear the Sirnam *France*, and ſign by Writing their own proper Name the ſame manner as the King does, which is done alſ the Daughters of *France*, who are ſtiled Madams. T are none but Males that can inherit theſe Appenna and if there is no Son, the Couſin ſucceeds, provide be deſcended in a Male Line from him to whom the pennage was given; and if there be any Daugh remaining, the King gives them Portions out of own Eſtate, and marries them as he pleaſes; but i who is in poſſeſſion of the Appennage, comes t King, that Appennage is reunited to the Crown.

CHAP. II.

Of the Princes of the Blood, natural Chil of France, *and Foreign Princes ſettle that Kingdom.*

THE firſt Prince of the Blood is *Henry Juli Bourbon*, Prince of *Conde*; he being the S *Lovis* II. the Son of *Henry* II. who was the So *Henry* I. whoſe Father was *Lovis* I. Prince of C the Brother of *Antony de Bourbon* King of *Na* who was the Father of *Henry* the Great. Thi ſent Prince was born on the 29*th* of *July* 1643. a the 11*th* of *Decemb.* 1663. married *Anne*, the D ter of the deceaſed *Edward*, Prince *Palati* the *Rhine*, by whom he has had, 1. *Maria T ſa*, born the 1*ſt* of *February* 1666. and married

688. to *Francis Lewis*, preſent Prince of *Conti*.
Lovis Duke of *Bourbon*, born *Octob.* 11. 1668.
narried to *Mademoiſelle de Nantes*, *Loviſa Fran-*
Bourbon, a natural Daughter of the *French* King,
e 24*th* of *July* 1685, by whom he has, 1. *Made-*
lle de Bourbon, born 22*d* of *Decemb.* 1690. 2. *Lo-*
Henry Duke of *Anguien*, born *Aug.* 18. 1692. 3.
demoiſelle de Charolois, *Loviſa Elizabeth*, born
m. 22. 1693. 4. *Mademoiſelle de Sens Loviſa*
, born in *June* 1695. and *Mademoiſelle de Cler-*
born at *Paris*, *Octob.* 15. 1697.
Mademoiſelle de Anguien Anne Loviſa, born *Aug.*
675.
Loviſa Benedicta Mademoiſelle de Conde, born
m. 8. 1676. and married to the Duke of *Mayn*,
ch 19. 1692.
Mademoiſelle de Montmerancy, *Mary Anne*, born
24. 1678.
e ſecond Prince of the Blood is *Francis Lewis de*
on, Prince of *Conti*; he was in the Life-time of
der Brother *Lovis Armand*, who married *Made-*
lle de Blois, the King's natural Daughter, by
he left no Children, called Prince *de la Roche-*
n. He was born *April* 30. 1664. and on the 29*th*
ly 1688. married *Mademoiſelle de Bourbon*, el-
Daughter to the Prince of *Conti* as aforeſaid, by
he has, 1. *Mademoiſelle de Conti*, born *April*
689. 2. The Prince of *Roche-ſur-yon*, born the
Decem. 1694. who died in 1698. 3. The Count
Marche, born *Novem.* 9. 1695. 4. *Mademoiſel-*
Alais, born *Novem.* 19. 1697. *Armand* Prince
nti, and the Father of this Prince *Francis*, was
ger Son to *Henry* II. Prince of *Conde*, and Bro-
Lewis the laſt great Prince of *Conde*, whoſe
r and other excellent Endowments this Prince
nitated to a high Pitch, he being reputed a Per-
the greateſt Accompliſhments in all *France*, and
worthy of the Throne he ſought, tho he could
tain it.
preſent King's natural Children are, 1. *Maria*
de Bourbon, Princeſs Dowager of *Conti*, who
orn in *Octob.* 1666. and married to the late
of *Conti* in 1680. Her Mother was *Madam de*
la

la Valiere, and Dutchess of *Vaujour*, who is now Nun in the Great Convent of the *Carmelites* at Pari 2. *Lovis Augustus* Duke of *Main*, and Sovereig Prince of *Dombes*, born in *March* 1670. *Anne-Ma Lovisa Mademoiselle d' Orleans*, Sovereign Princess Dombes conferred that Country, as also the Coun of *Eu* upon him, in *March* 1682. He married *Lovi Benedicta*, Daughter to the Prince of *Conde*, in 169 by whom he has had *Constantine* Prince of *Dombe* who died in *Septem.* 1698. and *Mademoiselle de A male*, born in *Decem.* 1697. This Duke of *Ma May* 8. 1694. took his Place in Parliament, as Cou of *Eu* and Peer of *France*, immediately next after t Prince of *Conde*, Duke of *Bourbon*, and Prince of *Con* before the Ecclesiastical and Secular Dukes. 3. *Lov Frances Mademoiselle de Nantes*, married to the Du of *Bourbon* in 1685. 4. *Lovis Alexander* Count *Tholouse*, born *June* 6. 1678. he was also *Nove* 27. 1694. received into the Parliament, as Duke *Amville*, and took place before the Ecclesiastical a Secular Dukes. 5. *Frances Mary Mademoiselle de Bl* married to the Duke of *Chartres*, now of *Orleans*, *Feb.* 1692. All which Children the K. their Father has thoug fit to legitimate according to the Custom of *France*.

As for the Descendants of the natural Children *Henry* IV. there are only *Lewis Joseph* Duke of *V dosme*, and his Brother the Grand Prior, *Philip Vendosme* remaining; they being the Sons of *Le* Duke of *Mercœur*, and afterwards Cardinal of *V dosme*, and the Grandsons of *Cæsar* Duke of *Ven me*, the natural Son of King *Henry* IV; for *Francis t* Uncle Duke of *Beaufort* was slain at the Siege of *C dia* in 1669. and died without Issue, he having ne been married; so did their Aunt *Isabel*, the Wid of *Charles Amadeus* Duke of *Nemours*. In like m ner the late *Henry* Duke of *Verneuil*, King *Hen* Son by the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, left no Child behind him by the Dutchess Dowager of *Sully*, wh he had married.

We might here enter upon the Particulars of Settlement of divers Foreigners of Princely Famili *France*, but that will be tedious and of no great nefit; we shall only mention them before we proce

r matters. Of the Houſe of *Lorain*, the Duke of *euf* is now the Chief, then the Duke of *Harcourt*, nce of *Commercy* in the Imperial Service, Count of *nagnac*, and Count of *Marſan*. As for the Houſe *Savoy*, there are none of them I think now that in *France*, eſpecially the chief of them do not, o are *Lewis Thomas* Count of *Soiſſons*, and his Bro- the famous Prince *Eugene*, who are the Sons of *ene Maurice* Count of *Soiſſons* (ſometime Colonel he *Swiſs* and *Griſons*, and Governor of *Champagne Brie*) a younger Son of *Thomas* Prince of *Carig-* by *Mary de Bourbon Soiſſons*.

s to the Houſe of *la Tour de Auvergne*, *Godfrey* e of *Bouillon* is the Chief of them, whoſe Bro- s are the Count *d' Auvergne* and the Cardinal *de illon*, but none more famous of this Family than the nowned Mareſchal *Turenne* their Uncle. I might k of the Houſe of *Monaco*, and of *Roan*, as deſ- led from the Dukes of *Bretagne*, and how they were in Succeſſion to the Crown of *Navarre*, in caſe ry IV. had died without Iſſue; but the Great ry Duke of *Roan* leaving no Heirs Male behind I ſhall not enter into a Detail thereof, and will nothing of the Families of *Tarento* and their Pre- ions, but proceed now to give an Account of the rs of *France*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Dukes and Peers of France.

HERE are five or ſix ſorts of Dukes and Peers; 1. The ſix antient Eccleſiaſtical Dukes and Peers, Counts and Peers, who hold the firſt Rank. 2. es and Peers verified in Parliament, as Dukes and s. 3. Dukes barely verified as Dukes in the Par- ent of *Paris*. 4. Dukes, or Dukes and Peers ve- d as ſuch in other Parliaments than that of *Paris*, h is alone a Court of Peers. 5. Dukes and Peers Letters Patent under the Great Seal, which are not yet

yet verified in any Parliament. 6. Dukes and Pe by a Brevet.

The ſix antient Eccleſiaſtical Peers are, 1. *Char Maurice de Tellier*, Archbiſhop and Duke of *Rhei* 2. *M. de Clermont*, Biſhop and Duke of *Laon*. *Francis de Clermont Tonnetre*, Biſhop and Duke *Langres*. 4. The Cardinal of *Fourbin*, Biſhop a Count of *Beauvais*. 5. *John Baptiſt-Lovis Gaſton Noailles*, Biſhop and Count of *Chaalons* in *Champa* 6. *Francis de Clermont Tonnerre*, Biſhop and Count *Noyon*. The ſix Secular Ones, were the Dukes of *B gundy*, *Normandy* and *Guyenne*; the Counts of *T louſe*, *Flanders* and *Champagne*.

We come now to give you a Catalogue of the Du and Peers of *France*, according to the Seniority their Patents granted to them perſonally, or their A ceſtors, and by Deſcent to them.

1. *John Charles de Cruſtol*, Duke of *Uſes*, in 157
2. *Lewis Charles de Levis*, Duke of *Ventadour*, 1594.
3. *Maximilian Peter-Francis Nicholas de Bethu* Duke of *Suilly*, in 1606.
4. *Charles Honorius d' Albert*, Duke of *Luines*, 1619.
5. *John Francis-Paul de Bonne de Crequy*, &c. Duke *Leſdeguieres*, in 1620.
6. *John Armand de Pleſſis de Vignerod*, Duke *Richlieu*, in 1631.
7. *Francis* Duke *de la Rochefocault* in 1631.
8. *Lovis* Duke *de St. Simon* in 1635.
9. *James Nompar de Caumont* Duke *de la Forc* 1637.
10. *Mary Madelaida Thereſa de Vignerod*, Dutc of *Aiguillon*, in 1633.
11. *Lovis de Roan Chabot* Duke of *Roan* in 1643
12. *Charles-Francis Frederic de Montmerancy L emburg*, Duke of *Piney de Luxemburg*, in 1662.
13. *Lewis Armand de Etrees de Lauzieres*, Du *Etrees*, in 1663.
14. *Anthony de Grammont*, Duke of *Gramm* 1663.
15. *Armand Charles de la Porte de Mazarini*, of *Mazarine*, in 1663.

6. *Lovis Nicholas de Neuville*, Duke of *Villeroy*, 663.
7. *Lovis de Rochechouart*, Duke *de Mortemart*, in 3.
8. *Paul de Beauvillier*, Duke of *Beauvillier de St. nan*, in 1663.
9. *Henry Francis de Foix*, Duke *de Foix Rendan*, 663.
0. *Leo Potier*, Duke of *Gevres in Valois*, 1663.
1. *Anthony Julius*, Duke of *Noailles*, in 1663.
2. *Armand de Cambout*, Duke of *Coiſlin*, in 1663.
3. *Cæſar Auguſtus de Choiſeul, du Pleſſis Pralin*, e of *Choiſeul*, in 1665.
4. *Lovis Maria d' Aumont*, Duke of *Aumont*, in 5.
5. *Henry de Senneterre*, Duke of *la Ferte-Senneterre*, 665.
6. *Armand de Bethune*, Duke of *Bethune-Charots*, 690.
7. *Lovis Anthony de Noailles*, Archbiſhop and Duke *Paris*, erected into a Dutchy and Peerage in favour the laſt Archbiſhop, in 1674.

Ve come now to give a ſhort Account of thoſe es, whoſe Patents are only verified in the Par- ent of *Paris*. 1. *Rouanez* in *Feres* was erected into utchy in 1566. but the Patent not verified till *Char-* Siſter to the Duke of *Rouanez* having married Mareſchal *de Feuillade* in 1667. their Son *Lovis* eeded in the ſaid Dutchy, and is commonly called e of *Feuillade*.

. The Duke of *Luynes* had a Patent verified in liament, for the Land of *Chevreuſe* in his Dutchy, 668.

. *Francis de Rochefoucauld* in 1679. had the Land *Rochegnyon* on the other ſide of the *Mant* in the ein, anew erected into a Dutchy for Males and ales.

. *Charles Francis Frederick de Montmerancy Lux-burg*, Duke of *Piney Luxemburg*, had a Patent to e the Lands of *Beaufort* a Dutchy, in *May* 1688. ich at preſent is called the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*.

. The Lands and Marquiſate of *Duras* in *Guyenne* erected into a Dutchy, in favour of *James Henry Durfort*, in 1689.

6. The Lands and Seigniory of *Mouchy de le Pier-reux* in the Iſle of *France*, was erected into a Dutch in 1690. under the Name of the Dutchy of *Humiere* in favour of the late *Lewis de Humieres* Mareſchal *France*. The Patent runs ſo, that his eldeſt Daugh having married the Duke of *Aumont*'s Son, he is no Duke of *Humieres*.

7. *Guy de Durfort* Mareſchal of *France*, obtain in 1691. that the Town and Lands of *Quintin* in t lower *Bretagne* ſhould be erected into a Dutchy by t Title of *de Lorge*.

8. The County of *Lauzun* was erected into a Dutc in 1692. in favour of *Antony Nompar de Caum* Count of *Lauzun*.

9. *Lovis Francis* Duke *de Boufflers* Mareſchal *France*, obtained in 1695. preſently after his Surrend of *Namur*, that the County of *Caigny* in *Beauvo* ſhould be erected into a Dutchy by the Name of *Bo flers*.

10. The Dutchy of *Chatillon* was erected in favo of *Paul Sigiſmund de Montmerancy Luxemburg* Du of *Chatillon*, but I find no date to it.

Beſides theſe, there are five Dutchies, the Patents the erecting of which have been verified in other P liaments than that of *Paris*. 1. *Longueville* erected to a Dutchy 1505. and verified in the Parliament *Roan*. 2. *Eſtouteville* verified in the ſame, *An.* 15 3. *Villars*, the Patent verified in the Parliament *Provence* in 1628. 4. *Pondevaux* in *Breſſe* mad Dutchy, and verified in the Parliament of *D* 5. The Provoſtſhip of *Ivoy* in *Luxemburg* was erec into a Dutchy by the Title of *Carignan*, in favou the late *Eugene Maurice* Father to the preſent Count *Soiſſons*, and of the famous Prince *Eugene*, and Patent verified in 1662. in the Parliament of *M* Beſides theſe there are ſix Dukes and Peers, wh Patents are not yet verified. 1. *Cardone* grante 1642. 2. *Arpajon* in 1651. 3. *Nogent le Rotr Orval* in 1652. 4. *Le Lude* in 1675. 5. *Roque* in 1683. 6. *Aubigniy* in favour of the Dutche *Portſmouth*, and her Son the Duke of *Richmond* a her, in 1684.

CHA

CHAP. IV.

the Origin of the Antient Peers of France, *nd their Functions at the King's Coronation.*

HE Quality of the 12 Peers of *France*, is no more at preſent than a Dignity, by virtue of ich thoſe who poſſeſs it are concerned in the Coro-ion of the King, have their Seats in Parliament, l the General States of the Kingdom, and enjoy the nours of the *Louvre*. The firſt Inſtitution of them o uncertain, that 'tis impoſſible to deduce any cer-n Original of them from Hiſtory; ſome attributing o *Hugh Capet*, and others to the Emperor *Charlemain*. e Origin of the Name and Functions of the Peers of *nce* ought to be deduced, as *Pithou*, and before him *toman* obſerves, from no other where than the mmon Cuſtoms of Fiefs, which is, that Vaſſals who d Fiefs fully and directly of the ſame Lord, are ed *Pares Curiæ, aut Domus*; which is nothing elſe Peers of Fiefs, or of the Court, who are to aſſiſt en their Lord takes poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, to be ſent at Judgment pronounced in Cauſes of Fiefs. ides which they have a great many other Rights, in mon to them proportionably, as the Peers of *France* e, who are nothing elſe but Fief-holders of the gdom, and immediate Dependants upon the wn; ſuch as were the ſeven Peers in the Reign *Lewis* the Young, in 1179. or the time of *Hugh Capet* o reunited to the Crown the Dutchy and Peerage *France*, or of *Paris* which he poſſeſſed; ſo that there remain but ſix antient Peerages, which are ady named towards the beginning of the third pter. After them the Eccleſiaſtical Peers were ed at divers times, among whom *Lewis* the Young 179. gave the Primacy to him of *Rheims*, and the rogative to anoint and crown their Kings: And m that Prince's time forwards this Number of 12 rs has ever continued. We have already ſaid what

the Office of the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* is at the Co-ronation of their Kings. As for the reſt of the Peers of both Orders, the Biſhop of *Laon* carries the Holy Bottle, the Biſhop of *Langres* the Scepter, the Biſhop of *Beauvais* the Royal Mantle, the Biſhop of *Chaalons* the Ring, the Biſhop of *Noyon* the Belt or Girdle, the Duke of *Burgundy* carries the Royal Crown, and puts the King's Sword on; the Duke of *Guyenne* carries the firſt ſquare Banner, the Duke of *Normandy* the ſecond, the Count of *Tholouſe* the Spurs, the Count of *Champagne* the Royal Banner or Standard, and the Earl of *Flanders* the King's Sword. On the Day of the King's Coronation, and during the Ceremony, theſe Peers have a golden Wreath upon their Heads, in the form of a Crown; but becauſe the Lay Peerages are reunited to the Crown, except part of *Flanders*, they make choice of ſix Princes and Lords to execute their Functions, and repreſent the Peers.

CHAP. V.

Of the French *King's ſeveral Orders of Knighthood.*

THESE Orders have been always honourable Rewards, beſtowed upon thoſe who have ſerved the King and Country, in Acknowledgment of their Merits,; and ſo Princes have been wont to confer them only upon thoſe who had the Honor to be related to them, or the moſt conſiderable Perſons in their Dominions. There are at preſent three Orders of the King's, *viz.* thoſe of *St. Michael*, of the *Holy Ghoſt* and of *St. Lovis*. The firſt was inſtituted on the 1st of *Auguſt* 1469. by *Lewis* XI. in Honour of that Archangel, and he required it ſhould conſiſt of 36 Knights. The ſecond was inſtituted at *Paris* on the firſt Day of the Year 1579. by *Henry* III. as a Teſtimony of his Acknowledgment of the Divine Favours he had received on the Day of the Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt

ing elected King of *Poland*, and alſo ſucceeding his rother *Charles* IX. to the Crown of *France*. When e *French* King confers this Order, which he does in me Church or Chappel, he ſeats himſelf near the tar in the midſt of the Officers of the Order; when e Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies of the Order, companied with the Uſher and Herald, goes to give e Princes or Lords notice, who are to receive the rder, who go thither two and two after one another, here kneeling down they take the Oath between e King's Hands, placing both their own upon the oſpel held by the Chancellor, and then they ſign the ath. This done, the Provoſt and Great Maſter of e Ceremonies of the Order gives the King a Robe d Mantlet to clothe the Knights with; then the King kes the Collar of the Order from the Hands of the gh Treaſurer, and puts it about the Knight's Neck, ing, *Receive from our Hands the Collar of the Or- of the bleſſed Holy Ghoſt*, &c. *in the Name of the ther, Son, and Holy Spirit.* The Number of the ights of this Order were in the Year 1663. fixed an hundred, and the Officers appertaining to it the Chancellor, the Provoſt and Maſter of the Ce- monies, the Great Treaſurer, Secretary, Herald, d Uſher of the Order.

The third, called the King's Order, under the Title *St. Lovis*, is purely Military, endowed with 100000 vres Rent, and inſtituted by the preſent *French* King *wis* XIV. in *April* 1693. The King himſelf is the vereign, Grand Maſter and Founder; the Dauphin, eſumptive Heirs to the Crown, Princes of the Blood, areſchals of *France*, Admiral, General of the Gallies, . are the Perſons admitted to this Order. Beſides ſe there are eight grand-Croſs-Men, twenty four mmanders, and as many bare Knights as the King l think fit to allow of, all which muſt have ſerved her by Sea or Land, at leaſt for ten Years. The ng, Dauphin, Princes of the Blood, and other ights of the Holy Ghoſt, wear the Croſs of the der of *St. Lovis*, faſtned to a ſmall red Ribbon the end of a blew Twiſt, with the Croſs of Holy Ghoſt. They all wait upon the King on Feaſt of *St. Lewis*, attending him to hear Maſs,

and in the Afternoon there is a Chapter held of the Order.

A Liſt of the preſent Knights.

The King.
Dauphin.
Duke of *Orleans.*
Prince of *Conde.*
Duke of *Bourbon.*
Prince of *Conti.*
Duke of *Mayn* Maſter of the Ordnance.
Count of *Tholouſe* Admiral.
Duke of *Vendoſme* General of the Gallies.
Mareſchal *de Duras.*
Mareſchal *de Lorge.*
Mareſchal *de Eſtree.*
Mareſchal *de Choiſeul.*
Mareſchal *de Villeroy.*
Mareſchal *de Joyeuſe.*
Mareſchal *de Boufflers.*
Mareſchal *de Noailles.*
Mareſchal *de Catinat.*

CHAP. VI.

Of the Conſtable, Mareſchals, Colonels-General of France, *Maſter of the Ordnance, Admiral,* &c.

THE Conſtable of latter times has been accounted the principal Officer of the Crown, and next to the King the chief Commander of the Armies of *France*, he taking place immediately after the Princes of the Blood, and next unto whom he has alſo his Seat in Parliament; he was antiently no more than what the Grand *Ecuier*, or Maſter of the Horſe is at this Day, as appears by the Etymology of the word Conſtable, which is *Comes Stabuli.* The Power of this Officer was augmented by the Succeſſors of *Hugh Capet*, when the Office of Mayor of the Palace was ſuppreſt; and tho there were Conſtables before *Hugh*'s time, yet they had no Command over the Armies. If we believe *du Tillet*, who gives an Account of the Conſtables in their Order, he can find no one bearing that Title before *Froger de Chaalons* in the time of *Lewis* the *Fat*, who for this reaſon might very well be called the firſt Conſtable, becauſe we find him to have been the firſt that enjoy'd the great Power which the Conſtables had afterwards, whom the Princes of the Blood

d themſelves obey'd in the Army. The firſt who rai-
he Charge of the Conſtable ſo high, as to command
lutely all the Soldiery without excepting the Princes
he Blood, was *Matthew* II. Baron of *Montmorency*.
he Conſtable had a right to take one day's Pay
he Soldiery that were retained in the King's Ser-
from the time of their firſt Payment; as alſo of
Cavalry and Infantry that were under the Inſpecti-
f the Maſter or Clerk of the Croſsbow-men, and
eneral of all thoſe that were paid by the Trea-
s of War, except of the Princes of the Blood and
Domeſticks who ſerved at their own Charge,
the Marine Officers and Soldiers. The Conſta-
was not to be injur'd by any without incurring the
ger of becoming guilty of Treaſon; as it has
adjudged in 1392. againſt *Peter de Craon*, who
an Attempt to kill *Oliver de Gliſſon*. His Juriſ-
on at the Marble Table is called the Conſtablery
Mareſchalſy; and tho the Office of Conſtable
een ſuppreſt by *Lewis* XIII. in 1627. after the
h of the Duke *de Leſdeguieres* the laſt Conſtable,
his Juriſdiction at the Marble Table continues in
Mareſchals of *France*, who were no more than his
enants. The Number of Conſtables is related ve-
rioully by Hiſtorians, who alſo do but very ill
as to the Order of them. There is ſtill in the
y a Provoſt of the Conſtablery, who grants Paſſ-
ds, and is a Judg in reſpect to all the Irregularities
e Soldiery, and the Differences that do ariſe
gſt them; likewiſe over Spies, Traytors, and De-
rs; and he regulates the Prices of Victuals, and has
l other Privileges belonging to him. *Lewis* XIII.
ready mentioned, in part ſuppreſt the Office of
table and Colonel General of the Infantry of
ce, by an Arreſt bearing date *March* 13. 1627.
nother of *April* 23. 1643. without allowing either
em to be revived for the future upon any account
ſoever. That of Colonel General of the Infantry
lſo ſuppreſt *July* 23. 1661. The eldeſt Mareſchal
ance executes the Office of Conſtable, and many
his Arms. Sometimes a Lieutenant General has
conſtituted, repreſenting the King's Perſon through-
e Kingdom, which is a Dignity almoſt equal to

that of Conſtable; tho he has nothing but a Commiſ on for it. There was one conſtitued in the year 15 under *Charles* IX. and *Gaſton* Duke of *Orleans* t preſent *French* King's Uncle, acted as ſuch during Minority of *Lewis* XIV.

We come now to the Mareſchals of *France*; it's easy matter to aſcertain the time when the Office Mareſchals was inſtituted; thoſe who have took u them to do it could never agree. *Le Feron* who writ a Hiſtory of them, makes their Origin to be the Reign of *Clovis* II. the Son of *Dagobert*, in Perſon of one *Gerard* Count of *Dammartin*; oth will have *Hugh Capet* to have been the firſt Inſtitu of them, but my Author will agree with neither their Sentiments. And firſt he ſays, *Feron* is much relied on by any that have any tolerable Kn ledg of Hiſtory; and in the next place 'tis alle that the Name of Mareſchal is hardly to be met w in any *French* Hiſtorian before the time of *Phil* and even then their Hiſtories do not mention Name: But 'tis to be met with in a Deed that confi the founding of *St. Martin des Champ* in *Paris*, b ing date 1067. ſigned by the King and ſome o Lords of the Kingdom, and afterwards by *Guy Anſelme* Mareſchals of *France*, without any o Sirnames. It ſhould ſeem by this Charter, which have no reaſon to queſtion as to its Genuineſs, that t have been always two Mareſchals ſince the firſt Inſ tion of them, and the ſame is agreeable to the nion of *du Tillet*. And becauſe 'tis the received nion that they were always the Conſtable's Lieuten I ſhall not contradict it; but for as much as the P of Conſtable did not then extend to above a fo Part of the Kingdom, and that he had only a Comm but over one Part in four of the Royal Cavalry, not agree that the Mareſchals were always Genera the Army. The Office of Conſtable aroſe fir *France* from the Valour of *Matthew de Montmo* who in the time of *Philip Auguſtus* overthrew the peror *Otho* and the King of *England*, who had federated againſt him, in the Battel of *Bou* That of Mareſchal obtained then the Reputation tains to this day; for from being Lieutenants to

C

onſtable in the King's Stables, they became his Lieu-
nants in the Command of the Army. In ſhort, the
ing conferred upon them this Authority, when he
t the Battoon into their Hands.

Theſe Imployments depend abſolutely upon the
rown, and the Mareſchals take their Oaths before the
ing, not in the Parliament. They were conferred up-
n them as Rewards for ſome military Exploits, and
e not hereditary; but they cannot be taken away
om them as long as they live, tho the King may
ooſe whether he will imploy them or not. The Pro-
oſts of the Mareſchals are the King's Judges conſti-
ted in the Provinces under the Authority, and with
Dependance upon the Mareſchals of *France*. They
ave power to puniſh all Vagabonds and Strollers,
d even Perſons that have fixed Habitations, if they
mmit Robberies on the High-way, ſet Houſes on
re, coin falſe Money, and other Crimes.

The Mareſchals of *France*, as I have already obſer-
d, were no more than two at firſt, but the Neceſſity
f Affairs made the Government ſometimes double
eir Number. There were four of them in the Reign
f *Charles* VII. who were afterwards reduced to the
ntient Inſtitution. *Francis* I. finding himſelf under a
eceſſity of keeping three or four Armies to oppoſe
e grand Deſigns of his Enemies, who were as I may
y continually upon him, revived the Number of four,
nd in a ſhort time after added a fifth, who was *Francis*
e *Montmorency* the Conſtable's Son, as a Reward to the
ather for ſurrendring up his Office of Grand Maſter
f *France* by the King's Order, in favour of the Duke
f *Guiſe*; but yet it was upon this condition, that this
fth Creation ſhould ceaſe upon the Death of the firſt
at ſhould happen. The Duke of *Mayn* created
ree of them during the time he was Head of the
eague; and *Henry* IV. when he was peaceably in-
eſted in his Throne, created two of thoſe three Ma-
eſchals of *France*; I mean *Nuban de Laval*, Sieur
e *Bois Dauphin*, and *Claude la Chatre*. *Lewis* XIII.
ever limited the Number, and the preſent King hath
ncreaſed it with ſome more, a Liſt of whom, that
re alive, I have already given in the fifth Chapter,
s they are Knights of the King's Order, and ſo I need
ot repeat them in this place.

As

As for the Colonels General, we have before ſhew-
ed that that of the Infantry was ſuppreſt upon th
Death of M. *d'Eſpernon*; but the Offices of Colon
General of the light *French* Horſe, of the *Swiſs* an
Griſons, and of the Dragoons, are ſtill in being: But t
inſert the Names of them, and of other the Gener
Officers of the *French* Armies, would be too tedio
for my deſigned Brevity.

To ſay no more therefore of this Command, w
proceed to that of the Grand Maſter of the Ordnanc
which is now in the Duke of *Mayn* the King's natur
Son. Before the Invention of Guns, there was
Grand Maſter of the Croſs-bows and Battering I
ſtruments, whoſe Buſineſs it was to manage the Of
cers belonging to the Machines of War. Thoſe thin
they called *Craneqiers*, were a ſort of Inſtrumen
with which they beat down the Walls and Gates
Towns; and ſome will have this Command to ha
been inſtituted in the Reign of St. *Lovis*; and *du Ha*
geſt in the time of *Charles* VI. *Ann.* 1411. was Gra
Maſter of the Croſs-bows, which Title was continue
to the Reign of *Henry* IV. who changed this Offi
into another of the Crown by the Name of Gra
Maſter, in favour of *Maximilian de Bethune* Duke
Sully. There is in every Army the King has, a Lie
tenant of the Artillery, who commands all th
belong to the Train; and he himſelf depends upon t
Grand Maſter, who is always Colonel of the Reg
ment of Royal Artillery, and of the Regiment
Bombardiers. All the Braſs which is found in a
conquered City, or ſuch as has rebelled againſt t
King, where ſometimes the Bells are commanded to
taken down, belong to him. The Officers under hi
beſides the Lieutenant already mentioned, are t
Comptroller General, Treaſurer General, Gard Ge
ral, Commiſſary and Secretary General.

We proceed next to the Admiralty and Marine A
fairs, and the preſent Admiral of *France* is *Lovis*
lexander Count of *Tholouſe*, a natural Son of t
French King's. The Power belonging to this Office
very great, and the ſame was much increaſed by *H*
ry III. in favour of the Duke of *Joyeuſe* one of his
nions, who held it. *Lewis* XIII. by an Edict bear

in 1626. ſuppreſt the Office of Conſtable and iral, and afterwards inſtead of the laſt created Office of Grand Maſter, Chief and Superintendant eral of the Navigation and Commerce of *France*. by another Edict in *November* 1669. the preſent ſuppreſt theſe Offices of Grand Maſter and Su- tendant, and that of Admiral was reſtored with Title of being an Officer of the Crown: But the retrenched the antient Power belonging to this e, and reſerved to himſelf the choice of all the tary and Civil Officers imploy'd therein; I mean Vice-Admirals, Lieutenant Generals, and Com- ders of Squadrons, Captains, Lieutenants, Pilots, ers of the Ports, Intendants, Commiſſaries, and manner all others whatſoever. To the King alſo ngs the providing of his Navy with all manner eceſſaries, as well as the building of his Men of : So that in ſhort I know of no better way to ſet the Power, Functions and Rights belonging at nt to the Admiral, than to recite the Words in atent granted by the King in 1669. for regulating aid Office, which are to this purpoſe.

All Judicial Proceedings in the Admiralty, as have been regulated and eſtabliſhed by Law, appertain and run in the Name of the Admiral.

He ſhall have a full Right to the Offices belong- o the Seats of the Admiralty, in all Places where are ſet up.

He ſhall in like manner enjoy to the full ſuch ts of Nomination and Proviſion, as the Admirals *rance* have had and duly enjoy'd over the Offices e Admiralty, at the ſaid Stations, and the Marble e.

He ſhall have alſo the Fines, Confiſcations, and her judicial Rights in all the particular Stations e Admiralty, and half in thoſe of the Marble e.

He ſhall alſo have a Right to the 10*th* of all the s and Conqueſts made by Sea.

The Right of Anchorage, as regulated by Law, according as former Admirals have enjoy'd the ſhall belong to him.

7. The

7 The Right of *Conge* or Leave granted to all Ships that go out of the Ports and Harbours of the Kingdom, appertains to him.

Laſtly, the Power of commanding any one of the King's Fleets, is at his choice, as alſo in ſuch a Caſe to manage the Finances, as the King's Generals by Land were wont to do. When he is near the King's Perſon the Orders which he ſends to the Navy are communicated to him, to which the Admiral may add his Letters of Advice.

The Name of Admiral has been borrowed from the *Arabs*, who came by Sea to make Deſcents upon the Chriſtians in *Europe*; and after they had traverſed all the Seas belonging to the reſpective Provinces of it they conquered *Spain*, and from thence made Deſcents upon *France*, by the way of *Guyenne* and *Poictou*. The *French* during ſo long a War had often converſed with them; and as the Perſon who had the chief Command of this Naval Power, was commonly called in the *Arabic* Tongue *Amir al Muſilmin*, that is, the Prince of the true Believers (for 'tis well known the Infidels aſſumed to themſelves the Title of true Believers) the *French* who retained in their Minds the firſt Syllable of this Name, have in imitation of 'em given him who commands their Fleet the Title of Admiral.

The firſt Admiral of *France* was *Lethery*, or according to others *Rotland*, in the Reign of *Charlemain*, called by *Eginard Præfectus Maris*. This Charge was in former Days but a bare Commiſſion, and he that firſt enjoyed it by way of Office was *Enguerrand Sieur de Coucy*, in the Reign of *Philip* the Hardy, in 1275. according to others, the ſame was not erected into an Office, till the time of *Charles* V. in the Year 13[illegible] and the firſt was *Amaury* Viſcount *Narbonne*.

They had ſeveral Admirals during the time that the Kings of *France* did not poſſeſs all the Maritime Provinces of the Kingdom, *viz.* the Admirals of *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, *Guyenne* and *Provence*. The Admiral of *Normandy*, who was afterwards called Admiral of *France*, commanded from the *Straits* of *Calais*, as far as *St. Michael's Mount*; he of *Bretagne* from *St. Michael* as far as *Raz*; the Admiral of *Guyenne* from [illegible]

o *Bayonne*; and he of *Provence* from *Perpignan* to the River of *Gennes*. There hapned a mighty Conteſt between the Duke of *Guiſe* and Cardinal *Richlieu* about he Admiralty of *Provence*, which laſt obtained of *Lewis* XIII. the forementioned Declaration made in *Jan.* 1627. for ſuppreſſing the Office of Admiral, and recting that of Grand Maſter and Superintendant eneral of the Navigation and Commerce of *France* its ſtead. After the Cardinal's Death, the King onferred that Office upon the Duke of *Fronſac*, Son o the Mareſchal *de Breze*, who being ſlain at the Siege f *Orbitelle*, the ſame was officiated under the Name f the Queen-Regent, by the Title of Grand Maſter f the Navigation of *France*.

The *French* have particularly two Vice-Admirals, hich are thoſe of the *Ocean* and *Mediterranean*. ext unto them are thoſe they call Lieutenant Generals of the King's Naval Armies, then Chiefs of a Squaron: Three Majors of the Marine, three Marine Inpectors, whoſe Stations are at *Rochefort*, *Thoulon* and *reſt*. There is alſo an Intendant of the Marine, who one has a general Inſpection into all the Claſſes of he Seamen, in all the Maritime Provinces of the Kingom; he paſſes the laſt Sentence with ſuch a Preſidial ourt as he thinks fit to chuſe, or ſuch a Number of raduates as are regulated by the Law: He manages he Funds, is admitted and has Place in the Councils hat are held by the Admiral for ſome Enterprize by ea, *&c.* This Commiſſion entitles him to the Dignity f being a Counſellor to the King in his Councils; nd his Station as to the Marine Affairs, is next after he Lieutenant Generals, before the Chiefs of a Squaron.

There are five chief Arſenals for the King's Navy, iz. at *Rochefort*, *Breſt*, *Dunkirk*, *Havre de Grace*, and *Thoulon*; in each of which there is an Intendant of Juſce, Policy, and Marine Finances, to whoſe Care is mmitted the ordering and managing of the Funds ovided for all the Materials neceſſary towards the ilding, repairing, fitting out, and laying up of the ing's Ships; beſides theſe, there is a Comptroller of e Marines in each of theſe Arſenals, and ſeveral ommiſſaries. There are alſo three Treaſurers General

ral

ral of the Marine, one Inſpector, and one Secretary; and the preſent King has not only erected divers Seminaries for educating Perſons fit to ſerve in the Nature of Chaplains on board his Men of War, but has at his own Charge erected Academies in his Arſenals, for the inſtructing of Perſons in all ſorts of Exerciſes and the Art of Navigation.

As for the Court of Admiralty it ſelf, the Juriſdiction is in the Marble Table, and the ſame takes Cognizance of all the Affairs that relate to the Admiralty, Wrecks, Commerce, *&c.* from the very Inſtant that an Appeal is made for the Abuſes and Miſmanagement of the Officers in their particular Stations, and other Officers of the Marine. The particular Places from whence an Appeal may be made to this Court, are *Rochel*, the Sands of *Olonne*, *Marans*, *Calais*, *Boulogne*, *Montreville*, *Albeville*, *Saint Vallery*, *Eu*, and *Hau* in *Picardy*.

But now to cloſe this Chapter, we ſhall but juſt ſay a Word about the Gallies of *France*, which Kingdom Borders upon two Seas, *viz.* the main Ocean and *Mediterranean*, in which laſt the Gallies uſually ſerve, and are laid up at *Marſeilles*. The General of the Gallies and Lieutenant General of the *Levant* Seas, is the Duke of *Vendoſme*, under whom there is one Lieutenant General, who is the Bailly of *Noailles*, three Chiefs of the Gally Squadrons, an Intendant that reſides at *Marſeilles*, a Captain of the Port, a Major of the Gallies, 40 Captains and two Treaſurers General; beſides ſome other Officers, which will be too tedious to inſert in this Place.

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CHAP. VII.

Of the Government of the Provinces of France.

WE come now to ſay ſomewhat of the Civil Government; and here we are to obſerve, that the King's preſent Governors and Lieutenants in the Provinces, are thoſe who formerly were entituled Dukes, and the Governors of Cities are inſtead of thoſe called Counts during the firſt and ſecond Race of the Kings of *France*. There were twelve Counts under every Duke, and over all the Dukes there was one, whom they called the Duke of Dukes, or Duke of *France*, who was indeed the Mayor of the Palace. Theſe Qualities of Dukes and Counts became Hereditary Dignities under *Hugh Capet*, who having made him King, every one was ready to make himſelf Maſter and Proprietor of the Government then in his poſſeſſion; and *Hugh* to gain their Affections, connived at his Uſurpation: But yet being unwilling that the Regal Authority ſhould be always eclipſed, he called together all the Dukes, and made an Agreement to leave them thoſe Eſtates in Succeſſion, provided they ſhould revert to the Crown, when there were no Male Children in a direct Line to inherit, or when the Owners were attainted and convicted of Felony. And becauſe the Dignity of Mayor of the Palace, or Counts of Paris, wherewith the former was confounded, was the means whereby he as well as *Pepin* his Predeceſſor came to the Throne, he ſuppreſt it at the ſame time, that he might confirm the Crown to his Succeſſors.

Hereupon *Hugh Capet* and the firſt Kings of the ſecond Race, governed the Provinces and Cities by Officers, named Bailiffs, which Word at that time ſignified a Man who governed that which another had committed to his Charge, or he who had engaged for that wherewith he was entruſted. And as their Kings, in order to the exerciſing of this Office of Bailiff, ſome-

ſometimes made choice of ſome Officers of their Houſehold, who were then called Seneſchals, and were not long after the ſame as we now call the Maſter of the Houſhold; hence it is, that ſome who exerciſed the Offices of Bailiffs for the King, retained the Name of Seneſchals, in ſo much that the Bailiffs and Seneſchals had entirely the ſame Authority, tho under different Names: Tho at preſent they have no farther Power in reſpect to Military Service, than to command the *Arriereban*, which was the ordinary Militia or Soldiery about the time from which their Authority began to be eſtabliſhed.

The Power of Governors and LieutenantGenerals of the Provinces is altogether the ſame as that of the antient Dukes and Counts, which is to preſerve the Countries and Places entruſted with them under the King's Obedience, to keep them in Peace and Tranquillity, to have Power over their Arms, to defend 'em againſt Enemies and Seditions, to keep Places well fortified and provided, and to forward the Adminiſtration of Juſtice with all their Might, within the Bounds of their reſpective Governments. When Governors were firſt ſet up, there were none made but in the Frontier Provinces and Cities; but as all the Provinces during the Civil War, became as it were every one of them Frontiers, they were forced to conſtitute Governors not only over every Province, but alſo in all Cities.

Every Governor of a Province has a Company of Guards, and from the Reign of *Francis* I. they have become ordinary Officers in all the Provinces of *France*. They and their Lieutenants immediately take the Oath before the King himſelf, as the Governors of Places have it adminiſtred to them by the Chancellor; their Commiſſions are verified in the Parliament belonging to their Province, wherein they themſelves have a Seat uſually next to the Preſident; nay there are ſome Provinces, where the Governor precedes the firſt Preſident in the Parliament. The Governors attend the King in the Parliaments, when he goes thither to adminiſter Juſtice. Their Commiſſions are precarious, they depending entirely upon the King's Pleaſure, and aſſigned in ſome meaſure for preventing the former Abuſes of making Governments Hereditary. The

of *France* formerly allowed the Governors Children or their Kindred the Survivorſhip of their Offices; but the ſame is not now allowed them.

I. But now to the Governments themſelves, *Paris* we'll name in the firſt place, whoſe Governor is the Duke of *Gevres*, having one Lieutenant General under him.

II. The Iſle of *France*, that more particularly comprehends the Iſle of *France* ſo called, part of *Picardy*, *Brie*, *Gatinois*, *Beauce*, and *Normandy*; the Governor the Duke *d' Eſtrees*, who has only one Lieutenant General.

III. *Picardy*, whereof the Governor is the Duke of *Elbeuf*, who has three Lieutenant Generals, *viz.* 1. of the Lower *Picardy*, 2. Higher *Picardy*, 3. of *Artois*.

IV. *Champagne* and *Brie*, the Commander or Governor is the Prince of *Soubize*, who has four Lieutenant Generals. 1. In the Bailiwick of *Rheims*. 2. In the Bailiwick of *Vitri* and *Chaumont*. 3. In the Bailiwick of *Langres*, *Troyes* and *Sens*. 4. One in *Brie*.

V. Dutchy of *Burgundy*, Governor the Prince of *Conde*, with the Survivorſhip to his Son the Duke of *Bourbon*. The Count of *Armagnac* is Hereditary Grand Seneſchal of this Country, where there are four General Lieutenancies. 1. Comprehends the Preſidials of *Dijon* and *Chatillon*, with the Bailiwick of *Bar* upon the *Seine*. 2. Of *Chaalon*, which comprehends the Preſidial of it. 3. Of *Macon*, comprehending its Preſidial. 4. Of *Auxerrois*, *Autunois*, &c. which contains the Preſidials of *Auxerre*, *Autun*, *Semur* in *Auxois*, and the County of *Charolois*. 5. That of *Preſis*, *Beugey*, *Valromey* and *Gex*.

VI. *Dauphine*, Governor the Duke of *Feuillade*, who has only one Lieutenant General and Seneſchal, the Count of *Tallard*, lately Ambaſſador in *England*.

VII. *Provence*, Governor the Duke of *Vendoſme*, under whom there is but one Lieutenant General.

VIII. *Languedoc*, the Governor is the Duke of *Main*, who has three Lieutenant Generals under him, *viz.* one in the Higher *Languedoc*, another in the Lower *Languedoc*, and the third in the *Sevennes*.

IX. The Country of *Foix*, *Donezan* and *Andore*; the Governor is the Marqueſs of *Mirepoix*, Mareſchal *de la Foy*.

X. The Lower *Navarre* and *Bearn*; the Governor and Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and Principality of *Bearn*, is the Duke of *Grammont*.

XI. *Guyenne* and *Gaſcoigne*, Governor the Duke of *Chevreuſe*, there are two Lieutenant Generals in *Guyenne*.

XII. *Saintonge* and *Angoumois*, the Governor is the Duke of *Uſes*, who has one Lieutenant General under him.

XIII. The Country of *Aunis*, *Rochel*, *Brouage*, the Iſles of *Rhee*, *Oleron* and the adjacent Ones; the Governor is the Count *de Gace Matignon*.

XIV. *Poictou*; the Governor of the Higher and Lower *Poictou*, is the Marqueſs *de Vieuville*.

XV. *Bretagne*; the Governor of the Higher and Lower *Bretagne*, is the Count of *Tholouſe* Admiral of *France*.

XVI. *Normandy*, Governor the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who has two Lieutenant Generals under him.

XVII. The Government of *Havre de Grace* comprehends the moſt Weſtern Part of the Country of *Caux* in Higher *Normandy*, nevertheleſs it has no Dependance, being in it ſelf a ſupreme Government; and the Governor of *Havre de Grace* it ſelf, is the Duke of *Beauvillier*.

XVIII. *Main*, *Perche*, and the Country of *Laval*, Governor the Marqueſs of *Bullion*.

XIX. The Government of *Orleanois* particularly comprehends *Beauſſe*, or the Country of *Chartrain*, *Orleanois*, with the Country of *Sologne*, the greater part of *Gatinois*, *Blaiſois*, *Vendomois*, *Dunois* and *Perche-Govet*; the Governor is the Marqueſs of *Sourdis*, under whom there are divers Lieutenant Generals.

XX. *Nivernois*, the Governor is the Duke of *Nivers*, who has one Lieutenant General.

XXI. *Bourbonois*; the Governor and Seneſchal, the Marqueſs of *la Valiere*.

XXII. *Lyonnois*, *Forets* and *Beaujolois*; the Governor is the Mareſchal *de Villeroy*, and his Lieutenant General here is his Son the Duke of *Villeroy*.

XXIII. A

XXIII. *Auvergne*; the Governor is the Duke of *Bouillon*, who has two Lieutenant Generals under him.

XXIV. *Limosin*; the Count of *Auvergne* is Governor both of the higher and lower *Limosin*, under whom there is one Lieutenant General.

XXV. The higher and lower *Marche*; the Marquiss of *St. German Beupre* is Governor, and has one Lieutenant General.

XXVI. *Berry*, the Count of *Aubigny* Governor, under whom there is one Lieutenant General, and Seneschal of the higher and lower *Berry*.

XXVII. *Touraine*, Governor the Marquiss of *Dangeau*, who has one Lieutenant General.

XXVIII. *Anjou*, Governor the Count of *Armagnac*, with one Lieutenant General.

XXIX. *Saumurois*; this Government comprehends part of the Province of *Anjou* about *Saumur*, above and to the South of the *Loire*, with the Country of *Mirebalais* in the higher *Poictou*; the Governor is the Count of *Cominges*, with one Lieutenant General.

XXX. *French Flanders*, the Governor is the Mareschal and Duke of *Boufflers*, under whom there is one Lieutenant General only.

XXXI. *Dunkirk*, this has the rank of a Province, and this Government is upon the Coast of the County of *Flanders*, and takes in only the City, Fortress and Dependancies of *Dunkirk*; the Governor is the Count de *Medavid de Grancey*.

XXXII. The Province *la Sarre*, which comprehends *Montmedy Bouillon*, and in the Dutchy of *Bar*, the Town and Citadel of *Stenay*, *Longvy*, *Sar-Lovis* and *Marsal*; each of these has its particular Governor.

XXXIII. *Metz* and *Verdun*, Governor the Duke of *Ferte Senneterre*.

XXXIV. *Toul*; the Governor of the Province, County and Bishoprick of *Toul* is the Marquiss *del Hopital*.

XXXV. The higher and lower *Alsatia*; the Governor and Bailif is the Duke of *Mazarine*, in whose absence, or that of his Lieutenant General, the Marquiss of *Uxelles* acts as Commander General throughout all *Alsatia*.

XXXVI. *Franche Compte*; the Mareschal *de Duras* Governor, under whom there is only one Lieutenant

General, there are four Bailiwicks in this Country.

XXXVII. The County of *Rouſſillon*, the Duke *de Noailles* is Governor and Lieutenant General.

Beſides the general Governor of every Province, and the Lieutenant Generals, there are ſeveral other particular Officers which we cannot name; but more particularly there is a Perſon, entituled the King's Lieutenant, who has a great Power, and ſeems to have been appointed for a check upon the Governor; and ſuch is uſually in the preſent Reign choſen, that is rather an Enemy than a Friend to the Governor.

As for their Foreign Governments or Plantations, the general Government of *New-France* or *Canada* in North *America*, comprehends thoſe Territories which are above and about the great River of *Canada* or *St. Laurence*, where the Chevalier *de Calliers* is Governor. And the particular Governments here are *Quebec*, which is the Capital City of *New-France*, upon the Northern Banks of the River of *St. Laurence*, it being the uſual Reſidence of the Governor General of *Canada*. *The three Rivers*, which is a Fort at the Confluence of three Rivers that fall together into that of *St. Laurence*, to the Weſt of *Quebec*. *Montreal* a Fort on the River of *St. Laurence* to the Weſt of *Quebec* alſo. The Fort of *St. John* upon the Southern Bank of the River of *St. Laurence*, to the North of the Lake *Champlain*, and the Weſt of *Quebec*. This Place the *French* took from the *Engliſh* in 1696. but ſuppoſe it has been ſince reſtored. The Fort of *Frontenac* upon the ſaid Lake to the North-Eaſt. Fort *S. Louis* towards the Country of *Ilinois* in *Loviſiana*, that makes part of *Canada*. The Fort of *Bourbon*, formerly called *York-Fort*, when the *Engliſh* had it, ſituate in the Northern part of *New-France* in *Hudſon* Bay. *Fort Louis de Plaiſance* in *Newfoundland* to the South Eaſt, five Leagues from Cape *St. Mary*. The Viceroyalty or Government General of the *French* Iſlands, and the *Terra firma* of South *America*, part comprehends the *Antilles* that are in the North Sea and near North *America*, where *M. Fuchſemburg Amblimont* is Governor. Then for the Iſlands where the *French* have Colonies and particular Governors they are *St. Domingo*, otherwiſe called *Eſpaniola*, mo

of which belongs to the *Spaniards*. *La Tortua* near *St. Domingo*, and ſituate to the North Eaſt of it. *St. Croix*, *St. Euſtache*, *St. Martin*, *St. Barthelmy*, *St. Chriſtopher* in part only, the other belonging to the *Engliſh*. *Guadaloupa*, *Deſore*, *Martinico*, *St. Lucia*, *Grenada*, the Iſle of *Cayenne* near the Country of *Caribana*, which is in South *America*. As for what they have in *Africa*, there is firſt the Iſle of *Goeree*, or *L' Iſlette de St. Lovis*, near Cape *Vert*, which is on the Slave Coaſt. *Le Fort*, at the Mouth of the River *Gruega*, which is a Branch of that of *Niger*; and the Fort of *Gambie* near Cape *Vert*, which the *French* took from the *Dutch* in 1695. but I ſuppoſe has been ſince reſtored to them.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, &c. of France.

THE *French* King has within his Dominions the Nomination of eighteen Archbiſhopricks and a hundred and nine Biſhopricks, of near ſeven hundred and fifty Monaſteries, without reckoning all thoſe that have been united to other Communities or Benefices, and of above two hundred Nunneries. We will begin with the Archbiſhoprick of *Paris*, which tho it has not the Primacy, yet being the Capital of that Kingdom we ſhall here give it the Preference.

1. The Archbiſhoprick of *Paris* (whoſe Archbiſhop is *Lovis Anthony de Noailles*, and a Peer of *France*) comprehends beſides Religious Houſes, which we ſhall not name here, four Biſhopricks only, which are thoſe of *Chartres*, *Meaux*, *Orleans* and *Blois*.

2. The Archbiſhoprick of *Lyons*, where preſides *Claudius de St. George* Doctor of the *Sorbon*, and Primate of the *Gauls*; under it there are four Biſhopricks, I mean thoſe of *Autun*, *Langres*, *Chalon* and *Maacon*.

3. The Archbiſhoprick of *Roan*; *James Nicholas Colbert* is Archbiſhop, Primate of *Normandy*, Count of *Diepe* and *Lolliviet*; and has ſix Suffragans, which are thoſe of *Bayeux*, *Auranches*, *d' Evreux*, *de Sais*, *Lizieux* and *Cantances*.

4. The Archbiſhoprick of *Tours*, where preſides *Matthew Iſore de Hervault*, and under whom there are eleven Biſhops, *viz.* thoſe of *Mans*, *Angers*, *Rennes*, *Nantes*, *Comonaille*, *Vannes*, *St. Paul*, *de Leon*, *de Treguier*, *St. Brien* and *St. Malo*.

5. The Archbiſhop of *Sens*, *Hardwin Fortin de la Hoyret* Primate of the *Gauls* and of *Germany*, has only three under him, which are the Biſhops of *Troyes*, *Auxerre* and *Nevers*.

6. Under the Archbiſhop of *Triers* in *Germany* there are the Biſhops of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, tho ſubject to the Crown of *France*.

7. *Charles Maurice le Tellier* Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, firſt Peer of *France*, and Primate of *Gallia Belgica*, has ſeven Suffragans, who are the Biſhops of *Soiſſons*, *Chalons* upon the *Marne*, *Lion*, *Senlis*, *Beauvais*, *Amiens* and *Noyon*.

8. *Cambray* was erected into an Archbiſhoprick in 1558. and he that preſides there now is *Francis de Salignac de la Mote Fenelon*, ſometime Preceptor to the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Anjou* and *Berry*, and of late Years famous for a Book written by him, entituled, *The Maxims of the Saints explained*, which was cenſured at *Rome* as ſavouring of *Quietiſm*, or ſomething elſe they did not like there; this comprehends four Biſhopricks, which are *Arras*, *Tournay*, *St. Omer* and *Ypres*.

9. The Archbiſhoprick of *Beſancon* in the *Franche Compte*, where *Francis Joſeph de Grammond* preſides, and under whom there is only the Biſhoprick of *Bellay*.

10. The Archbiſhop of *Vienne* is *Armand de Montmorin*, under whom there are properly five Biſhopricks, *viz.* that of *Geneva*, whoſe Nomination is in the Duke of *Savoy* and See at *Anecy*, of *St. Paul*, *Trois*, *Chateaux*, of *Toulon* and *Orange*.

11. The Archbiſhop of *Bourges* is Patriarch and Primate of *Aquitain*, and his Name is *Leon Potier de Gevres*;

Gevres; he has under him the Biſhopricks of *Clermont*, *Limoges*, *du Puy*, *de Tulles*, and *St. Flour*.

12. The Archbiſhop of *Alby* is *Charles de Goux de la Berchere* Doctor in Theology, under whom there are the Biſhops of *Rodes*, *Caſtres*, *Cahors*, *de Vabres* and *de Mande*.

13. *Armand Baſin de Beſons*, Doctor of the Houſe and Society of *Sorbonne*, is Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* and Primate of *Aquitain*, and has nine Biſhops under him, who are thoſe of *Agen*, *Angouleſme*, *de Saintes*, *de Poictiers*, *Perigueux*, *Condon*, *Rochelle*, *Lucon* and *Sarlat*.

14. The Archbiſhop of *Auch*, *Armand Anne Triſtan de la Baume de Suze*, has ten Suffragans in his Province, who are the Biſhops of *Dax*, *Laitoure*, *Cominges*, *Couſerans*, *de Aire*, *Bazas*, *Tarbes*, *Oleron*, *Leſtor* and *Bayonne*.

15. The Archbiſhop of *Narbonne* is the Cardinal *de Bonzy*, who has a great many Biſhopricks in his Province, as thoſe of *Beziers*, *Ayde*, *Carcaſſone*, *Niſmes*, *Montpelier*, *Lodeve*, *Duſais*, *de St. Pons*, *de Lomiers*, and *Alet*: As for the Biſhopricks of *Helne* or *Perpignan*, and that of *Urgel* in the County of *Roulon*, which of latter Years ſome will have to appertain to the Archbiſhoprick of *Terragone*, they properly do belong to that of *Narbonne*.

16. The Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe*, *John Baptiſta Michael Colbert de Villacerf*, has divers Biſhopricks in his Province, *viz.* thoſe of *Pamiers*, *Montauban*, *Mirepoix*, *Lavoure*, *Rieux*, *Lombes* and *de St. Papoul*.

17. The next is the Archbiſhoprick of *Aix*, where reſides *Daniel de Cognac*, who has under him the Biſhops of *d' Apt*, *Ries*, *Frejus*, *Gap* and *Ciſteron*.

18. *Charles Brulard de Genlis*, Archbiſhop and Prince of *Ambrun*, has under him the Biſhops of *Digne*, *Grace*, *Vence*, *Glandeve*, *Senes*, *Nice*. *Strasburg* is a Biſhoprick by it ſelf, and is now in the Hands of *William Egon* Cardinal of *Furſtemburg*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the States of France, *as also the Juſtice and Inſtitution of their Parliaments.*

THE antient Kings of *France* held their Eſtates in the Field, and the ſame was continued a long time under the ſecond Race; as we find that when *Pepin* would put an end to the War of *Aquitain*, he went to *Bourges*, where he held the States in the midſt of his Camp. Indeed a great part of the Supreme and Legiſlative Power was lodged in the States, and their Kings held them often, and undertook no great Enterprize without calling them together, at what time he communicated to them his moſt importunate Affairs, took their Advice and Counſel, heard their Complaints and Grievances, and redreſt them. They were alſo (as with us in *England*) aſſembled to ask Supplies of them, both of Men and Money, in whoſe Power it was to give them; as K. *John* did in the beginning of his Reign, for carrying on the War againſt the *Engliſh*; they were aſſembled at *Paris* by his Son *Charles* to raiſe Money, and put the Affairs of the Government in order. To them belonged the Determination of any important Affair of State, to regulate Courts of Judicature and the Treaſury, to provide for the Government of the Kingdom during the Minority of the King, or to conſtitute a Regency: But alas, all this Power and Curb upon Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure is long ſince vaniſhed, and hardly the Name of the Aſſembly of the *General States* known or remembred this Day in *France*.

But now more particularly for Courts of Judicature. Juſtice was formerly adminiſtred by the Kings themſelves, but Buſineſs increaſing daily upon their Hands they contented themſelves with taking cognizance only of the Affairs of State; and for the ordinary Adminiſtration of Juſtice, they eſtabliſhed a certain Council, which they called a Parliament, who made a final Deciſ-

Deciſion of civil and criminal matters between Man and Man, and amongſt whom all the Peers of *France*, as well Spiritual as Temporal, ſate. The Parliament antiently followed the King wherever he went, and for that Reaſon it was at that time Ambulatory. They'll have King *Pepin* to have been the firſt Inſtitutor of it; however it were *Philip* the Fair was the firſt that made the Parliament Sedentary in his Palace at *Paris*. This Auguſt Aſſembly by the Integrity of their Decrees acquired ſo much Reputation in all Parts, that Popes, Emperors, Kings and Foreign Princes, have been willing to have their Differences referred to their Determination. Of which there are Examples in Hiſtory, and more particularly of the Emperor *Frederick* with Pope *Innocent* IV. and of the King of *Caſtile* with the King of *Portugal*.

Philip the Fair, according to the Example of his Predeceſſors, appointed but two annual Seſſions for the Parliament, *viz.* at *Eaſter* and *All-Saints*, and diſtinguiſhed them by two Chambers; whereof one, which took cognizance of the moſt important Affairs, was called the *Grand Vault*, or Chamber, and the other the Chamber of *Inqueſts*. Now tho we have already here and there, within the Body of the Hiſtory, given a Touch of the Inſtitution of moſt of the Parliaments of *France*, it will not be improper to do it here altogether: And that of *Paris* as abovementioned, having been inſtituted by *Pepin*, and in 1302. made ſedentary by *Philip* the Fair, we are here to obſerve that when there was but this one Parliament in being, all the Kingdom had recourſe to their Determinations at *Paris*. The Provinces that are under the Juriſdiction of the Parliament of *Paris*, are now the Iſle of *France*, *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Brie*, *Barrois*, *Nivernois*, part of *Burgundy*, *Lyonnois*, *Forets*, *Beaujolis*, *Auvergne*, part of *Marche*, *Angoumois*, the Country of *Aunis*, *Poictou*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Berche*, *la Beauſſe*, *Orleanois*, *Blaiſois*, *Vendomois*, *Touraine*, *Berry* and *Gatinois*. Thoſe Places that are erected into Dutchies and Peerages, are alſo accountable to the Parliament of *Paris*, which is the Court of Peers.

The Court of the Parliament of *Paris* conſiſts of ten Chambers, *viz.* the Grand Chamber, the *Tournelle*

nelle Civil, the *Tournelle* Criminal; five Chambers of Inqueſts, and two Chambers of Requeſts in the Palace. All the Biſhops of *France* in antient times had their proper Seats and Votes in the Parliament; they all took upon themſelves the Quality of the King's Counſellors in his Councils. The Archbiſhop of *Paris* and the Abbot of *St. Dennis* are Counſellors of courſe in this Parliament, where they have their proper Seats and deliberative Votes. All the Counſellors of Honour, and the Maſters of the Requeſts to the Number of four, have alſo their Seats and Votes here. It's a Privilege peculiar to the Parliament of *Paris*, to be ſtiled only the Court of Peers, where the Dukes and Peers of *France* take the Oath of Fidelity, and where they ought alſo to be Judged, when accuſed of any Crime. Moſt of the other Parliaments, who have not ſuch an Extent of Juriſdiction, have but one Chamber of Inqueſts. The Parliament begins the Day after *St. Martin*'s, and continues their Seſſion till the 7*th* of *September*, and then comes the Vacation; during which nevertheleſs there is a Chamber called the Chamber of Vacations, that continues till the 28*th* of *October*, and takes cognizance of Civil Cauſes, which requires Diſpatch, and of Criminal Affairs.

All Proceſſes concluded and received in Writing, are determined by the five Chambers of Inqueſts, in order to ſee whether the Party has appealed rightly, or otherwiſe to the Court of Parliament. The ten Offices of the Preſidents of the Inqueſts, and the four of Requeſts, are no more than Commiſſions poſſeſſed by the Counſellors; and when the Parliament is met, and goes any where in a Body, they are placed among thoſe of the Grand Chamber, according to the Regulation made in Parliament in 1677. which requires that in Aſſemblies, Proceſſions, and other publick Ceremonies, theſe Preſidents ſhould be only preceded by two Counſellors of the Grand Chamber, the firſt of which ought to be Titular and the other Honorary. As for the Preſidents of the Inqueſts and Requeſts, they walk according to the time of their Admiſſion into their Offices.

The *Tournelle* Civil conſtituted by the preſent King in 1667, and 1669. takes cognizance of Appeals in Civil matter

ers to the Sum of 2000 Livres, or 100 Livres Rent. consists of a President *au Mortier*, four Counsellors the Grand Chamber, and four Counsellors of each the Chambers of Inquest, who take it by turns very three Months. The Criminal *Tournelle* takes ognizance of Criminal Appeals; and Priests, Gentlemen, and other Persons of Fortune have the Privilege being judged there, if the Grand Chamber be assembled. They have given it the Name of *Tournelle*, cause it consists of five Presidents *au Mortier*, nine y-Counsellors of the Grand Chamber, who come thier by turns every six Months, and two Counsellors each of the Chambers of Inquests, who also come ither by turns every three Months. The two Chamrs of Requests of the Palace are of the Body of the rliament, as *Charles* V. writ to the Cardinal of *Vi-rez* in the year 1405. where he says, That the Reests were *de gremio Curiæ*; they take cognizance of vil Causes between privileged Persons who have *mmittimus*'s. There is also the Requests *del' Ho-* that consists of Masters of Request, who take cognizance of the Causes of privileged Persons t have *Committimus*'s; who have their choice of ing their matters tried before either of the two ambers. Justice was antiently administred without any Appeal by the Bailiff and Seneschals, whom King sent into the Provinces for that purpose, and om he made choice of from among the most able Persons in his Household; but at present re is an Appeal to the Parliaments from the tences given by the Bailiffs and Seneschals, and came up after the Parliaments were made sedenry.

o much is enough to be said for the Proceedings of Parliaments of *France* in general; to return there- now to the Institution of the rest of them. That *Tholouse* was set up by *Philip* the Fair in 1302. and e sedentary by *Charles* VII. in 1443. The Coun- under the Jurisdiction of it are the higher and er *Languedoc*, the *Sevennes*, which comprehends Country of *Vivarais*, *Velay*, *Gevandan*, and *Ro-ne*, almost all *Quercy*, part of *Condomois*, *Ar-nac*, *Bigorn*, *Comingeois*, the Country of *Couse-*

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rans, and the Country of *Foix*.

The Parliament of *Roan*, which is the Sovereign Court of *Normandy*, was regulated in 1302. under the Name of the Exchequer, by *Philip* the Fair, and rendred perpetual by *Lewis* XII. in 1499. tho it did not bear the Name of a Parliament till the Reign of *Francis* I. in the year 1515. All the Province of the higher and lower *Normandy* is under the Juriſdiction of this Parliament.

The Parliament of *Grenoble* was inſtituted by *Charles* VII. in the year 1453. and at the ſame time made ſedentary; it comprehends all *Dauphine*.

The Parliament of *Bourdeaux* was inſtituted in 1462. by *Lewis* XI. and made at the ſame time ſedentary. The Countries under its Juriſdiſtion are *Saintonge*, *Perigord*, *Limoſin*, part of *la Marche*, *Agenois*, *Bazadois*, part of *Condomois*, the right *Gaſcony*, the Country of *Labourt*, *Landes*, and *Guyenne* in particular.

The Parliament of *Dijon* was inſtituted in the year 1476. by *Lewis* XI. and at the ſame time made ſedentary. It comprehends almoſt the whole Dutchy of *Burgundy*, *la Breſſe*, *Beugey*, *Valromey*, and the Bailiwick of *Gex*.

The Parliament of *Aix* was ſet up by *Lewis* XII. in 1505. and at the ſame time made ſedentary. All *Provence* is under its Juriſdiction.

The Parliament of *Rennes* was conſtituted by *Henry* II. and alſo made ſedentary in the year 1553. This Parliament has Juriſdiction over all *Bretagne*, and the ſame may be called *Semeſtrian*, that is, half of the Preſidents and Counſellors ſerve one ſix Months of the year, and the other half the other ſix.

The Parliament of *Pau* was inſtituted, and at the ſame time made ſedentary, in the year 1519. by *Henry* I. King of *Navarre*, Prince of *Bearn*, Grandfather to *Henry* IV. of *France*. It takes in the Province of *Bearn*, the Country of *Soule*, and the lower *Navarre*.

The Parliament of *Metz* was inſtituted by *Lewis* XIII. in 1663. and alſo made then ſedentary and *Semeſtrian*. It was deſigned for the Dutchy of *Lorain*, the three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, the Dutchy of *Luxemburg* in the *Netherlands*, and ſo

ſmall Territories upon the Frontiers of *Germany*; but the Extent of its Juriſdiction at this time by reaſon of ſeveral Wars, Treaties, and Ceſſions, is but very ſmall.

The preſent *French* King has re-eſtabliſhed a Parliament for the County of *Burgundy* at *Dole*, on the 17th of *June* 1674. and the ſame is now held at *Beſanſon*.

There is alſo a Parliament at *Tournay* for *French Flanders*. But to ſay no more of Parliaments, and to cloſe this Chapter; next to the Parliaments we may place the Sovereign Councils, or ſuch as paſs Sentence without any Appeal from them: That for *Rouſſillon*, or *French Catalonia*, is held at *Perpignan*. There is alſo one at *Arras*, and another for *Alſatia*, that was tranſferred from *Enſiſheim* to *Briſac* in 1675. but where 'tis held now ſince the Surrendry of that City to the Emperor by the Peace of *Reſwick*, I cannot yet learn.

CHAP. X.

Of the Chamber of Accounts at Paris.

THIS Chamber was eſtabliſhed at *Paris* according to the Regiſter of the Sieur *de S. Juſt* in the Reign of *St. Lewis*; and afterwards *Philip* the Fair having made the Parliament ſedentary at *Paris*, at the ſame time re-eſtabliſhed it. It conſiſted at firſt but of two Preſidents, the firſt of which, who was a Clergyman, was uſually an Archbiſhop, or a Biſhop; the other was a Lay-man, or both of them very often Clergy-men; and the reſt were three Lay-maſters, and as many Clergy-men. *Philip* the Long added one Maſter more of the Number of the Clergy, that ſo there might two of them conſtantly attend in the Chamber to manage the Accounts, and two below to correct them. There were eight Clerks, two of whom were to keep the Accounts, one the Journal for regiſtring of things, and the reſt were to examine the Accounts according to an Order made in 1329. *Charles* the

the Fair afterwards added another Lay-maſter and a Clergy-man. *Lewis* XI. eſtabliſhed the ſecond Office, created a third Preſident, and increaſed the Number of Maſters; inſomuch that till the Reign of *Francis* I. the Chamber of Accounts conſiſted of no more than three Preſidents, twelve Maſters, and ſixteen Clerks, who have ſince had the Name of Auditors; who by *Henry* II. had conferred upon them the Dignity of being the King's Counſellors with a deliberative Vote, and in his Reign it was that the Chamber was made *Semeſtrian*. There were two Correctors inſtituted in 1490. who took the Names of Maſters upon them, and had the ſame Advantages, Rights and Honours as the Maſters, and Seats in the Office; but ſince that time Buſineſs increaſing, and other Accidents hapning, the Number of Officers in this Chamber have been much increaſed; ſo that now it conſiſts of the firſt Preſident with twelve others, ſeventy four Maſters, thirty four Correctors, and ſeventy eight Auditors, the King's Advocate and Procurator General, four Subſtitutes of the Procurator General, a Comptroller General, two Principal Secretaries, who are thoſe of the King's, two Keepers of the Books, chief Uſher, beſides two and thirty more, one and thirty Proctors, a Commiſſary, Receivers and others. The firſt Preſident, and the three older Preſidents that are *Semeſtrian*, or to ſit alternatively with the others for their ſix Months, remain always in the grand Office, and the other younger continue in the ſecond Office; the Maſters ſerve in the two Offices alternatively by Months.

This Chamber has been of that Eſteem, that the moſt important Affairs of the Government, Finance and Judicature have been deliberated therein, whither the principal Officers of the Crown and of the Parliament were called; the Patriarchs, Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Princes, Conſtables, and other Great Perſons had their Seats there: Nay it has had the Honour to have *James de Bourbon*, a Prince of the Blood, for firſt Preſident in the year 1397. Several Kings have honoured it with their Preſence, as *Philip de Valois* who during his Expedition into *Flanders* entruſted the Seal here, and gave the Chamber Power and Authority to diſpoſe of his Favours, and even to grant Pa-

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dons in as ample a manner as he himſelf could. It was alſo much in requeſt in the Reigns of *Charles* V. *Charles* VI. and *Lewis* XII. This Chamber had not only a Power of judging matters finally relating to the Finances, as well Civil as Criminal, but alſo to the Policy, and the ordering of Bridges, Cauſſeys, and High-ways.

Here it is that they regiſter the Oaths of Fidelity taken by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Royal Abbots, as alſo by the Heads of thoſe Orders that are ſubject to the *Regale*; and 'tis not ſhut up but on the day that ſuch a Regiſtry is made: And the Fruits of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices belong to the King from the day of the Deceaſe of any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Abbot, to the day that the Oath is regiſtred; of which Profit St. *Lovis* made a preſent to the Holy Chappel at *Paris*: But now the King remits theſe *Regales* to the Arch-biſhop, and Biſhops, as ſoon as they have taken the Oath of Fidelity to him. Here it is that they examine the Accounts of the Royal Treaſury, thoſe of the King's Houſhold, and of all the Officers that are accountable for Money. The other Chambers of Accounts are obliged to ſend to that of *Paris* yearly Duplicates of the Accounts of their Provinces, that ſo they may there have a general Information of the Finances in order to make thoſe Verifications and Corrections that are needful for ordering the Accounts of the Royal Treaſury, and of ſuch Perſons as are accountable thereunto, who carry their Aſſignations thither.

The Chamber of Accounts received the Fealty and Homage of the Vaſſals of Principalities, Dutchies, Peerages, Marquiſates, Counties, Vicounties, Baronies, and Chatellines; and might receive the ſame from all the other moving Fiefs of the King's. It has the keeping of the Confeſſions and Examinations of all thoſe belonging to its Juriſdiction, and even of the Fealty and Homage for Fiefs, which the Treaſurers of *France* received. Here they regiſter Declarations of War, Treaties of Peace, the Contracts of Marriage made by their Kings, and the Sons and Daughters of *France*, with their Appenages, Re-unions, and Alienation of Domains, Acts of Naturalization, Legitimations, Gifts, Penſions, Gratifications, and generally all

all Letters of Grace; beſides the Creations of Dutchies, Peerages, Principalities, Marquiſates, Counties, Vicounties, Baronies, Chatellines, and high Courts of Juſtice; alſo Enoblements, Confirmations, and the Reſtorations of Nobility; they having a Right not only to verify, but alſo to liquidate the Finance of the Indemnity which is due to the King, and that of the Pariſhes, where thoſe that are ennobled or reſtored to their Nobility are taillable. The Titles likewiſe of their Nobility are and ought neceſſarily to be eſtabliſhed by the Verification of the Chamber. The Children of *France* have a right to ſet up a Chamber of Accounts in the principal Place that belongs to their Appenages: but they ceaſe in caſe the ſame revert to the Crown for want of Heirs Male; but moſt commonly they make their Treaſurers to be accountable to the Chamber of Accounts at *Paris*.

The other Chambers of Accounts in *France* are kept at *Dijon* in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, *Grenoble* in *Dauphine*, *Aix* in *Provence*, *Montpelier* in *Languedoc* at *Pau*, which is united to a Parliament bearing the ſame Name, in *Bearn*, at *Nantes* in *Bretagne*, and *Roan* in *Normandy*. There was alſo one held at *Blois* for the Appenage of the late Duke of *Orleans* the *French* King's Brother, and I ſuppoſe continued by his Son the preſent Duke. As for the new Conqueſts there is one at *Aire* in *Artois*, at *Liſle* in *Flanders*, and at *Dole* in the *Franche Compte*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Court of Aids.

THIS Court was conſtituted a little after the Parliament was made ſedentary; and if you except the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Tholouſe*, it's older than other Parliaments. This ſame was ſet up after an Aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom had been held in the Reign of King *John* towards the year 1315. by *Charles* V. then Dauphin, and by a pecu-

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Prerogative, the Eſtates of the Royal Family and firſt Prince of the Blood are regiſtred in this Court. All the Officers that belong to theſe Eſtates have no other Judges in point of the Aids to be judged by, without any farther Appeal but thoſe of this Court; tho they may have their Habitations within the Juriſdiction of other Courts of Aids. The Juriſdiction of the Court of Aids is to take cognizance of, and finally to decide matters relating to the Tailles, Aids, Gabels, Impoſitions, and all Forms and Rights belonging to the King, and of the Decrees made in reference to the Effects of ſuch as are accountable to this Court. They likewiſe take cognizance of thoſe that uſurp Titles of Honour. Beſides this Court in *Paris* there is one at *Dijon* in *Burgundy*, which is united to the Chamber of Accounts, or rather Parliament there; at *Grenoble* in *Dauphine*, united alſo to the Parliament of that Place; *Montpelier* in *Languedoc* ſet up by *Charles* VII. in 1437. it's joined to the Chamber of Accounts that is within the Juriſdiction of the Parliament of *Thoulouſe*; at *Aix* in *Provence* united to the Chamber of Accounts of that Parliament; at *Montauban* in *Quercy*, at *Pau* in *Bearn*, united alſo to its Parliament; at *Bourdeaux* for *Guyenne*, it was formerly at *Perigueux*; at *Clermont-Montferrand* in *Chivergne*, created by *Henry* II. in 1557. at *Rennes* united to the Parliament of *Bretagne*; at *Roan* for *Normandy*, and at *Metz*, which is united to the Parliament of that Place. But here I am to obſerve, that what they call *les Aides* in *France*, is more particularly an Exciſe upon Wine, which is very conſiderable; for the better underſtanding of which ſomething muſt be premiſed concerning the *French* Meaſure for Wine. At *Bourdeaux* they have that called a *Tonneau*, but in *Paris* and the adjacent Parts they have *Muyds*, which is the third Part of a *Tonneau*, and contains about 280 Pints *Paris* Meaſure, which is near as many *London* Quarts. Now when the Proprietors of the Vineyards about *Paris* have ſold their Wine, they are obliged to declare it at a certain Office appointed for that purpoſe, and to tell the Officers at what Price they ſold it *per Muyd*, and to pay one Penny *per* Livre, which is about 18 Pence ſterling, beſides an additional Duty of ſixteen Pence half

penny *per Muyd*. The Wine-Coopers, or whoever have bought it to be carried to *Paris*, are obliged to make the like Declaration at the Gates of that City, and to pay the like Sum of a Penny and ſixteen Pence Half-penny; nay this ſecond Office has a larger Power than the other, for they can here arbitrarily put what Price they pleaſe upon the Wine, which very much increaſes the Duty upon it. But over and above all this, they pay for the Duty of Entry two and twenty Livres *per Muyd* to the King, beſides ſome other Duties to the Town-Houſe. The Wine being thus brought into their Cellars, thoſe that ſell it muſt pay yearly to the King eight Livres and one Sous for that Liberty; and when they ſell it, they muſt make again the like Declarations as before, and pay the like Sum.

Having ſaid thus much concerning Wine-Merchants, if you come to the Vintners or ſuch as ſell it by Retail, they for their Liberty alſo pay eight Livres and one Sous which is called the Duty of the Sign: Beſides, they were formerly obliged to give the eighth part of the Money they received for the Sale of their Wine; but this being very troubleſom, they pay eight Livres and one Sous half-penny for every *Muyd* of Wine they ſell, be it good or bad; and this the *French* call the *Huitieme*, and all theſe together muſt amount to a vaſt Sum of Money.

Here we are to obſerve, that 'tis not in *Paris* only that theſe Aids are impoſed now, but all the Provinces of the Kingdom, except *Languedoc*, *Guyenne*, *Limoſin* and *Bretagne*, are liable to this Exciſe; 'tis true, the Entries are not ſo conſiderable in the other Towns as they are at *Paris*, but they pay every where the *Huitieme*, or the eighth part of the Price of their Wine. And as to the Countries, becauſe there can be no Duty of Entry laid upon them, they therefore pay another in lieu, which is rather worſe; for as ſoon as the Vintage is over, the *Rats de Cave*, or *Celler-Rats* (for ſo the People call the Officers for the Aids) go into every Man's Cellar, and take an exact Account of the Wine they have in them, and three Months after make a ſecond Search, to ſee what is become of it; and if any has been ſold, they muſt preſently produce the Acquittances of the Office, which is appointed

the Declaration of the Price, and of the additional Duty already mentioned; and as for the Wine that has been drunk in the Family, they pay ſometimes another Duty, called *le Trop Beu*, that is, *too much drunk*, and this Tax amounts to about twelve Shillings Sterling.

In excepting the forementioned Provinces, we ſhould alſo have done the ſame by that of *Normandy*, which inſtead of the Eighth pays the Fourth of all the Liquors that are ſold at Publick Houſes, as Wine, Beer, Syder, *Aqua Vitæ*, and the like; ſo that if a Quart of Wine ſhould be ſold for two Shillings, the King muſt have ſix Pence out of it, beſides all other Duties of Entry, *&c.* Theſe Duties of Entry are different from one another, almoſt in every Town, but at *Roan* the Capital of the Province, they amount to 15 Livres *per Muyd.* Then for the Province of *Bretagne*, tho the ſame be a *Pays d' Etats*, as the *French* call it, yet there is a terrible Exciſe laid there upon Wine, ſuch as the great and little Duties of the States, which come to a hundred Livres *per Tonneau*, *Bourdeaux* Meaſure. And tho this Exciſe is laid upon Wine ſold only in Publick Houſes, and no where elſe, yet about a dozen Years ago, it was let to farm for three Millions of Livres, whereof two Million and five hundred Thouſand of them are paid to the King, and the reſt are to bear the Charges of the States of the ſaid Province. Over and above theſe Duties, there is another called Impoſt and Billot, belonging only to the King, which brings him yearly 500000 Livres. This Duty conſiſts in thirty four Shillings and ſeven Pence, which he takes there upon every Tun of Wine. He hath alſo a Cuſtom of three Shillings and nine Pence upon every Tun of Wine brought to *Bretagne* by Sea; ſo that all the ſaid Duties compared together, make it manifeſtly appear, that the Exciſe upon every Tun of Wine amounts to nine Pounds, four and ſix Pence, which is more than the Price of it.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Taille, Taillon, *&c. and the manner of raiſing them.*

THE *Taille* is a Tax or Subſidy that was formerly granted to the Kings of *France* by the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, upon ſome extraordinary and emergent Occaſions; but as in Proceſs of time Liberty declined, and Tyranny grew predominant, it became a Tax *Jure Divino*, and was continued in Succeſſion by Arbitrary Power. *Lewis* XI. who was the firſt that openly invaded the Liberties of his Subjects, was alſo the firſt that raiſed this Tax without the Conſent of the three Eſtates, and who made it alſo ſucceſſive. The *Taille* is Threefold, *viz.* Real, Perſonal and Mixed: Real, when 'tis only impoſed upon Lands, as in ſome Parts of the Province of *Guyenne*, where a Man muſt pay a certain Sum to the King for every Acre of Land he is poſſeſſed of. Perſonal, is when 'tis aſſeſſed upon any Perſonal Eſtate, that is, among the *French*, the Money that a Man is ſuppoſed to have in his own Hands, or to be worth in Lands or Houſes in his Induſtry, Art or Ability to get Money. Laſtly, the Mixed is ſo denominated, becauſe in ſome parts of the Kingdom, the Lands are not only aſſeſſed ſo much *per* Acre, but the Proprietor beſides is taxed for his Money, Art and Ability.

The Real *Taille*, tho very burdenſom, however is the leaſt heavy upon the People; for if a Man has but forty Acres of Land, he cannot be aſſeſſed for fifty; whereas in all the Provinces of *France*, except *Guyenne*, the *Taille* being every where Perſonal or Mixed, a Man is aſſeſſed for what he has, and for what he has not, that being at the Diſcretion of the Intendant of the Provinces, or ſome other Officers called *Elens* who are appointed for thoſe things, whereby it ſometimes comes to paſs that a great many People are aſſeſſ

ſed much more than what their yearly Rent is really worth.

We cannot poſitively aſſign what the whole Sum amounts to, that is impoſed upon the Kingdom by this Taille, for the King increaſes or diminiſhes it, as he pleaſes. In the Year 84 it amounted to 40 Millions of *French* Livres, which is about 3 Millions Sterling; but if it be conſidered, that the *French* were then at Peace with all the World, it may be eaſily believed, that this Tax has ſince exceeded 50 Millions. But the Method of impoſing and levying it ſhall be next conſidered, which is briefly thus. The King reſolves firſt in his Council, what Sum of Money is to be levied on his Subjects; then Commiſſions are iſſued out to the General Treaſurers of the Generalities of the Kingdom, to give them Power to levy the Money; in purſuance of which they make a Diviſion of the ſame, proportionable to the Extent of the ſeveral Elections under them; which Diviſion or Repartition is ſent to the King, who thereupon ſends Commiſſions to the Officers of each Election, by which they are impowered to raiſe ſuch a Sum in their reſpective Diſtricts. Theſe meet, and make the Regiſters of the Taxes, wherein each Town, Borough, Hamlet or Pariſh is aſſeſſed, each Pariſh has one of theſe Regiſters ſent to it: Whereupon the Inhabitants make choice of one or more of them to raiſe the Money, and they are called Collectors, and tax each Inhabitant according to his Eſtate; tho frequently out of Spite, Favour or Affection, 'tis done with the greateſt Inequality imaginable; and when they come to the actual levying of it, if any cannot pay exactly all they are aſſeſſed, which is done quarterly, the General Receiver or Treaſurer of each Election immediately ſends an Officer, called *Porteur de Contrainte*, or Commiſſary, to quarter upon the Collectors or Inhabitants of ſuch a Pariſh, which is ſo in Arrear, with two or three Men, whoſe Pay amounts to thirteen or fourteen Shillings a day, where they remain till they have other Orders from the Receiver, which he never grants but upon full Payment. And tho this way of levying is very rude and ſevere, yet it is very gentle, if compared with what they have done ſometimes in ſome of the Provinces,

where the Receiver inſtead of Commiſſaries, makes uſe of Soldiers, whom they quarter at diſcretion upon thoſe who make the leaſt Default of Payment. And when any Inhabitant is become ſo poor, as to be utterly unable to pay the Tax, or that the Collector ſhould prove a Rogue, and make away with the King's Money, the other Inhabitants are bound to anſwer for each of theſe Diſaſters.

There are ſome Provinces in *France* that are not liable to the *Taille*, particularly thoſe of *Burgundy*, *Bretagne* and *Languedoc*; tho in the main they pay too as well as the reſt, but with this only difference, that inſtead of the Taille, their Subſidy is called a free Gift of the States of thoſe Provinces, and is in appearance an Inſtance of what the State and Liberty of the *French* have formerly been. I cannot aſſign what *Burgundy* uſed to give, but the free Gift of *Bretagne* and *Languedoc* amounted yearly to above 600000 Pounds *Engliſh* Money; and leſt Men ſhould miſtake, as if the States were upon the ſame Foot with the Parliament of *England*, the Matter will require a little Explanation. They were indeed formerly ſo, or very like the Conſtitution of *England*; but the Caſe is altered, they meet every Year, and then the Governors of the Provinces, or ſome other great Lords deputed for that purpoſe, demand of them in the King's Name 3 or 4 Millions of Livres, more or leſs, as the King pleaſes. His Speech for Form-ſake is indeed taken into Conſideration, but the Sum muſt be granted with this only Shadow or remain of Authority; That they give ſomewhat leſs, perhaps by 50 Crowns, than the King demanded; and this is all, for they have no Power to medale with any other Affairs.

Some Towns alſo are free from the *Taille*, but they pay ſome other Duties inſtead of it, that is more than an Equivalent, and theſe are called Entries, of which in the next Chapter; but here we are to obſerve, that the Clergy are exempted from the *Taille* and where it is Perſonal, the Noblemen, and Chief Magiſtrates, and Counſellors in Parliament; but their Lands are aſſeſſed, as well as thoſe of other Men, except ſeven or eight Acres, and provided they plough them themſelves. Beſides the *Taille*, there is alſo

additional Tax called the *Taillon*, which was firſt raiſed by *Henry* II. in the Year 1549. towards the Increaſe of the Pay of his Gens d' Arms, who then lay billeted in Villages, and to enable them to pay their Landlords for whatever they had from them. The poor Countrymen thought then to have a little Eaſe, but it proved only a Trick to drain their Purſes more; and tho every body knows, that the Cuſtom of billeting the Gens d' Arms as aforementioned has been laid aſide, yet the *Taillon* is ſtill continued, and ſo the People are bound to pay it, which amounts to about a third part of the *Taille*.

Contributions or Subſiſtences is another Invention, found out of late Years to burden the People with, the ſame being a Subſidy for the Winter Quarters of the King's Soldiers. To explain which it muſt be obſerved, that in time of War the King being obliged to quarter his Troops upon the Frontiers, as alſo or at leaſt the greateſt part of them in time of Peace, becauſe of the numerous Gariſons he is forced to have: Now to keep them in Pay, there is a General Aſſeſſment made upon moſt of the Towns in the Kingdom, whereby they are forced to pay the Subſidy called the Winter-Quarters, at the rate of about five Pence a Day for each private Sentinel; and becauſe the Country People are bound to contribute Oats and Hay for the maintenance of the Horſe that are gariſoned in the Towns on the Frontiers, or when in *Flanders*, they are likewiſe forced to convert thoſe Oats and Hay into Money, which they properly call Contribution, and bring in a great Sum of Money; theſe Commodities being valued at the Diſcretion of thoſe Officers who are appointed for that purpoſe.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Impoſition called Entries.

BESIDES what we have ſaid of the Impoſts of Wine, this is a General Exciſe upon every thing that comes to *Paris*, where the *French* themſelves ſay, there is nothing free but Air, beſides the *Seine* that runs thro the middle of the City. We cannot poſſibly be particular in this matter, but we find that in the Entries of *Paris* and *Roan*, there is a Duty included, which they call *Pie-Fourchy*, which is an Exciſe upon all cloven-footed Beaſts, as Oxen, Sheep, Swine, and the like. They have paid lately, and I ſuppoſe do ſtill, if not more, for every Ox nine Shillings, for a Cow ſeven and ſix Pence, three and four Pence for a Calf or a Hog, half a Crown for a Sheep, and five Groats for a Lamb. There is a Duty alſo upon Fowls, which is four Pence *per* Livre, let to Farm for above 2000 Pounds. The Impoſition that is laid upon Timber, and other Wood fit for Work or Service, is or has been let for at leaſt 15384 *l.* Sterling *per An.* that upon Wood for Fuel amounts to much more, they paying one Shilling and three Pence for every Load of it. There are alſo conſiderable Duties upon Hay, Charcoal, ſalt and freſh Fiſh, Eggs, Butter, Cheeſe, and all manner of Herbs pay four Shillings in the Pound. Indeed if all the Money accruing from theſe Impoſitions were brought into the King's Treaſury, it would amount to a vaſt Sum; but it muſt be obſerved, that the *French* King from time to time creates many Imployments in Title of Office, which are hereditary Imployments, to be Overſeers of the Sales of certain Commodities, with Privilege to ſell what they pleaſe themſelves. A remarkable Inſtance whereof we had laſt Year, *viz.* 1701. by his firſt laying a Duty upon Ice, then impowering one Perſon for a very conſiderable Sum to ſell it himſelf, or by his Agents throughout all *France*: I ſay nothing of many others that have been before cr-

at

ated for one Commodity or another; ſo that there is an Exciſe laid upon all things that come to *Paris*, even to the very Aſhes and old Lees of Wine.

But this Duty of Entry is not peculiar only to *Paris*, for 'tis impoſed upon moſt parts of the Kingdom, with this difference, that the Duties are not exacted ſo high every where, one Example whereof may not be improper to be inſerted here.

At *Caen* in *Normandy* they pay for every Pound of Butter a Half Penny.

For a Load of Wood-fuel ten Pence.

For a Load of Timber thirteen and four Pence.

For a Load of Hay one and eight Pence.

For a Horſe Load of Wood, as they uſe in that Country, two Pence Half Penny.

For a Horſe Load of Fiſh three and five Pence.

For the Load of a Man or Woman of Fiſh eight Pence.

And for a Horſe Load of Corn one Shilling.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tax called the Gabelle.

BY the Name of *Gabelle*, they call the Right the King aſſumes in Salt; it's difficult to find out the Origin of this Cuſtom, we find only that *Philip* the Long about the Year 1318. took a Piece called a Double for every Pound of Salt; and that under *Charles* V. this Cuſtom was already united to the Demeſn of the Crown, contrary to the Opinion of thoſe who attribute the Eſtabliſhment of it to *Philip de Valois*. In an Ordinance of King *Francis* I. in the Year 1542. 'tis ſaid, that a Muyd of Salt ſhould be ſold for twenty Livres. The *Gabelle* was ſold by *Henry* II. to the Inhabitants of the Country of *Poictou*, *Aunis*, *Saintogne*, *Angoumois*, *Perigord*, the higher and lower *Limoſin*, the higher and lower *Marche*, in the Year 1553. and theſe Provinces upon that account were called the Country of *Franc-ſale*. The City

City of *Calais* and adjacent Country re-conquered from *England*, demanded *Franc-ſale* alſo; but ſince it has been reſumed by the Crown, and become eſpecially of later Years an intolerable Burden to the Subject.

The *Gabelle*, to ſpeak truly of it, is not ſo much a Tax laid by the *French* King upon his People, as 'tis the engroſſing of a Trade to himſelf, whereby the Subjects are neceſſitated to buy the Salt from him at his Granaries, and at his own Price. The Profit made hereby is very conſiderable; and here we are to take notice that the Salt is chiefly produced in the Salt-Marſhes of the Country of *Aunis*, and *Xaintonge*, where a certain meaſure called *Muyds de Boſſe*, weighing five thouſand two hundred Pounds, is ſometimes bought for three and ſix Pence, and rarely dearer than four and ſix Pence of *Engliſh* Money. Here it is that the *French* King buys that Commodity to ſell it again to his Subjects in all the Provinces of his Kingdom, except *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, *Guyenne* and *Bretagne*, where the *Gabelle* is not hitherto impoſed. Now the more rightly to underſtand the Profit the King makes of this Merchandize, it ought to be obſerved, that the *Muyds de Boſſe* contains fifty two other Meaſures called *Minots*, that is, a thouſand pound Weight, and that each Minot is uſually ſold at *Paris* at the King's Granaries for 64 Livres; ſo that there being 52 Minots in each *Muyds de Boſſe*, it follows that the ſame Quantity of Salt that the King buys for four and ſix Pence at moſt, is ſold to his Subjects at *Paris* for two hundred and fifty ſix Pounds Sterling: Indeed it does not bear that Price in all the Provinces, tho it does not come very ſhort of it. It's alſo true, that there is a conſiderable difference in the Price, in reſpect to Peace or War, during the laſt of which it has been obſerved to be ſometimes about one third dearer.

Salt is a very neceſſary Commodity, and there are ſuch good Regulations made for the ſelling and buying of it, that the King cannot well be defrauded; for the importing of Foreign Salt is forbidden upon pain of Death; ſo that let the Salt of the King's *Granaries* be never ſo dear, yet becauſe 'tis abſolutely neceſſary, the Subjects muſt buy it, when 'tis impoſed upon the People

a

as the *Taille*; ſo that each Family muſt take every Year a certain Quantity of it, proportioned to the Number of their Family and Eſtate. This is the Reaſon that ſome Provinces are ſaid to be liable to the Salt of *Granaries*, and others to the Salt of Impoſition.

To underſtand the Diſtinction, we are to obſerve that in *Paris*, and ſome other Cities and Countries, Salt is not impoſed upon the Inhabitants, as the *Taille*, and that if they buy any it is out of Neceſſity, and not from any other Violence; but in *Normandy*, *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Anjou*, and other Places, there are Officers appointed to examine each Family, and to aſſeſs them a Minot more or leſs according to their Number and Eſtate; no Plea of Poverty can excuſe them, and if they do not pay within ſix Months after, they muſt expect Military Execution; neither are they allowed to ſell it again, under very ſevere Penalties both upon Seller and Buyer: For the firſt Offence is puniſhed with a Fine, and in caſe the Offender be not able to pay it, he is to be branded with a red *Flower de Luce* upon the Cheek, or the Shoulder; and if any ſhould offend a third time, they are ſent to the Gallies. The ſame Puniſhment is inflicted upon the *Faux Sauniers*, who are a ſort of People invited by the high Price of Salt, to convey it ſecretly from *Poictou* and *Bretagne* into the Provinces liable to the *Gabelle*.

Having taken notice that the Provinces of *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, *Bretagne* and *Guyenne* were free from the Tax called the *Gabelle*, it's here to be noted, that *Bretagne* having been united to the Crown of *France*, but ſince *Charles* VIII. who married the Heireſs of that Dutchy, 'tis no wonder the Inhabitants of that Province have greater Privileges than others: And the ſame thing may be ſaid in reſpect to *Poictou* and *Guyenne*, thoſe Countries having been formerly ſubject to the Crown of *England*; but as for *Xaintonge* and the Country of *Aunis*, there is indeed a particular Reaſon, for it would be too ſevere, nay inconſiſtent too with the King's Intereſts, to impoſe the *Gabelle* in that very Place where the Salt is made. Further, if we conſider how common and general the Inſurrections have been in *Bretagne* and *Guyenne* in 1674. when the preſent King

King attempted to put that burdenſome Exciſe upon them, we may perhaps reaſonably conclude, that if the *Gabelle* be not introduced into thoſe Provinces, 'tis purely becauſe the Inhabitants are no ways diſpoſed to ſuffer it.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Demeſns and Cuſtoms of the Crown.

WE have but little to ſay upon theſe Heads, all Crowns muſt have a ſufficient Revenue either in Lands or Cuſtoms for their Support; but as the *French* Kings have within the laſt Century very much enlarged their Power, 'tis no wonder if they have likewiſe increaſed their antient Patrimony. The Duty joined to the Demeſn, which I cannot otherwiſe take than to be Tyrannical, is that called *Lods* and *Ventes*, that is, a certain Sum of Money which People are forced to pay, whenever they ſell their Eſtates or any part of them. This Duty indeed is not in all places alike; in the Country where the cuſtomary Law of *Paris* is received, the Buyer is obliged to pay the King the twelfth Penny, that is, out of twelve thouſand Pounds one thouſand: But at *Troyes* in *Champagne* they pay three Shillings and four Pence out of every Pound, and that Duty is paid the one half by the Buyer, and the other by the Seller. This Tax indeed, for ſo it may be juſtly called, is not of the Creation of the preſent King; but about ſeven Years ago he ſet up another very like it, for he ordered that all People ſhould pay the ſame Duty whenever they bartered their Lands, as if they had ſold them for ready Money. And truly never were the *French* Subjects ſo much haraſſed and plagued upon the account of any Tax as upon this; for they have been forced to pay the Arrears thereof, if it may be ſo called, having been conſtrained to give an account for ſeveral Years before the ſame was laid.

As for the *Traites Foraines* or Cuſtoms, which are a Duty laid upon all Commodities that are exported from *France*, or imported into it; this is general almoſt to all Nations of the World, but the preſent King has raiſed it to ſuch a vaſt Degree, that 'tis become abſolutely tyrannical and ſlaviſh; and you may in a great meaſure judg of the Proportion of the reſt by the Impoſt laid upon Sugar, which is three Pence *per* Pound. And let me add this only thing more, in relation to theſe Cuſtoms, that the following Provinces, viz. *Bretagne*, *Poictou*, *Xaintogne*, *Guyenne*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Dauphine*, *Lorain*, and the new Conqueſts, being looked upon all of them as Foreign States, there is another Cuſtom laid upon all Commodities that are exported or imported into theſe Provinces, which is very ſevere and rigorous; but *Normandy*, which, with as much Reaſon, might be accounted one of the Foreign States as any of them, is exempted from it.

CHAP. XVI.

Of ſeveral other Taxes and Creations of Offices.

THE Offices of Counſellor in Parliament in *France* are not diſpoſed of *Gratis* as in other Places, but the King ſells them, and they become hereditary; but yet to keep thoſe Places to their Families, they are yearly obliged to pay a Duty which is called *Paulette*, from one *Paulett* that firſt contrived this Impoſition: And beſides this, they are forced likewiſe to make a Loan or rather a Gift to the King every five Years, which is nine times as much as the Annual Duty; and if they ſhould fail in the performance of theſe Conditions, they preſently loſe their right of Inheritance. Again, whenever a Counſellor dies, or that by any Reſignation his Son comes into his place, he muſt pay another Duty, which amounts to the eighth part of the Price of the Place, whatever it be; and there is an Office appointed for the receiving of this Money, and

and for the Sale of vacant Places, called *Le Bureau de Parties Caſuelles.*

The *Decimes* or Tenths of the Clergy, is a Tax which all the Clergymen of the Kingdom pay to the King out of their Livings. It was firſt granted to the Kings of *France* upon the pretence of a War againſt the Infidels, and I think it began in 1189. It was very inconſiderable at firſt, as appears by its very Name, and granted only for a certain time; but ſucceeding Kings have found out a way, not only to raiſe, but make it perpetual; and the preſent King has done it at his own Pleaſure, and from the Tenth hath brought it up now to the Fourth part, ſo that if a Curate hath a Living of but 100 *l. per Ann.* he muſt yearly pay to the King 25 *l.* out of it, beſides what he is obliged to contribute towards the free Gift the Clergy make every five Years to the King.

The Paper and Parchment Duty that was impoſed in 1672. and is marked with a *Flower de Luce*, is much like the Stamp Paper among us in *England*, and from thence in all likelihood we have borrowed this Tax; and therefore I ſhall ſay no more of it, and but juſt mention that Tax which they call *Controlle:* For the right underſtanding of which we muſt only obſerve, that whereas Law-Suits generally begin in *England* by Arreſts, they begin them in *France* by a Summons to appear before the Judg, which Summons muſt be controled, that is, viewed and ſigned by an Officer called *Controler*, whoſe Fee is five Pence. And ſo now I am to take notice that all the Silver and Gold Plate that is made throughout the Kingdom, muſt be alſo ſtamped with the King's Mark; and the Goldſmith pays three and four Pence for every Mark, that is, for every eight Ounces. Pewter muſt be alſo ſtamped with the King's Mark, that coſts a Penny *per* Pound. Stockings coming from Foreign Countries are moreover marked for the King having two Pence for every Pair; and ſo are all Hats, and the Duties upon them is ten Pence a piece; nay they muſt mark Iron, Steel, Copper, Leather and Hackney-Coaches are brought in as well as with us in *England*, Chocolate, Tea and Coffee; and in many Provinces, as in *Normandy*, the Pigeon-Houſes are alſo aſſeſſed in ten Years, ſome of them paying five and twen-

twenty Crowns, others more or leſs, according to the bigneſs of them. In ſhort, there is nothing exempted, and Multitudes of new Offices have been erected of late Years, ſome of which have been conſtituted hereditary; nay the very Criers of old Shoes, Hats and Rags have been erected *en Titre de Office*, each of which paid ſeven Pounds thirteen Shillings and ſix Pence.

But here, tho it be as it were *in Tranſitu*, one thing muſt not be omitted, which is more intolerable in this Country than the heavieſt Tax that can well be thought of, which is the Raiſing and Leſſening of the current Coin: For when the King is at a pinch for Money, he raiſes his Coin as high as he pleaſes, then again lowers it, when he hath not ſuch need; thus the *Lewis d' ors* have been raiſed by him from eleven to fourteen Livres, and his Crown-pieces in proportion; and upon the leſſening of them the People loſe four and ſix Pence in every *Lewis d' or*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Generalities, Intendancies, Royal Treaſury, &c. of France.

THE Generalities are the Offices of the general Treaſures of *France*, eſtabliſhed for facilitating the Receipt of the Monies ariſing from the *Tailles*, *Taillon* and Subſiſtence; there was formerly but one General Treaſurer in *France*, who had the Management of the King's Money, and who was properly Superintendant General of the *Finances*. He had firſt one Partner aſſigned, and after that divers others; but at laſt they reunited this Office to thoſe of the Generals of the *Finances*, from whence this Name came: And 'tis from hence that their Repartitions have been called Generalities, which are as many Offices of the Treaſurers General of *France*, who have their Seats and Votes in the Chambers of Accounts, and Courts of Aids. The greateſt part of the Generalities are in the Countries of Elections (as they call them) and the other in the Countries of the States; and an Election com-

comprehends a certain number of Pariſhes. There is an Intendant in each Generality, who regulates all things relating to Juſtice, Policy, and the *Finances*; he is properly an Officer of the King's, who receives from the Court the rate that ought to be impoſed upon each Election. There have been of late Years divers Alterations made in the Generalities and Elections, of which we ſhall not now enter upon the Particulars.

As for the Generalities for the Countries of the States, they are ſo called, becauſe the States of the Provinces of *Bretagne*, *Burgundy*, *Dauphine*, *Provence* and *Languedoc*, are aſſembled to lay the Sums that every one of them muſt pay as a Gift to the King, which we have already mentioned in another place.

Now to ſay a Word or two concerning the Treaſury Royal, which was formerly called *l' Eſpargne*, and is in *France* the ſame as what the *Romans* antiently called *Ærarium Populi*; a vain *French* Man compares it to the Sea, into which like Rivers and Rivulets are diſcharged all the publick Receipts, whether General or Particular, of the *Tailles*, *Taillon*, Subſiſtence, and in ſhort of all the King's Revenue; and therein alſo all the Treaſurers fixed for the diſtributing of the King's Money come to receive ſuch Sums as are requiſite for the Adminiſtration of their Offices and Truſts. The Treaſurer *de l' Eſpargne* was put in the Place of the antient Receiver General, by *Francis* I. *Henry* II. made this Office alternative, ſo that from his time forward there were two of them: *Lewis* XIII. made it Triennial. During the Regency of the late Queen Mother they would have it and all other Offices of Accounts Quadriennial. The preſent King called them Counſellors, and Treaſurer *de l'Eſpargne*; and having ſuppreſt them in *April* 1664 theſe Offices were exerciſed by Commiſſioners, under the Name of Keepers of his Royal Treaſury; and by an Edict in 1689. he ſuppreſt and recalled thoſe Commiſſions, creating two Officers in their ſtead, by the Title of Keepers of his Royal Treaſury, with the Dignity of Counſellors in his Councils. There have been ſome other Alterations made ſince by him, according as he ſaw them neceſſary or convenient for his Service the naming of which we ſhall not trouble our ſelves with in this Place.

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